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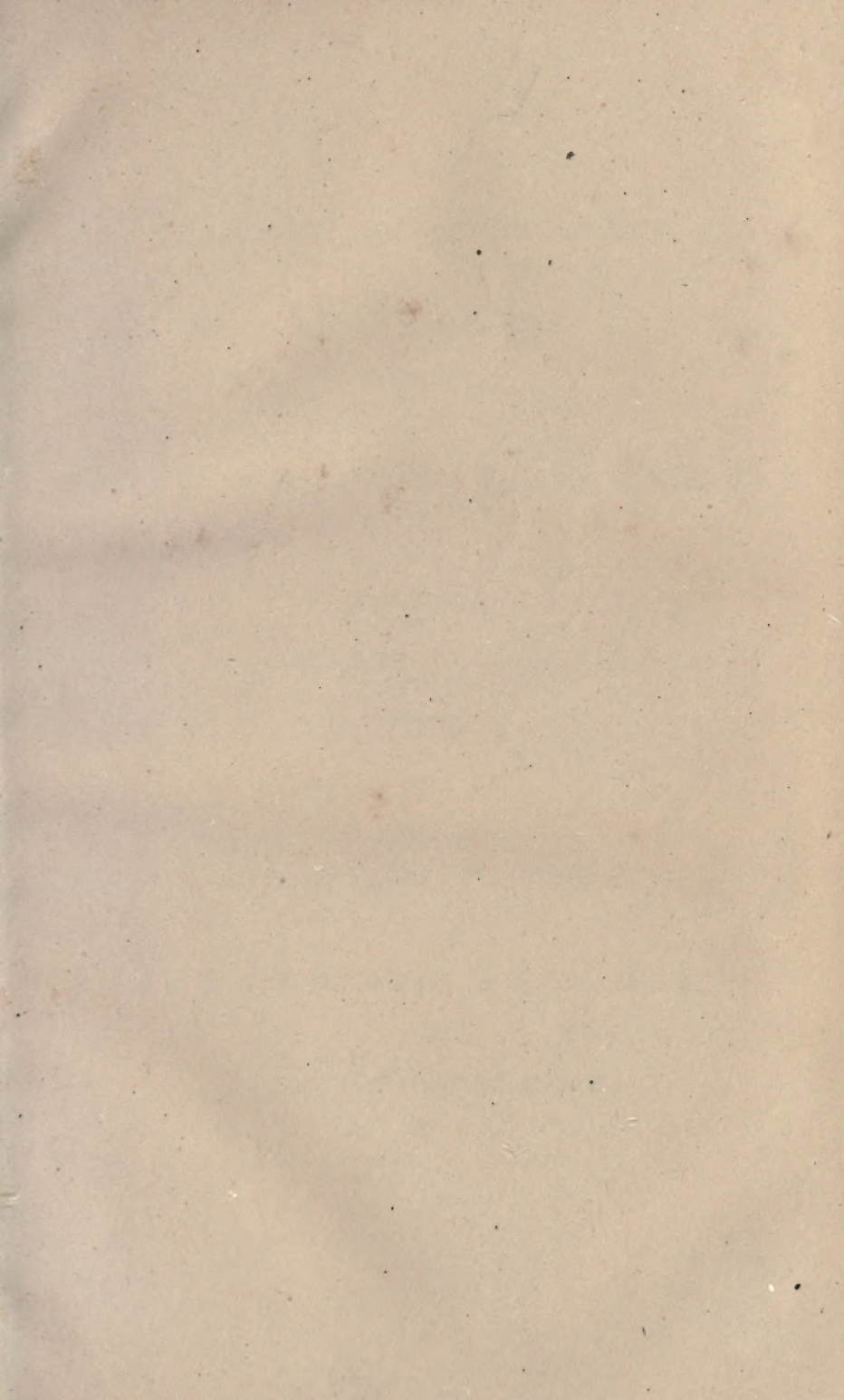


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THE

Theological and Miscellaneous

WORKS,

&c.

OF

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F.R.S. &c.

WITH

NOTES,

BY THE EDITOR.



VOLUME IX.

Containing

A GENERAL HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

TO THE

FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

THEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL

WORKS

BY

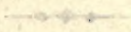
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P R E F A C E

BY THE

EDITOR.

It is here due to the memory of several public-spirited persons, and a just tribute of respect to some who yet survive, to relate how Dr. Priestley was enabled to accomplish the favourite purpose of his latter years, by committing to the *Northumberland* press the whole of the *General History*, and his *Notes on all the Books of Scripture*. This friendly and seasonable interference cannot be described better than in the following statement by Mr. Belsham, to which I have referred in a *Note* to the *Dedication* (p. 5):

“The writer of this Memoir, learning, from his own and Mr. Lindsey’s correspondence with Dr. Priestley, the difficulties which had occurred upon this subject, and apprehensive lest, after all, the Christian world might be deprived of the benefit of his most valuable labours for want of a sufficient fund to enable him to publish the work, it occurred to him, that if a hundred persons could be found to subscribe five pounds each for a copy of the whole of both the works, and to pay their subscriptions in advance, every difficulty would be surmounted. No sooner was the proposal made than it was adopted with great ardour and zeal by Dr. Priestley’s numerous friends, and the friends of freedom of inquiry in general; so that the sum wanted was very soon far exceeded, and the venerable exile’s mind was made perfectly easy. Mrs. Lindsey exerted her usual energies in the cause, and his friends at Birmingham and Hackney were not deficient; and among these no one was more indefatigable or successful than Benjamin Travers, Esq. then resident at Clapton. The list of subscribers was numerous and respectable. The duke of Grafton, with his

accustomed liberality, subscribed fifty pounds, and his noble friend, lord Clarendon, twenty, Mr. Lindsey twenty, and Robert Slaney, Esq. of Tong Lodge, the generous friend of all that is liberal and good, thirty guineas, with a promise of more, if more should be wanted. And now that he is at rest beyond the reach of envy and of calumny, from which neither exalted station nor exalted merit could have protected him here, it may be permitted to mention, that by far the most liberal subscriber to this object was the late Right Reverend Dr. John Law, bishop of Elphin."

Mr. Belsham subjoins an extract from the bishop's letter to Mr. Lindsey, dated *Elphin*, October 7, 1802, in which he says, " Inclosed is a draft for one hundred pounds, which you will apply in aid of Dr. Priestley's publication, in any way he chooses ; but my name must on no account be mentioned to him, or any one else, as it would involve me with some acquaintance here, and do me more mischief than you can imagine, and which I am sure you would not wish. Our religion hereabouts is evidenced chiefly in hating and abusing those that differ from us ; and excepting this zeal we scarce show in other things that we have any."

Encouraged by such liberal assistance, the author was occupied upon these publications while disease and increasing infirmity left him any power of attention. At his death only the first volume of this Continuation had been printed. The remainder contained very few references to the books on which Dr. Priestley appeared to rely. I have added further authorities, while this volume has been passing through the press ; quoting generally, as most satisfactory, the languages in which the authors wrote. I propose, however, at the conclusion of this edition, besides various *Indices*, to give a translation of all the French and Latin notes, in the order of the volumes.

J. T. RUTT.

Clapton, November, 17, 1818.

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A
General History
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
FROM THE
FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE
TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

“ Nactus sum præteritos dies non solum graves, verum etiam tanto atrocius miseros, quanto longius à remedio veræ religionis alienos; ut merito hæc scrutatione claruerit, regnâsse mortem avidam sanguinis dum ignoratur religio quæ prohibuerit à sanguine; ista illucesscente, illam constupuisse; illam concludi, cum ista jam prævalet; illam penitus nullam futuram, cum hæc sola regnabit.”

Orosius.

[*Northumberland, 1802.*]

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY, AND
OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND;
AND
OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

LONDON,

TO

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

*President of the United States.**

SIR,

MY high respect for your character, as a politician and a man, makes me desirous to connect my name in some measure with yours, while it is in my power, by means of some publication, to do it.

The first part of this work, which brought the history to the fall of the Western empire, was dedicated to a zealous friend of civil and religious liberty,† but in a private station. What he, or any other friend of liberty in Europe, could only do by their good wishes, by their writings, or by patient suffering, you, Sir, are actually accomplishing, and upon a theatre of great and growing extent.

It is the boast of this country that it has a constitution the most favourable to political liberty and private happiness, of any in the world;‡ and all say that, besides your

* See the "Speech of the President of the American States on taking the Oaths to the Constitution, March 4, 1801," *N. An. Reg.* 1801, XXII. p. (201). The President is allowed to *affirm*. See Morse's *Geog.*

† Mr. Shore. See Vol. VIII. p. 3.

‡ "I believe this the strongest government on earth; the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order, as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said, that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others; or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer the question.—Possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisition of our own industry, to honour and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions; and their sense of them enlightened by a benign religion; professed indeed and practised in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an over-ruling Providence, which, by all its dispensations, proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens; a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labour the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government: and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities." President's Speech, *N. An. Reg.* XXII. p. (202).

great merit with respect to several articles of the first importance to public liberty in the instrument itself,* you have ever been one of the steadiest friends to the genuine principles and spirit of it; and to this opinion your conduct in various public offices, and now in the highest, in this free state, gives the clearest attestation.

Many have appeared the friends of liberty while they were subject to the power of others, and especially when they were suffering by it; but I do not recollect one besides yourself who retained the same principles, and acted upon them, in a situation of actual power. You, Sir, have done more than this; having voluntarily proposed to relinquish part of the power which the constitution gave you; and instead of adding to the burdens of the people, you have endeavoured to lighten them, though with the necessary consequence of a proportionable diminution of your influence. May this great example, which I doubt not will demonstrate the practicability of truly republican principles on the *equal rights of all the members of a state*, by the actual existence of a form of government calculated to answer all the useful purposes of government, (giving equal protection to all, and leaving every man in the possession of every power that he can exercise to his own advantage without infringing the equal liberty of others,) be followed in other countries, and at length become universal.† The eyes of all the civilized, at least of all the christianized, part of the world are now upon this country; as being evidently in a

* When the constitution was formed, [by a Convention from the States, 1787.] Mr. Jefferson was absent on the service of his country in Europe, but on receiving a copy of it he wrote strongly to Mr. Madison, urging the want of provision for the freedom of religion, the freedom of the press, the trial by jury, the habeas corpus, the substitution of a militia for a standing army, and an express reservation to the states of all the rights not specifically granted to the union. Mr. Madison accordingly moved, in the first session of congress, for these amendments, and they were agreed to and ratified by the states as they now stand. (P.) See the President's letter, dated Washington, June 19, 1802, on having received a manuscript copy of this Dedication, *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 443. This letter will be also found in *Dr. Priestley's Correspondence*.

† In a review of the author's "Essay on the First Principles of Government, 1768," Judge Cooper, rejecting the *fables* of orators, poets and politicians, remarks, that "there has been no republic, ancient or modern, until the American," and, that "the guiding principle that pervades" the *United States*, "is that which Dr. Priestley has so happily adopted and so well explained, the interest or good of the *majority* of the individuals composing each political community." This writer adds, most correctly, that "whatever were Dr. Priestley's theoretical notions of government, he never was an advocate for violent and precipitate reform;" and that, "like the generality of the English reformers, he contented himself with wishing, in that country, for a more fair and adequate representation of the people in parliament," being "an advocate for moderate reform in the old country, though a decided republican in the new." *Mem. of Priestley*, Appendix, No. 3, pp. 357, 358, 360, 362.

state of more rapid improvement than any other was ever known to be; and I trust that, eventually, your administration will be a blessing not to the United States of America only, but to all mankind.*

Another reason why I wish to prefix your name to this work, and more appropriate to the subject of it, is, that you have been the strenuous and uniform advocate of *religious* as well as of *civil* liberty, both in your own state of Virginia,† and through the United States in general; seeing in the clearest light the various and great mischiefs that have arisen from any particular form of religion being favoured by the state more than any other. In consequence of this, the profession and practice of religion is here as free as that of philosophy or medicine; and now the experience of more than twenty years leaves little room to doubt, but that it is a state of things the most favourable to mutual *candour*, (which is of great importance to domestic peace and good neighbourhood,) and to the cause of all *truth*, that of religion least of all excepted. When every thing is thus left to free discussion, there can be no doubt but that truth will finally prevail, and establish itself by its own evidence; and he must know little of history, or of human nature, who can imagine that truth of any kind will be ultimately unfavourable to general happiness. A man must entertain a secret suspicion of his own principles, who wishes for any exclusive advantage in the defence, or profession of them.

Having fled from a state of persecution in England, and having been not without some cause of apprehension in the late administration here,‡ I feel the greater satisfaction in

* It was probably this paragraph which chiefly occasioned that caution of which Mr. Belsham gives the following account:—

“The Dedication to Mr. Jefferson being of a political and local nature, it was not thought advisable to prefix it to those copies of the Ecclesiastical History, which were sent to England. The author of this memoir, therefore, has had no opportunity of seeing it.” *Mem. of Lindsey*, p. 442. This caution, however, was not universal. I received the copy, now preparing for the press, with the Dedication prefixed, as I supposed, in the common course of distribution among the subscribers. Of the subscription to the *History*, and the *Notes on the Bible*, Mr. Belsham, by whose exertions it was greatly promoted, has given some interesting particulars. *Ibid.* p. 447.

† See Vol. VIII. p. 6, *Note*.

‡ “The administration of Mr. Adams.—Of that administration, weak, wicked and vindictive, what real republican can speak well? If Dr. Priestley was hostile to it, his opinions, coincident with an American majority, were forced from him by the virulence with which he was treated by writers in this country, who were more than suspected to be in the pay of the British government. It is enough, that whatever he said and did on that subject, has been sanctioned by the American people; and he had the satisfaction to live long enough to see a government whose theory was in his opinion near perfection, administered under the auspices of his friend Mr. Jefferson, in a manner that no republican could disapprove. To the end of his days, this was a source of great satisfaction to him.” Judge Cooper, *Mem.* p. 366.

the prospect of passing the remainder of an active life, when I naturally wish for repose, under your protection. Though I am arrived at the usual term of human life, it is now only that I can say I see nothing to fear from the hand of power, the government under which I live being for the first time truly favourable to me. And though I think it has been evident that I have never been improperly swayed by the principle of fear, it is certainly a happiness to be out of the possibility of its influence, especially towards the close of life; enjoying a degree of peace and rest, previous to the state of more perfect rest from labour in the grave; with the hope of rising to a state of greater activity, security and happiness beyond it. This is all that any man can wish, or have, in this world; and this, Sir, under your administration, I enjoy.

With the most perfect attachment and every good wish, I subscribe myself, not your subject, or your humble servant, but

Your sincere admirer,*

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

Northumberland, July, 1802.

* This language was worthy of the enlightened man to whom it was addressed, and of him who offered it, and is a fair specimen of the rational homage due to the *Executive*, where, as bishop Berkeley (See Vol. VIII. p. 5) predicted for America, *wisdom guides and virtue rules*. On the contrary, where, in the language of a courtly poet, they

— drop the man in their account,
And vote the mantle into majesty;

how different, yet how consistent, is the homage! See Sir Thomas Smith on the "Honour and Reverence done to the Prince," in the *Commonwealth of England*, quoted, Vol. V. p. 417, Note †.

Can it be surprising that a prince, served with *adoration and kneeling*, could not discern the excellence of a *republic*? Yet the bishop, who was left to *linger* at Landaff, though never *loath to depart*, when, at court, he represented "a republic" as "one of the worst forms of government in the world," must have known, as well as Judge Cooper, (*supra*, p. 4,) that there had been no republic till the *American* was established. He was also well aware that the *republic* of Venice was only a specious name for an odious tyranny. See bishop Watson's Account of his Conversation with the King, in 1787, *Anecdotes*, Ed. 2, I. p. 314.



PREFACE.



IN the Preface to the former part of this work, which brings the history to the fall of the Western empire, I said that I was undetermined whether I should carry it any farther, having executed what I thought to be more particularly wanted, viz. having given an account of the rise and progress of important opinions, which appeared to me to have been greatly misconceived and misrepresented, by all ecclesiastical historians: but I intimated, that if I should have leisure in the decline of life, I might resume this history, and perhaps continue it to the present time.*

This leisure it has pleased a kind Providence to give me, and I have endeavoured to make a good use of it, both with respect to the continuation of this work, and the composition of several others, besides attending to the business of my laboratory. I cannot be too thankful to the Sovereign Disposer of all things for so great a happiness. What is life without employment? And most honourable is that employment, the object of which is to benefit future generations, for whom writers naturally flatter themselves that they are labouring; and what benefits are of so high and important a kind as those which relate to *religion*, and that future world to which I am now making a near approach?

The former part of this history I composed altogether from *original* writers; and those not being very numerous, it was not very difficult to do it. With respect to the period which extends from the date in which that part of the history terminated to the present time, the works containing the original records are so numerous, and many of them so difficult to be procured, that it is not in the power of any man to do the same. The most industrious and the most fortunate historians can only collect their materials from a part of them; and all those who write *general* histories, compre-

* See Vol. VIII. p. 9.

hending the result of the labours of those who have studied the particular parts, must necessarily, in general, depend upon the fidelity of those who have preceded them; and they must use their best judgment with respect to the circumstances and prejudices of those on whose authority they rely. This, indeed, we must do with respect to the original historians themselves.

The most elaborate, and at the same time the most faithful, of all general ecclesiastical historians, is M. Fleury; and therefore I have made the most use of his work, and of the valuable continuation of it, especially with respect to what relates to the progress of the papal power, and such other particulars as their character of Catholics would least of all lead them to state in an unfavourable light;* but I have never failed to get all the light that I could with respect to the same subjects from Giannone and others. Where no authorities are mentioned, my readers will always find them either in Fleury or other common histories; being such facts as no person at this day will call in question; so that it was unnecessary to quote any particular authority for them. In the general history of the Reformation in Germany, I have chiefly followed the excellent posthumous work of Beausobre, together with that of Sleidan; in that of Switzerland, Rachat; in that of France, Laval; in that of England, bishop Burnet; and in that of other countries, the best authorities that I could procure, and which I have never failed to mention.

Though to persons acquainted with books the names of these writers, as well as those of Fleury, Du Pin, Giannone, Sueur and Mosheim, are quite sufficient; and, therefore, in quoting their writings, I have contented myself with mentioning their names only; yet, for the sake of others, I shall, at the close of this Preface, give the titles of some of them more at large, with an account of the editions that I have made use of.†

Though the *facts* have been collected from the writers above-mentioned, the *arrangement* and the *colouring*, as it

* Having made so much use of Fleury in the history of the middle ages, I have generally given the French names of persons and places. With respect to transactions in France, in which they chiefly occur, they are the most proper; and with respect to Italy, and other countries, they are, I believe, as generally known as the Latin names, which, in most cases, it would have been easy to substitute in their places. For some of his names in England and Ireland, I own, I could not easily find the proper English names; and therefore I have given them as I found them in him, but they are not many. (P.)

† Reserved for the last Vol. See Vol. III. p. 217. Note.

may be called, that is given to all the particulars, are my own, and for them I am, therefore, answerable. In these respects I shall often be found to differ from all the ecclesiastical historians that have preceded me; but I willingly submit to the judgment of the impartial, and of posterity.

Being a *Unitarian*, and all the preceding general ecclesiastical historians having been Trinitarians, it was impossible but that I should see many things in a very different light from them, and therefore our representations of them will be very different, when there is no dispute about the facts. Characters of men, and of times, must vary with the sentiments of the writers on subjects of such importance as those in which I differ from my predecessors. Of this the reader will easily be apprized, and therefore he will make what allowance he shall think necessary on that account; and if my readers be men of candour, they will shew it on this occasion. This all Protestant writers do with respect to the writings of Catholics, from whose histories they take facts of the greatest importance, when they differ from them the most with respect to their judgment concerning those facts.

The division of this part of the history, like that of the preceding, is not that artificial one by *centuries*, to which nothing in the nature of the subject corresponds, but according to important *events*, which point to natural periods in history, civil or ecclesiastical: and the sections under each period are so distinct, that a person may read what belongs to any one subject without troubling himself with what he has no occasion to attend to. To give a *general history* of any period distinct from the particulars of which it must consist, appeared to me to be superfluous, as unnecessary repetitions would have been unavoidable. But it will be found, that the first section in each period relates to the subject which is most interesting in that period, or that first occurred; and circumstances, either of less consequence or of less extent, which could not, without inconvenience, have been introduced into any of the sections, are thrown into a miscellaneous section at the close of each period. But though these articles are short, they will often be found to be curious, and sometimes of particular importance.

It is acknowledged that, in order to form a complete idea of ecclesiastical transactions, they should be viewed in their connexion with those of a civil nature, and also in the order in which they took place, which is the method of the *Annalists*, such as Fleury, Suetonius and others. But this will not by any means suit an abridged or general history, which

only I have undertaken to write. Besides, there is also a peculiar advantage in viewing each particular subject as much as possible independently of, and unmixed with, any other, which the method of annals does not admit of. Each method has its respective advantages, and histories of both kinds should be read by those who wish to acquire the most accurate knowledge of the subject.

Having written the *History of the Corruptions of Christianity** long before I had any thoughts of undertaking this work, which, in a great measure, comprehends it, many of the same particulars will be found in them both; and I preferred making them both complete with respect to their objects, rather than take from the value of either of them by referring to the other. In many respects, however, the *History of the Corruptions* will be found to be more particular than I thought it necessary to make this more General History.

I am far from expecting that my choice of materials will please all my readers. I can only say, that I have selected for this general history such articles as appeared to myself to be the most interesting and instructive. But to no two persons do I believe that the same things will appear exactly in the same light. For information on subjects which will not be found in this work, recourse must be had to other writers; and in Mosheim there is a fuller account of many things than that which I have given of them; as I have given a more detailed account of many that he has either wholly omitted, or mentioned very slightly.

In two respects I have, in this part of the history, departed from the method of the former; having assigned no separate section for *civil history*, or for an *account of the writers*, in each period. But the civil history, besides becoming more complex after the fall of the Roman empire, and the rise of a number of independent states in the place of it, is necessarily connected with the ecclesiastical history of the times, and was so more especially about the time of the Reformation; so that there will be no want of these separate sections of civil history. Also, all the writers of principal note had some connexion with the history of the times in which they lived, and therefore their names will occur in the course of the narrative. Where they do not, which is the case of the far greater number of the writers, recourse must be had to Cave, Du Pin, and others who have professedly given an

* First published in 1782. See Vol. V. p. 8.

account of them all. In an history so general as this is in other respects, an account of them to be at all satisfactory, would have occupied too much space.

It is certainly allowable for an historian to give his opinion concerning the events which he relates, thus discovering his own principles at the same time that it becomes him to make due allowance for those of others. But general historians, professedly avoiding minute details, are too apt to give their opinions of events instead of the events themselves, and this without any intention to mislead, desirous only of comprising as much as they can in a small compass. This fault I have endeavoured to avoid, and without ever concealing my opinion, I have given my readers a fuller detail of events on which to form their own, than they would previously expect from the bounds to which I have confined myself. I have even sometimes thought it proper, in order to give a clearer idea of the principles and spirit of particular times, and of remarkable men, to depart from the character of a general historian, and to be very particular in my recitals.

Notwithstanding what will be called my peculiar sentiments, and of course my bias in favour of them, I hope that the most prejudiced of my readers will not think me destitute of candour, even with respect to those who differ from me in the most important articles. I will even venture to say, that no ecclesiastical history that I have seen is equally candid. My own observation and experience have, I hope, taught me the allowance that is due to the force of prejudice in the best disposed minds, and the absolute impossibility of access to truth, in certain situations.

Who, in what are called the *dark ages*, could be expected to have the light that is now accessible to all persons, whether they take any pains in the investigation or not? They must have been men superior to most that have ever lived, if, at the time of the great schism, educated as all Catholics then were, they could have admitted a doubt of the immensity of the papal power, weak as we now see the foundations of it to have been, of the necessity of *one head* to the whole Christian church, and of that head being canonically elected.

Considering the long and almost universal prevalence of the papal power, and of popish doctrines, it could not be expected that the first reformers from Popery should do more than correct the more prominent abuses in doctrine or discipline, and that such articles of the common

creed as that of the *divinity of Christ*, should remain untouched by them. It was even natural that, in order to shew their unwillingness to proceed to extremities, and to carry their difference of opinion farther than was absolutely necessary, they should express more zeal than they otherwise would have done for all the doctrines which they held in common with the Catholics. By this means they thought to escape the imputation of *heresy* and *schism*, of which they appear to have had the greatest dread, always repelling the charge by declaring their assent to the decrees of the *ancient councils*, as well as to the doctrine of the *Scriptures*.

At the time of the Reformation, though the papal persecutions had been so dreadful as must have led many to reflect on the subject, how few were there, even of the Protestants, who saw the impropriety of the civil magistrate interfering in the business of religion, or who did not acknowledge the obligation he was under to support what he thought to be the *cause of God*, and to punish heresy with more severity than any offence of a civil nature! Nay, strange as it may appear, the horrid mode of punishing heretics by burning them alive was practised alike by Papists and Protestants, by Cranmer, one of the meekest of men in England, and by Calvin, a man of a more stern temper, at Geneva. The *branch cut off from the true vine*, they thought, was to be consigned to the flames, and that without mercy.

All that we can reasonably expect of the best of men, unhappily labouring under such prejudices as these, is, that they should be truly sorry to find themselves under the necessity of having recourse to these violent methods of supporting what they believed to be a *good cause*; and that they used every method of persuasion before they adopt it. This apology will not, however, apply to the case of Innocent III. and his agent Dominic, to that of Philip II. and the duke of Alva, or that of Gardiner and Bonner in England. These men seem to have delighted in blood and torture. If we may judge from circumstances, and the extent of their cruelties, they felt little or no repugnance to the horrid measures they entered into.

This principle will, however, I believe, go pretty far towards the exculpation of Gregory VII. and of Thomas à Becket. They really thought they were engaged in the defence of the *just rights of the church*, against the powers of this

world, though it was, no doubt, with a mixture (not perhaps distinctly perceived, or attended to, by themselves) of spiritual pride and worldly ambition; in maintaining their own power, as well as supporting the cause of God. If we expect that men should engage in the cause of religion, or of patriotism, with a perfectly *single eye*, having no other object than that which is professed, we expect too much of human nature. The mind of man is a very complex thing, and subject to many influences, which are often not suspected, or attended to, by the agents themselves.

Though I have no doubt of the Papacy being the *Anti-christ* of the New Testament, and that it is devoted to destruction, the character, I believe, belongs to the *power*, and by no means to all the *individuals*, who have been possessed of it. Some of the popes, even after the power was most clearly antichristian, *drunk with the blood of the martyrs*, were men of excellent characters, truly pious and conscientious, and at least as free from the spirit of persecution as the Protestants.

The English hierarchy, during the reign of Elizabeth and the Stuarts, a period of more than a century, discovered a true persecuting spirit; and the Puritans in England, and the Presbyterians in Scotland, suffered almost as much from Protestant bishops as the Protestants had done from the Catholics. But notwithstanding this, great numbers of the English clergy, in the worst of times, were as truly pious and exemplary as those who were persecuted by this church. The Presbyterians themselves, and I fear every other denomination of Christians, made a similar use of civil power whenever they were possessed of it. But in all these cases, Christian candour will make the same distinction between the power and the individuals who belonged to the body that exercised it. However, when these great *offences come*, offences by which Christianity is disgraced, *woe will be to them by whom they come*.

Unfavourably as a Protestant and an Unitarian, I must necessarily look upon the prevailing sentiments, and the actions, of the men who had the chief conduct of affairs during the greatest part of the period of history that I have undertaken to write, and long as I must have contemplated it, I view it in many respects with much satisfaction. Dark, as it is generally considered, and certainly so with respect to the light of the present age, the Christian

world was never wholly destitute of men not merely of *great ability*, for this has been the same in all times; but of *useful literature*, and even of a talent for writing, allowing for changes in languages, difference of taste, and opportunity of education and study: and, what is of infinitely more importance, there have always been examples of the purest *piety* and virtue in times the most superstitious; which shews the salutary influence of Christianity in its most corrupted state. The heathen world produced no characters that can be compared with many in the most unfavourable times of Christianity. Of a principle of *piety* the Heathens must necessarily have been destitute, because they had not the very elements of it, in a knowledge of the unity, the attributes, and providence of God; and all their views being confined to this world, they could not have the comprehension and elevation of mind of those who look beyond the grave.

In all history, vice and folly are the most conspicuous; but this is because they are comparatively rare. What occurs every day, as the virtues of private life, pass unnoticed by historians; in part because they are common, and in part because they are unknown. But judging of the past by the present, we may safely conclude that virtue has always been more common than vice, and that plain good sense has always counteracted the tendency of superstition.

To read the avowed principles of some Catholics, a zealous Protestant would conclude, that no crime could long burden their consciences, since their indulgences and absolutions would easily relieve them; and in too many cases this was, no doubt, the effect of the prevailing maxims with respect to them. But this could never have been the case in general. In the worst ages, I doubt not that the virtues of real piety and extensive benevolence, accompanied with humility and heavenly-mindedness, from attending to a future state more than to the present, characterized not the greatest number, for this is not the case at present, but a very great proportion, of Christians, though history takes no notice of them.

Who can peruse the *Memoirs of the Life of Petrarch*, who lived in an age of as much superstition as any, and by which he himself was considerably influenced, (as his attendance at the jubilee of A. D. 1350 is a proof,) without concluding in favour of his character, especially for the last thirty or forty years of his life, that of his numerous

friends and correspondents, who were in the upper ranks in life, and consequently had had the best education their times could supply and also that of the common, unlettered peasants in the neighbourhood of *Vaucluse*, and therefore probably of the commonalty in Christian countries in general?

Were we equally well-informed with respect to other periods of history, we should, I doubt not, be convinced of the happy influence of Christian principles on the sentiments and morals of men, though neither then, nor at this day, do they prevent the commission of very great crimes, by persons who either know nothing of Christianity, or who give little attention to it; which, indeed, is the case of the generality of those who make profession of it. In the midst of light they walk in darkness, shutting their eyes against it.

Dark and ignorant as we esteem the middle ages to have been, they furnished abundant matter to exercise the intellectual faculties of men. The questions discussed by those who were called *school-men*, were, no doubt, of little importance in themselves, and often excite a smile when they are mentioned, though they were of as much importance as many of those that were discussed in the philosophical schools of Greece, and they bore at least some distant relation to a subject of infinitely greater moment than any that ever came within the view of Heathens. They reasoned about them with as much acuteness as was ever shewn by man on any occasion whatever, and they led by degrees to that system of rational *metaphysics*, which is one great boast of the present age, and especially of the English nation.

Other sciences, as those of natural philosophy, astronomy, chemistry and medicine, were at the same time in the same low and imperfect state with that of theology; and it has been by the same slow degrees that error and prejudice have been rooted out of them all, and that good sense, aided by the labours of thousands, have contributed to their present advanced state; which, however, is but that of infancy with respect to them all. Theology, therefore, in particular has nothing to complain of, nor does any objection lie to Christianity on this account.

As it is in the order of Providence, that man, and the world, should arrive at their most improved state by slow degrees, we have no particular reason to complain that this order has been observed with respect to ecclesiastical,

any more than civil affairs, religion as well as science. It is, no doubt, the best plan, because it has been adopted through all nature by the wisest and best of beings; and as we find a state of childhood necessary to that of a full grown man, all that we complain of in the dark ages, with respect to ignorance, abuses of power, and all the astonishing corruptions of Christianity, may appear in time to have been necessary, as I observed on a former occasion, to "the perfect understanding, the firm establishment, and consequently to the happy effects of it."* As we value health the more in consequence of experiencing sickness, so we shall, no doubt, think more highly of the value of truth, from reflecting on the gross ignorance that generally prevailed before the discovery of it; and valuing it the more, we shall be more attentive to apply it to its proper uses.

Few things more excite the wonder, and often the ridicule, of rational Christians, than the excessive mortifications to which many Catholics in the middle ages submitted. We think it strange that men of unquestionable good sense, and of the purest virtue and piety, men who had no views to this world, but had their affections wholly raised to another, should think themselves obliged not only to deny themselves the most innocent enjoyments of life, but voluntarily to inflict upon themselves every hardship that human nature could bear; and that others should hold them in the greatest admiration, while we regard them with contempt, on this account.

But the opinion, originally heathen, though adopted very early by Christians, that the mortification of the body was of eminent use to purify and exalt the soul, and also that the more we suffer in this world the more happy we shall be in another, took an early and a deep root in their minds; and those austerities certainly argued a great command of the natural passions, especially with respect to sensual indulgence, such as the generality of mankind are altogether unequal to. They who practised those austerities were, therefore, very naturally the subject of great admiration to others; and consequently their voluntary sufferings were a source of complacency to themselves. We also find, what was not unnatural, that Christians thought it a shame that some Heathens should make greater sacrifices of their ease and pleasure to their false religions than they to the true one.

* See my Discourses on the Evidence of Revealed Religion. (P.)

We sometimes meet with the most exalted sentiments of virtue and devotion, though bordering on extravagance, in the writings of those who in other respects adopted the most absurd opinions and practices. I read with admiration, and I hope some improvement, many things not only in Fenelon, Madame Guyon, and Thomas à Kempis, but even in Teresa and Gregory Lopez.

That those who had been guilty of great crimes should have recourse to these austerities, by way of atonement for their offences, is not at all extraordinary. For it was easier for a man to fast, to wear hair-cloth next to his skin, to go on a pilgrimage barefoot, or to scourge himself, &c., than to govern his passions and correct bad habits, especially such as had their seat in the mind, as envy, malice and revenge.

We shall think less unfavourably than we should otherwise be apt to do of the understandings of men who could adopt opinions so extravagantly absurd as that of transubstantiation and others, which are held as the most important articles of faith in the Catholic church, when we accurately trace, and duly attend to, the rise and progress of them, as I have endeavoured to do in my *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*. And certainly the ingenuity that has been shewn in the defence of such absurd doctrines is truly wonderful, and shews that it was not owing to any deficiency in the natural powers of the mind, that led to the adoption of them.

It will be happy if temperate and just reflections on the subjects of ecclesiastical history should teach us that candour, which the events recorded in it will shew us to have been too often banished from the Christian world, and at the same time lead us to admire the plan of Divine Providence in conducting men by due degrees from error to truth, and from vice to virtue. The view of past events ought also to make us thankful that we live in an age in which we see the gradual diffusion of intellectual light, and a better aspect of things in a moral respect than has ever appeared in the world before. It is a promise of greater improvement in succeeding ages, and of the fulfilment of the prophecies which announce a state of great and permanent felicity in the *latter days* of the world, when *nation shall not lift sword against nation, when men shall learn war no more, and when the whole earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord.*

But the most important reflection that the contemplation of the dark ages suggests to a Christian, is, that his religion has survived all the abuses under which it has so long laboured. Had it not been *founded upon a rock*, such a tempest would have certainly overthrown it; and the revival of literature, and the present age of rigorous inquiry, would have been the utter extinction of it. No other religion ever had, or could have supported, such a trial; but to rational Christianity it has only been a furnace that has burned away its dross, and exhibited it in a purer state than before. After this, its friends cannot have any thing to fear for it.

Some unstable minds have, no doubt, been shaken, and many of those who never knew or felt its value, have rejected it; but though there have been among them some men of great ability and science, and not destitute of many good qualities, the generality of unbelievers are evidently profligate persons, to whom the maxims of the gospel must be ungrateful; and few, if any, of the more learned among them appear to have given sufficient attention to the subject, or to have been possessed of that kind of literature that is peculiarly requisite for the investigation. In others of them self-conceit, and a wish to be thought free from vulgar prejudices, have evidently given them a bias, of the force of which they were not themselves aware.

Through the whole of this part of the history, as well as the former, I have had a view to the instruction of young persons, by giving them an idea of the great value of Christianity, shewing its influence on the minds of those who have received it, and how nobly it has led them to act and think; raising them above the world, and all the honours and emoluments of it; especially how, for the great *hope that it set before them*, they cheerfully submitted to bear the loss of all things, and made light of the pains of death in every mode of torture. With this view I then dwelt more largely on the history of *martyrdoms* than Mosheim, and others whose histories are, like this, professedly only *general*. The same view has led me to be as particular with respect to the persecution of the reformers from Popery, in all ages; and the examples of Christian fortitude, which they exhibited, are no less striking and instructive than those of the primitive Christians in the times of Heathenism. Here I will take the liberty to recommend to my readers my edition of

the *Sufferings of M. Marolles and Le Fevre*,* at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, in France, as furnishing one of the most remarkable and interesting histories of the kind.

N. B. This Preface I wrote after the printing of the first of these additional volumes.† I do not suppose that I shall

* "An History of the Sufferings of M. Louis de Marolles, and M. Isaac le Fevre, upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. To which is prefixed, A General Account of the Treatment of the Protestants in the Gallies of France. Translated from the French about the beginning of this Century. Birmingham, 1788."

"Dr. Priestley appears to have been greatly affected by the perusal of this narrative, and thought it highly worthy of republication. He has prefixed to it a Preface full of pious and instructive sentiments, which will be read with pleasure by those who have a proper conception of Christian magnanimity and patient suffering, for the sake of conscience." Priestley's *Mem.* Appendix, No. 6, pp 730, 731, by Thomas Christie.

This Preface will appear among the author's smaller pieces. His abridged narrative "of the Sufferings of M. Marolles, Le Fevre, and P. Mauru," will be found in Vol. X. Per. xxiv. Sect. ii.

"The History of the Sufferings and Martyrdom" of M. Marolles, appeared in Holland, under the direction of his son, and gave occasion to the following publication: "A Specimen of Papal and French Persecution; as also, of the Faith and Patience of the late French Confessors and Martyrs; exhibited in the Cruel Sufferings, and most Exemplary Behaviour of that Eminent Confessor and Martyr, Mr. Lewis de Marolles; Councillor to the French King, and Receiver of the Consignations in the Bailiwick of St. Mencholt in Champagne; from his Condemnation to the Gallies, 1686, to his Death in the Dungeon, 1692. Done newly out of French. To which is prefixed, An Account of the Torments which the French Protestants endured aboard the Gallies; given by an Eye-witness." 1712. This eye-witness, a Convert to Protestantism, was "John Bion, sometime Priest and Curate of the Parish of Ursy, in the Province of Burgundy, and Chaplain to the Superbe Galley in the French Service." This writer says, "'Tis certain that though there was at first a very great number of Protestants condemned in the gallies, the bastinado and other torments hath destroyed above three parts of four, and the most of those who are still alive are in dungeons; as Messieurs Bansillion, De Serres, and Sabatier, who are confined to a dungeon at Chateau D'If, (a fort built upon a rock in the sea, three miles from Marseilles)." P. 45.

M. Marolles was distinguished as a philosopher, mathematician and algebraist. He had sufficient strength of mind to propose and solve difficult problems, while lying in his dungeon, with a chain of thirty pounds' weight about his neck.

Isaac le Fevre had been an advocate of the parliament of Paris. He was confined one year on board a galley, and fifteen years in a dungeon in Fort St. John, in Marseilles. He died in 1702.

† In the continuation of his Memoirs, March 24, 1795, when he had completed his sixty-second year, Dr. Priestley speaks of being "chiefly employed on the continuation" of the *History*. This Third Volume of the whole work was the last which he conducted through the press.

At the commencement of this second part of the Ecclesiastical History, I have great pleasure in adopting the remarks of Dr. Priestley's friend, whom I lately quoted, like him, an able and zealous asserter of the *Divine Unity*.


"With respect to the four volumes of the continuation, though, in my apprehension, they in some places fall short of the former part, in vigour of imagination, fertility of sentiment, and sprightliness of style, yet the work in general is of great value and utility. Apart from the consideration that the Author was now far advanced in years, and had encountered the rugged storms of adversity, the subject itself in great part did not admit of an equal display of genius. The mystical theology, and intricate and often trifling disputation of the middle ages, when general darkness had overspread the Christian world, and cramped and enervated the power of the human mind, were ill calculated to give that elevation to a writer,

have occasion to add any thing further to the next volume, but I probably shall to the last, as the peculiar state of things at that time may require it.*

Northumberland, July 3, 1802.

which the splendid scenes that took place in the commencement and progress of Christianity naturally inspired. Dr. Priestley, however, has made the most of his subject, and with exemplary candour bestows commendation upon whatever appearances of piety, ability, and useful learning the dark ages could supply him with. The Preface is worthy of a Christian and a philosopher, abounding in solid and masterly reflections arising from the subject of his history. He views the long continued errors and prejudices of the Christian world with an eye of compassion, and appears willing to make the best apology he could for them; and considers the circumstance of Christianity working itself clear from its corruptions, and returning gradually to its primitive purity and excellence, as an unequivocal mark of its divine origin." Priestley's *Mem.* Appendix, No. 6, pp. 778—780.

* The author left a Preface to his "Fourth and last Volume," which will be found in Vol. X.



PERIOD XIV.

FROM THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE IN A. D. 475,
TO THE RISE OF MAHOMETANISM IN A. D. 622.



SECTION I.

The History of Eutychianism in this Period.

NOTHING can well be more uninteresting, or disgusting, to an intelligent Christian at this day, than the histories of the controversies that were in this and the following periods carried on in the East, on account of the extreme absurdity and insignificance of the opinions contended for, and the violence with which the contests were conducted, the emperors always interfering in the disputes of the theologians. It is not, however, unpleasant or uninteresting, to see that mere *authority* was often unable to contend with *opinion* when it was generally prevalent. The throne itself was frequently hazarded, and sometimes lost, in the contest.

A detail of even the leading facts in the course of this history is exceedingly tedious; but as without this no just idea can be formed of the real state of things in those times, the recital is absolutely necessary; but I shall make it as brief as distinctness will allow. Judging by myself, I conclude that no person can long retain in memory the chain of the events that I shall lay before my readers, but a general impression will remain of their *nature* and *consequences*; and this is, in fact, all that is of much real use, not only in ecclesiastical, but even in civil history.

We have seen many examples of the little power of mere *authority*, either that of emperors, or of ecclesiastical councils, to settle articles of faith, when the general acceptance of them was not favoured by particular circumstances. In this period we have another, as remarkable as any of the preceding, viz. in what remains to be related of the history of *Eutychianism*, after the solemn condemnation of it in the

general Council of Chalcedon. It was then determined, that there are "two natures in Christ, united in one person;" whereas the Eutychians held that the human nature is so absorbed in the divine, that he cannot be said to have more than *one* nature. It was only by the authority of the emperor Marcian that this doctrine was condemned in that council; and when other emperors favoured it, we find it, or some modification of it, again triumphant. So deeply was it rooted in the minds of many people, especially in Egypt, that neither the imperial nor the papal authority could entirely suppress it. According to custom also, too prevalent in all ages where men interest themselves in any thing, the contest on this subject was often marked with shocking cruelties, of which it is saying very little to pronounce, that they were unworthy of any that bore the name of Christians.

After the death of Marcian, and the accession of Leo, symptoms of a strong attachment to the principles of Eutyches appeared in Egypt. Timothy, surnamed *Ælurus*, or the *Cat*, a priest who had separated from the Catholics after the Council of Chalcedon, took violent possession of the great church at Alexandria, and got himself ordained bishop, when the catholic bishop, Proterius,* being obliged to hide himself, fled into the Baptistery. Thither he was pursued, and being apprehended, was put to death with great marks of cruelty.

On this, Timothy openly anathematized the Council of Chalcedon, pope Leo, and all the Catholic bishops. On the other hand the Pope was not backward to exert himself in defence of the council; and writing to the emperor, and the bishops in the East, he earnestly exhorted them to support him. The orthodox clergy of Alexandria likewise applied to the emperor, and the friends of Timothy did the same. In consequence of this, the emperor appointed Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, to assemble his clergy, and give his opinion; which was, that the ordination of Timothy was null, and that the Council of Chalcedon ought to be supported. Not satisfied with this, Leo desired all the greater bishops to assemble their suffragans, which they did, to the number of sixty. He likewise consulted three famous

* In order to procure the deposition of Proterius, he is said to have gone in the night to the cells of the monks, calling upon each of them by name; and when he was asked who he was, he answered that he was an angel, sent to warn them not to communicate with Proterius, but to choose *Ælurus* for their bishop. *Theodorus Lector*, L. i. C. i. (P.)

saints of that age, the principal of whom was Simeon Stylites, mentioned before,* as having lived many years on a pillar, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather. All the answers were in favour of the council, and against the ordination of Timothy. In consequence of this, Timothy was banished, and another person of the same name, but surnamed *Solofaciolus*, was substituted in his place.

At Antioch, where the principles of Eutyches had not taken such deep root, Peter Fullo,† who had distinguished himself by adding to the *trisagion* the phrase, *who was crucified for us*, (thus ascribing real passion to one of the persons in the Trinity,) and who rejected the Council of Chalcedon, divided the people on the subject; and having insinuated himself into the good graces of Zeno, the emperor's son-in-law, he gave the bishop Martyrius so much disturbance, by accusing him of Nestorianism, that he resigned the bishopric, and this Peter was chosen in his place. The election, however, being irregular, Leo sent him into banishment, and one Julian was ordained his successor.

Zeno abandoning the empire, was succeeded by Basiliscus, brother of Verina, the widow of the emperor Leo; and his wife Zenodia having engaged him to take part with the Eutychians, he recalled Timothy Ælurus to the see of Alexandria, after having been exiled eighteen years, his rival retiring to a monastery. P. Fullo also made his appearance, and returned to Antioch, his rival dying of grief; and all the enemies of the Council of Chalcedon, being now under no restraint, freely censured its decrees. At the instigation of Fullo, the emperor condemned the council, all the favourers of it, and the letter of pope Leo. At the same time he condemned all those who did not acknowledge that the Son of God was truly made man. About a hundred bishops joined in this condemnation.

This conduct of the emperor was by no means universally approved, and he had a powerful opponent at Constantinople itself, in Acacius, the bishop of that see. He, being joined in his opposition by S. Stylites, the emperor was obliged to fly from the city. But T. Ælurus, after his return to Alexandria, having called a council at Ephesus, the bishops assembled there exhorted the emperor to keep firm to his purpose. Though Ælurus condemned the Council of Chalcedon, he rejected the doctrine of Eutyches,

* Vol. VIII. p. 549.

† Ibid. p. 549.

maintaining that the flesh of the incarnate word was consubstantial with ours.

Basiliscus, terrified at the opposition he met with; and at the report of the return of Zeno, made a public retraction of his decree against the Council of Chalcedon; but it did not avail him. Zeno returned, and Basiliscus being driven into banishment to Cappadocia, was starved to death. Zeno deposed Fullo, and at length banished him to Pontus. Ælurus prevented his deposition by death, which was said to have been voluntary, and was succeeded by Solofaciolus, who was said to be a man of so much moderation, that even they who could not communicate with him could not help loving him. The friends of Fullo at Antioch appear to have been numerous, and no less violent. For Stephen, who had succeeded him, was murdered by his opponents in the church itself, his body dragged through the streets, and then thrown into the Orontes.

Zeno was afterwards, with the approbation of Acacius of Constantinople, induced to favour the election of Peter Mongus to the see of Alexandria. By the same Acacius, and with a view to unite all parties in the profession, at least of the same faith, he was also persuaded to publish a decree of union called the *henoticon*, which P. Mongus was to subscribe. It condemned alike the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches, but without expressing any approbation of the Council of Chalcedon. This edict was received by all parties in Alexandria. But P. Mongus proceeded farther. He anathematized the Council of Chalcedon, and the letter of pope Leo. He also took from the *diptychs** the names of Proterius and T. Solofaciolus, and inserted those of Dioscorus and T. Ælurus. He even took up the body of T. Solofaciolus, and threw his bones into a desert place. But on receiving letters from Acacius, who was alarmed at his violent proceedings, he denied that he had done so. He also wrote to pope Simplicius, to assure him that he approved of the Council of Chalcedon.

This inconsistent conduct led many of the church of Alexandria to separate themselves from him; and having no person at their head, they were called *Acephali*, though

* Diptychs were, as the term imports, a twofold catalogue preserved in churches, and recited at the communion service, one, of bishops who were living, and the other, of those who were dead, respected by the church, and considered as in communion with them. Consequently to strike the name of any bishop out of the diptychs was equivalent to the excommunicating of him. (P.)

in reality they were Eutychians, or differed but little from them. Others say that, dividing into many parties, and having, of course, no single head, their enemies gave them all, that denomination.* The patriarch, willing to bring them back to his communion, afterwards openly anathematized the Council of Chalcedon, but it was without effect.

The Pope did not fail to be exceedingly offended at the conduct of both Acacius and the emperor Zeno; but he dying, his quarrel was taken up by his successor Felix, who wrote expostulatory letters to them both; and two bishops, whom he sent with these letters, having been gained by the emperor, and having moreover communicated with Acacius, and acknowledged P. Mongus for the lawful bishop of Alexandria, they were on their return excommunicated, in a council which pronounced sentence against P. Mongus as a heretic. Another expostulatory letter was also written by the Pope to Acacius, but without any effect. On this, another council was held at Rome, A. D. 484, in which Acacius was solemnly excommunicated, the sentence being signed by sixty-seven bishops. At this time Odoacer, the Arian, was king of Italy, which shews that he allowed the Catholics the full exercise of their religion.

Acacius did not suffer these proceedings to pass without shewing his resentment; and being supported by the emperor, he made little account of the Pope's excommunication. He even left his name out of the diptychs of his church; and proceeding farther, he deposed a great number of bishops who differed from him; and among the rest Calendion, bishop of Antioch, though he had been ordained by himself, because he continued to hold communion with pope Felix, and John Talaia, the deposed bishop of Alexandria, and in the place of Calendion succeeded P. Fullo, who had been frequently condemned by Acacius himself.

P. Fullo followed the example of Acacius, and banished many bishops in his diocese, and among them Cyrus of Hierapolis, and put in his place Xenias, who is said to have been the first who declared against the use of pictures and images. Angels he said were incorporeal, and therefore could not be drawn in a human form; that to honour the images of Christ was not to honour *him*, but that he was to be honoured in spirit and in truth; that to draw the Holy

* *Suenr*, A. D. 475. (P.) Those who refused to follow John or Cyril in the Council of Ephesus, 431, were called *Acephali*. Thus, in England, the *Levellers*, in the reign of Henry I. were denominated; and in the early law books, the term designis such as *held nothing in fee*.

Spirit in the form of a dove, which he only assumed at one particular time, was a childish imagination. Accordingly, he effaced many images of angels, and hid those of Jesus Christ in a separate place.*

P. Mongus also resented the conduct of the Pope. He even anathematized the letter of Pope Leo and the Council of Chalcedon, and all those who received the writings of Dioscorus and T. Ælurus. Many of the monks he engaged to join him, and those whom he could not persuade he expelled from their monasteries. Zeno, however, being informed of this proceeding, and offended at the disturbance which it occasioned, caused the monks to be restored.

On the death of Acacius, A. D. 489, the Pope would not acknowledge his successor Flavita, unless he would reject the names of Acacius and P. Mongus; and on the death of Flavita, he would not communicate with his successor Euphemius, because he would not erase from the diptychs the names of Acacius and Flavita.

Anastasius, who succeeded Zeno in A. D. 491, was suspected of heresy from the beginning of his reign; so that the patriarch Euphemius objected to his coronation, till he gave him a confession of his faith in writing, by which he acknowledged the Council of Chalcedon. However, he allowed entire liberty of conscience; in consequence of which some bishops in the East received this council, and others rejected it; but he banished those who changed from one side to the other.

In A. D. 508, the emperor Anastasius, excited by Xenias, would oblige Flavian of Antioch to sign the henoticon of Zeno. On this occasion Flavian assembled a council of his bishops, and published a large synodical letter, in which he expressed his receiving the three councils of Nice, Constantinople and Ephesus, but made no mention of that of Chalcedon. He moreover condemned the writings of Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose sentiments were thought to have been too favourable to Nestorianism. In this, John, bishop of Alexandria, joined him. To give the emperor all the satisfaction that he could, he farther informed him, that he received the henoticon of Zeno. All this, however, not satisfying Xenias, by whose opinions the emperor seems to have been governed, he separated from the communion of Flavian and Macedonius of Constantinople. This patriarch resisted all the attempts of the

* *Fleury, Hist. Eccles. 1733, VII. p. 34. (P.) See Vol. VIII. p. 15.*

emperor to make him abjure the Council of Chalcedon. He even anathematized those who did not receive it, and in this he was joined by the people of Constantinople.

In these circumstances, the emperor, in order to carry his point, encouraged a number of monks, headed by Severus, to come to Constantinople. But these singing the *trisagion* with the addition of the clause *who was crucified for us*, a tumult was excited; in consequence of which the emperor was obliged to shut himself up in his palace, and even to make some seeming submission to the patriarch. The emperor, however, not forgiving him, made an attempt to get him condemned in a council; but that measure not succeeding, he had him seized by force, on the pretence of his being guilty of an unnatural crime, and also of heresy, and sent him to Chalcedon, in order to his being sent to Paphlagonia, and procured one Timothy to be appointed in his place.

With a view to get the Council of Chalcedon condemned, the emperor had one called at Sidon in A. D. 511; but this measure not appearing likely to answer his purpose, the bishops separated by his own direction.

The Eastern church being torn by these schisms, many of the bishops applied to pope Symmachus, intreating him to receive them into his communion, though they could not join him in his anathema of Acacius. But the Pope declared himself not satisfied without the express condemnation of all those whom the apostolic see (as, exclusive of all others, he denominated that of Rome) had condemned.

In A. D. 511, the emperor shewed his determination to favour the Eutychian sentiments, by encouraging the singing of the *trisagion* with the clause *who was crucified for us*; but the people opposing it, a tumult arose in the church, and several lives were lost. The disturbance extending through the city, houses were burned, and more lives lost. The people were so much inflamed, that they even called for another emperor, so that he thought proper to conceal himself: but afterwards making his appearance, and yielding to their demands, quiet was restored.

The emperor, provoked at the ill success of the Council of Sidon, which he attributed to Flavian of Antioch, and Elias of Jerusalem, determined to banish them both. But Xenias and his monks coming to Antioch, and endeavouring to force him to anathematize the Council of Chalcedon, the people rose upon them and killed a great number. Other monks coming, and taking his part, more mischief was done;

and this served as a pretence for banishing the bishop to Petra, and the monk Severus was put in his place, A. D. 561. Severus was a pure Eutychian, not even receiving the henoticon of Zeno. In his synodical letters he even anathematized the Council of Chalcedon, but they were not received by many of the churches of his diocese.

In the mean time count Vitalian, one of the imperial generals, availing himself of the unpopularity of the emperor, on account of his religious opinions, put himself at the head of the disaffected party, and made great progress in his revolt, conquering all Thrace and Mysia, and advancing to the very gate of Constantinople; when the emperor, seeing his affairs growing desperate, yielded to the demands of Vitalian, which were to recall Macedonius and Flavian, and also to convoke a general council, at which the Pope might be present, in order to examine into the injuries done to the Catholics.

In consequence of this, the emperor wrote to pope Hormisdas, A. D. 515, excusing his former conduct in not writing to him before, and requesting him to appease the insurrection which had arisen in Scythia. Vitalian also, and Theodoric, king of the Goths in Italy, wrote to the Pope at the same time. On this he sent a deputation to Constantinople, of which Ennodius was the chief. But he insisted upon the excommunication of Acacius and all his followers, and the emperor not acceding to this, the Pope sent a second embassy, though with no better success.

Elias, bishop of Jerusalem, refusing to communicate with Severus of Antioch, the emperor banished him, and put John, the son of Marcion, in his place. But he also, by the persuasion of Sabas, (a monk of great celebrity in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and of great zeal for the orthodoxy of those times,) and others, refusing to communicate with Severus, and receiving the Council of Chalcedon, was, by the emperor's orders, put into prison. But, seeming to comply with the emperor's demand, he was set at liberty, and then being joined by the monks, a remonstrance was sent to the emperor; and Vitalian at the same time recommencing the war against him, he was content to allow John to continue in his see.

The patriarch of Constantinople dying in A. D. 517, John of Cappadocia was chosen in his place, having before his ordination condemned the Council of Chalcedon, though the people insisted upon his anathematizing Severus.

John Niceotis, patriarch of Alexandria, dying in A. D.

517, Dioscorus, a younger nephew of Timothy Ælurus, was chosen in his place. But the people rose on the occasion, and having killed a son of the governor, he put to death as many of the murderers as he could apprehend, and the patriarch himself thought proper to go to Constantinople to appease the emperor. This was not the only mischief occasioned by these unhappy disputes. In this same year the monks of second Syria wrote to the Pope, complaining of great violence offered to them by the connivance of the emperor, as they were going to the monastery of St. Simeon Stylites, in which three hundred and fifty men were killed, and many wounded. The Pope, in answer, only exhorted them to continue firm in the faith.

A. D. 518, Anastasius died, and Justin, a mere soldier who could not even read, but who was of the orthodox faith, was chosen in his place. Encouraged by this circumstance, the people of Constantinople insisted upon their patriarch anathematizing Severus, and with this he thought proper to comply. Also a council being called in this city, the same was done by all the bishops assembled on the occasion. By the accession of this orthodox emperor, the church of Constantinople was reconciled to that of Rome, after a separation of fifty-three years; the patriarch having signed the formulary prescribed by the Pope, in which the condemnation of Acacius and his followers was a principal article. The common people of Constantinople expressed the greatest joy on the occasion. But it was not without much difficulty that the church of Antioch could be reconciled to the new system, and to the new bishop that was appointed on the occasion. Severus, making his escape to Alexandria, was well received by Timothy, the patriarch of the place.

Notwithstanding all that had passed on the subject, the legates of pope Hormisdas, in A. D. 519, found Constantinople warmly agitated by a dispute with the monks, protected by count Vitalian, though opposed by his rival Justinian, who sung the *trisagion* with their addition, implying that one of the Trinity was crucified, and maintained that they did it agreeably to the doctrine of the fathers, and in opposition to Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The monks receiving no satisfaction in a conference with the Pope's legates at Constantinople, went to Rome, but being as much dissatisfied with their reception there, they returned to Constantinople. Also a great number of the Eastern bishops would not consent to the condemnation of those

who died after Acacius. No threats or punishments they declared should induce them to strike the names of their bishops from their diptychs.

John Maxentius, the most learned of the monks who went to Rome, wrote on the occasion, maintaining that whoever did not say that *one of the Trinity*, not *one person of the Trinity*, (for there was artifice, he said, in that form of expression,) was crucified for us, was a heretic, and a Nestorian, though it should be the Pope himself.

Justinian, who succeeded Justin, in A. D. 527, like him, made profession of the strictest orthodoxy. Yet in the confession which he gave of his faith at the commencement of his reign, he said, that one of the Trinity was incarnate, though he had before blamed the monks of Scythia for using that expression.

In A. D. 533, there arose a schism among the Eutychians, Severus, the exiled patriarch of Antioch, maintaining that the body of Christ was corruptible; since, otherwise, there could be no real suffering, which is Manicheism; whereas, Julian of Halicarnassus, who had likewise taken refuge in Egypt, maintained that, according to the genuine principles of Eutychianism, the body of Christ was incorruptible; since, otherwise there would be a distinction between the body of Christ and the *logos*, and consequently two natures in Christ. "Why else," said he, "do we reprobate the Council of Chalcedon?" Those two leaders of the opposite parties wrote against each other. The disciples of Severus were, by their opponents, called *Corrupticoles*, or worshippers of what was corruptible, and the other were called *Incorruptibles*, or *Phantasiastes*.

Timothy, the patriarch of Alexandria, dying at this time, the partisans of Severus, the clergy, and also the imperial ministers, joined in the choice of Theodosius, a man of letters. But the monks and the populace chose Gajanus, a disciple of Julian. Theodosius, however, having the countenance of the imperial party, Gajanus was banished. Notwithstanding this, few would communicate with Theodosius, and many persons being killed in a tumult which arose on this occasion, he fled to Constantinople; but not promising to receive the Council of Chalcedon, he was banished to the distance of six miles from the city.

The emperor, willing to reconcile the Severians to the Catholic church, appointed a conference for that purpose at Constantinople, in A. D. 532. On this occasion these Eutychians made no difficulty of saying that Eutyches

himself was a heretic, but they disapproved of the Council of Chalcedon, as having introduced a new phrase, viz. that of *two natures in Christ*; whereas they maintained, that after the union of the logos with the body of Christ, they made but one nature. They also complained that Theodoret and Ibas were then received as Catholics. In the last day of this conference the emperor himself attended, and after much argumentation brought over some of the Eutychians, but not all of them.

About this time, some monks of the monastery of Ace-mites, and Hypatian, archbishop of Ephesus, being sent by the emperor, met at Rome, to consult the Pope on the propriety of two forms of expression introduced into the controversy, viz. whether these monks did right to say that "the Virgin Mary was properly the mother of God," and that "one of the Trinity was incarnate;" the emperor having published an edict in which they were condemned. Ferrand, a deacon of the church of Carthage, and a disciple of Fulgentius, who was then dead, being consulted, approved of the expression "one of the Trinity suffered," provided it was properly explained, and it was understood that he suffered *in the flesh*.

Fulgentius himself having been consulted on the subject of the incorruptibility of the body of Christ, gave it as his opinion, that during his life time it was so far corruptible, as to be subject to the infirmities of other men, but that it was incorruptible after his death; and also, that during his life he was not subject to those passions which disturb the exercise of reason.

Pope John, not being able to bring the monks, who had gone to Rome, to hear what he thought to be reason, excommunicated them, as they had been before, by the patriarch of Constantinople. On this occasion the Pope expressed his approbation of the edict of the emperor, and he wrote to the senate of Rome to explain his principles and conduct.

On the death of Epiphanius of Constantinople, Anthimus, bishop of Trebisonde, was chosen in his place, and both he and the empress Theodora were enemies of the Council of Chalcedon. This encouraged the *Acephali* to come to Constantinople, and among them Severus, late patriarch of Antioch; and there they not only held assemblies in private houses, but also baptized. Pope Agapetus coming to Constantinople at this time, on an embassy from king Theodoric, was so much offended at this, that he not only refused to communicate with Anthimus, but got him deposed; when

he retired to a place where he was under the protection of the empress. Anthimus was succeeded by Mennas of Alexandria, who received the Council of Chalcedon. In execution of the sentence of the council by which Anthimus was deposed, the emperor forbade him, and also Severus, Peter of Apamea, and Zoara, a monk of Syria, to reside in Constantinople, or any considerable city. He also ordered the writings of Severus to be burned, and that whoever copied them should have his thumbs cut off.

Pope Agapetus dying at Constantinople, the empress got Vigilius to be made pope, and Sylverius, who had been chosen, banished.* Vigilius, however, only in secret, appeared to favour the views of the empress; as in all his public edicts he was sufficiently Catholic.

We now find the Council of Chalcedon, being favoured by the Pope and the emperor, universally received. Theodosius of Alexandria, where it had long been reprobated, being banished, Paul, who declared his approbation of the council, was chosen in his place; and Paul being deposed for certain offences, was succeeded by Zoilus, who also received the council.

Theodosius, late of Alexandria, being at Constantinople, maintained that Christ was not ignorant of the day of judgment, not even *as the son*, using the language of the Catholics, though an Eutychian. He even wrote against those who held the contrary opinion, calling them, in contempt, *Agnoites*, which from this time became another distinction among the Eutychians.

About this time Philoponus of Alexandria, maintaining that there was no difference between the terms *nature* and *hypostasis*, was charged with admitting *three* natures in the Trinity; and, allowing, as they say, the consequence, he was deemed a *Tritheist*.

The controversy about Eutychianism was but little heard of in the West. However, at the second council at Seville, in A. D. 619, there was present a Syrian bishop of the sect of the *Acephali*, denying the distinction of two natures in Christ, and maintaining that the divinity was passible; but with some difficulty he was brought to renounce those offensive opinions.

Notwithstanding all that Justinian had done in favour of the Council of Chalcedon, and against Eutychianism, such

* "Sent prisoner to Palmaria and there starved to death." He had been "thrust in by menaces and violence." *Platina* says, "Mortem his Clericis minatus est, qui nomina sua non subscriberent in creatione Sylverii." *Hist. of Pop. I.* pp. 44, 46.

hold had the principles of this sect taken on the minds of numbers, and, as it should seem, of the more zealous Christians, advocates for the highest honours of Christ, that towards the end of his reign he himself was much impressed by them. The empress Theodora, as well as Theodore of Cappadocia, was an advocate for them; and in addition to their influence, which was probably considerable, he is said to have learned something of this kind from some Origenists, who, we shall find, became very considerable at this time. It is certain that Justinian adopted the opinion that the body of Christ was incorruptible; that after it was formed in the womb of the virgin it so far partook of the properties of divinity, as to be incapable of change, even with respect to the natural and innocent affections of humanity, as those of hunger and thirst; so that even before his death, as well as after his resurrection, he ate without necessity.

As all the emperors wished to think for their subjects as well as for themselves, Justinian was not satisfied without endeavouring to make his sentiments the standard of faith in the whole empire; and for this purpose he had recourse to the universal argument of sovereign princes. He began by publishing an edict on the subject, designed to gain the bishops; but it had little effect. The patriarch of Constantinople, Eutychius, was so far from subscribing to this edict, that he remonstrated against it, maintaining that on the emperor's principles the incarnation was only imaginary, and that it was in no other sense true than that the body of Christ was incapable of any stain of sin, and was not corruptible in the grave.

The emperor was so much provoked at this opposition, which, coming from the patriarch of Constantinople, was likely to have a great effect, that he had him dragged by force from his church, and confined to a monastery. He was afterwards removed from place to place, and at last to Amasa in Pontus. John, the Syrian, surnamed *Scholasticus*, was made patriarch in his place.

This opposition to the views of the emperor was not confined to the patriarch. Many other bishops refused to subscribe to his edict. Of those the principal was Anastasius of Antioch. The emperor used all his endeavours to gain him, but these being without effect, he would have been banished, like the patriarch of Constantinople, if the emperor himself had not died before it could take place.

Justin II., the nephew of Justinian, who succeeded him in the empire, recalled all those exiles, except Eutychius.

This emperor, like his predecessors, thought proper to publish a confession of his faith, and one by which he hoped to unite all parties; but it was without effect, as he only proposed that all things should remain on their ancient footing. Just before the death of Justin, and the succession of Tiberius, Eutychius was recalled, after passing twelve years in a monastery at Amasa, in Pontus, and he entered Constantinople in triumph, riding on an ass, in imitation of our Saviour, to the great joy of the people.

I shall conclude this Section with observing, that, from a disciple of Severus, called Jacob Zanzales, or Bardai, a Syrian monk, the Eutychians in general came to be called *Jacobites*. And these about this time usually called their opponents *Melchites*, on account of their receiving the Council of Chalcedon, imposed by *royal* authority, and in this it will have been seen there was too much of truth.

SECTION II.

Of the Controversy relating to the Three Chapters.

NOTWITHSTANDING the suppression of Unitarianism in a variety of forms, we find it appearing again in others, or other doctrines bordering upon it. The Nestorians were but little different from Unitarians with respect to their doctrine concerning the person of Christ, though they held a Trinity in the godhead, and they were treated as such by their adversaries. And whenever the Eutychians, or those who secretly favoured their opinions, prevailed, every person was considered as heretical, and was charged with Nestorianism, who scrupled to adopt the very highest language concerning the person of Christ, in all its parts, without excepting what related to his humanity. Also, in order to revenge themselves for their disappointment in the Council of Chalcedon, they were eager to censure many of the eminent bishops who lived at the time of that council, for language which had passed without any censure when it was used; and the circumstances of the times favouring them, great disturbance was given to the whole Christian world on this account. The bishops who by their writings were particularly obnoxious to the favourers of Eutychianism, were Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, Ibas of Edessa, and Eutherius of Tiana, all then dead.

That some of these persons enjoyed a high degree of

popularity, at least in their own churches, is evident from the distinguished honours paid to the memory of Theodoret, by Sergius, one of his successors. For, in A. D. 519, he carried his image mounted on a car into the church, where it was received with singing of psalms. He afterwards instituted a festival in his honour, and that of Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia: and had it not been owing to private pique, these men might have enjoyed their honours, undisturbed and unenvied, to the latest posterity.

The first time that we find the names of any of the persons above-mentioned made use of for any invidious purpose, was by Xenias, who had been made bishop of Hierapolis, whose sentiments were of the Eutychian cast. Being at variance with Flavian, bishop of Antioch, he accused him of Nestorianism. To ward off this accusation, Flavian did not hesitate to anathematize Nestorius himself, and his doctrine. But this did not satisfy Xenias, who farther required him to anathematize all those who had been suspected of holding the same principles, naming Theodoret, and the other persons above-mentioned.

This, however, was nothing more than an altercation between these two bishops. The Christian world became interested in the question by the artful management of Theodore of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, then in the court of the emperor Justinian, who, like several of his predecessors, and the succeeding emperors, busied themselves more about matters of theology than affairs of state. This Theodore was a favourer of the sentiments of Origen, (against which Theodore of Mopsuestia had written,) and one of the *Acephali*, and he had a dispute on these subjects with Pelagius, when he was sent from Rome on an embassy to Constantinople. Theodore, finding the emperor writing against the *Acephali*, and in defence of the Council of Chalcedon, persuaded him that he would reconcile the *Acephali* to the council, (which had given offence to many by the seeming approbation of the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and a letter of Ibas, to Maris, a Persian heretic, which he said were evidently Nestorian,) if he would procure the condemnation of those writers, and that by this means, uniting the different sects of Christians, he would gain immortal glory. The emperor, not perceiving his secret views, undertook to do this, adding to the two writers above-mentioned, what Theodoret wrote in answer to the twelve anathemas of Cyril of Alexandria. Abandoning, therefore, his design of writing against the *Acephali*, he composed

another work, in condemnation of those three writings, usually denominated *the three chapters*. This piece of the emperor's was in the form of an edict, or letter, addressed to all the churches, and bore the title of a confession of faith. In this he anathematized not only the three chapters, but, as was usual in those times, all who defended them. This was in A. D. 546.

All the bishops were required to subscribe to this confession of faith, though Mennas, patriarch of Constantinople, made some difficulty of doing it, on account of its implying some reflection on the Council of Chalcedon. Ephrem of Antioch did not do it till he was threatened with expulsion from his see. Peter of Jerusalem also made his objections, but nevertheless complied with the imperial requisition, and many entered their protests against the subscription. The bishops who complied were rewarded, and they who persisted in refusing to do so were banished. Zoilus, bishop of Alexandria, complained afterwards to the Pope, that he also had been compelled to subscribe.

These compulsive measures had less effect in the West. Four hundred bishops in Africa could not by any means be brought to condemn, as they declared, persons who were dead; especially considering that in condemning them they might, in effect, approve of Eutychianism; and they remonstrated on the subject to the emperor.

The Pope, Vigilius, was by no means disposed to join with the emperor in these violent measures. Being at Constantinople,* he refused for some time to communicate with the patriarch Mennas, because he had concurred in the condemnation of the three chapters. He even passed a sentence of condemnation against the empress and the *Acephali*. At length, however, being hard pressed, he was induced to join in the condemnation of the three chapters; but, as he added, "without prejudice to the Council of Chalcedon," and he charged all persons to forbear discussing the subject by speaking or writing.

This conduct of the Pope gave no satisfaction to either of the two parties, and gave great offence to the advocates for the three chapters, who were very numerous, and even to

* Whither, according to *Platina*, he had been "sent for, a commission being granted to one Anthemius, the scribe, to take him by main force, even though it were out of a church. Accordingly he was apprehended in St. Cecil's church, and put on board a vessel in the Tiber, the people in troops thus congratulating from the shore, his departure: 'Hunger and pestilence go with thee; evil hast thou done us, and evil mayst thou meet with, wherever thou comest.'" *History of Popery*, I. p. 46.

some of his own clergy, especially Rusticus and Sebastian, who maintained, in a publication on the subject, that the Pope had abandoned the Council of Chalcedon. The Pope, however, acted with spirit on the occasion; and in a strong remonstrance, in which he charged those two presbyters with gross inconsistency, he pronounced them excommunicated.

The advocates for the three chapters in the mean time were not inactive. For they held a council in Illyricum in A. D. 550, in which they condemned their enemies, and addressed a letter to the emperor. The year following the bishops of Africa proceeded still farther; and being assembled in council, they excommunicated pope Vigilius, as having condemned the three chapters.

After the Pope had published his piece, which he entitled *Justificatum*, Facundus, a distinguished African bishop, then also at Constantinople, wrote in defence of the three chapters, addressing his work to the emperor. In it he defended every article in all the three chapters at great length, and admonished the emperor not to interfere in ecclesiastical matters, as the emperor Zeno had done by his *henoticon*, which was the occasion of much disturbance in the church. The emperor, however, paid no regard to this well-meant and sensible admonition, but continued to employ more of his time in adjusting ecclesiastical controversies, than in the great business of the war, which, under the conduct of the great Belisarius, he was at that time carrying on in Italy.

The Pope, sensible of the offence that he had given by his *Justificatum*, and perceiving the attachment of the Western bishops to the three chapters, urged the emperor to call a general council, which, without any regard to what had passed, should decide upon the question, and that in the mean time all private discussion of it should be suspended. To this proposal he acceded, and the Pope formally withdrew his *Justificatum*.

Notwithstanding the imperial prohibition, not to discuss the question of the three chapters, the Pope was strongly urged to join the Greeks in the condemnation of them, even though the bishops of Africa, Illyricum, and Dalmatia refused to do it; and persisting in his refusal, so much open violence was used to him, that he thought it necessary to take refuge under the altar in the church; and from this sanctuary he was dragged by his hair, beard and feet.* In

* "He was, as *Platina* writes, severely bastinadoed, and dragged about the streets, with a rope about his neck." *Hist. of Pop.* I. p. 46.

the struggle some of the pillars of the altar were broken, so that the holy table would have fallen upon him, but that some of the clergy supported it, and at length the people, rushing into the church, put an end to the indecent contest.

In consequence of this violence, the Pope prepared a sentence of condemnation against Theodore of Cæsarea, the author of the disturbance, in A. D. 551, though it was not to be published but in case of farther violence, or his own death. After this, a kind of treaty was entered into, between the Pope and his adversaries; but not being observed, and fearing farther violence, the Pope made his escape from the place of his residence, by getting over a wall, and flying to Chalcedon, where he took refuge in the church of St. Euphemia. From this asylum the emperor was desirous of drawing him, but he refused, and the clergy of Italy taking his part, drew up a spirited remonstrance on the occasion. At length Theodore made satisfaction to the Pope, still confined at Chalcedon, by declaring his acceptance of the four general councils, and Mennas and the other principal bishops of the East joined in this acknowledgment.

At length, in A. D. 555, the council, for which so great preparation had been made, was held at Constantinople.* At the first session, or conference, there were one hundred and fifty-one bishops, among whom were only five from Africa, and no other from any part of the West. The issue of this council, as of all the preceding, might have been conjectured from the manner in which it was opened by Theodore, on the part of the emperor, explaining the motives of his conduct. He observed that "the Nestorians, no longer able to boast of Nestorius himself, had introduced his master, Theodore of Mopsuestia, who had advanced blasphemies even worse than his, as also the impious writings of Theodoret against Cyril, and the detestable letter of Ibas, pretending that it had been approved by the Council of Chalcedon, which," he added, "they did, not for the sake of defending that council, but that under its authority they might defend their own impiety. To oppose this design," he said, "the emperor had first consulted them at their respective sees; but since, notwithstanding, there were those

* "553. ii. Concile général de Constantinople, de 163 Evêques. Il fut convoqué, 1. pour réfuter les erreurs d'Origène, de Didime, de Théodoret, de Théodore, Evêque de Mopsueste, et d'Ibas, Evêque d'Edesse: 2. Pour confirmer les 4 premières Conciles Généraux, et particulièrement celui de Calcédoine que les *Acéphales* contes-toient." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* 1774, (Tab. Chron.) p. cxxxiii.

who still persisted in maintaining those three impious chapters, he had convened them that they might declare their joint opinion. Pope Vigilius," he said, "had condemned those chapters several times, as also Rusticus, and Sebastian, who had once defended them;" and he concluded with saying, that "they who deferred giving their opinion would be considered as renouncing the profession of the truth, and that they who should answer most readily would be most agreeable to God." This speech was a sufficient indication of the disposition of the emperor, if it had not been known before; and therefore judging from the history of former councils, it was easy to foresee what would be the issue of this.

The Pope, though then in Constantinople, and also some bishops of Illyricum, declined attending this council, alleging that there were too few bishops from the West, and said that they would give their opinions separately afterwards. The Eastern bishops, therefore, sat without them.

At the first session some writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia were read, as particularly objectionable, and it must be acknowledged that they savour strongly, not only of Nestorianism, but of downright Unitarianism. In them it was advanced, that "when Thomas said, *My Lord and my God*, he did not mean Christ, but God the Father, whom he praised for raising up Christ; that persons are baptized into the name of Christ, as the Israelites were into that of Moses; that Christ being the image of God, is to be honoured as the image of a prince is honoured; that he is the adopted son of God, as other persons are; that the 21st and 68th Psalms did not refer to Christ, but to David, and that the angels attended upon Christ as the friend of God." On the bare recital of those passages, without any discussion of them, all the bishops cried out aloud "*Anathema to Theodore and his writings*. This is contrary to the church, contrary to the faith, this is impiety. One Theodore, one Judas."

They prefaced this decree of condemnation with observing, that, since the followers of Nestorius supported their impiety by the authority of these three chapters, they were assembled to prevent that abuse, "by the will of God, and the command of the emperor." In fine, they condemned all the three chapters in the strongest terms, anathematizing the writers of them, and all their defenders. No person appeared in defence of any of the three chapters, or opposed Theodore of Cæsarea in any thing, so that the decree of this council cannot be considered as any thing else than the act of the

emperor. This council began its sittings on the 4th of May, and ended the 2nd of June the same year.

After the first day's session, the Pope gave his opinion, in a writing, entitled *Constitutum*, addressed to the emperor, in which he joined the bishops of the council in their condemnation of the writings of Theodore, but not in that of his person, as being dead, which he maintained to be contrary to the custom of the church. He observed the same distinction with respect to Theodoret and Ibas. Sixteen bishops subscribed this writing of the Pope, and also three deacons of the church of Rome. But the emperor was so much offended at this conduct of the Pope, that he ordered his name to be struck out of the *diptychs* of the church of Constantinople, observing, however, that he preserved his union with the apostolic see.

The Pope had not the firmness to continue his opposition, but being borne down by the violence of the court, he acknowledged that he had done wrong in absenting himself from the council; and he even signed his condemnation of the writers of the three chapters, and the defenders of them, as well as of the writings themselves; retracting whatever he had ever said or done in their defence.* Having done this to-gratify the emperor, he obtained of him, in return, a large constitution in favour of Italy, confirming all the donations that had been made to the church of Rome, by Alaric and others.

The reception this council met with shews in what light such assemblies of bishops were considered, for it was of the same extent as the authority of the emperor, who directed its proceedings. It was received by all the bishops of the East, except Alexander of Abyla, who for his contumacy was deposed. But in the West, which was farther removed from the seat of power, many openly rejected this council, thinking that its decrees affected those of the Council of Chalcedon, and the variations in the opinion of the Pope contributed not a little to weaken his authority in this case. This diversity of opinion in the West occasioned a schism which continued more than a hundred years. The deacon Rusticus even wrote against the decrees of this council, and for this he was banished to Thebais. Thither he was accompanied by several persons from Africa, where, as we have seen, many had entertained sentiments unfavourable to this

* "By the interest of *Narses*, he got leave to return to Rome, and, in the way died of the stone, in Sicily." *Hist. of Pop.* l. p. 46.

council. Facundus, persisting in his defence of the three chapters, was also banished. There were other schismatics in Gaul, in Illyricum, and in Ireland.

Pope Pelagius,* who succeeded Vigilius, punished the schismatics of Italy by means of Narses, who governed there for the emperor; and it is curious to observe in what manner he thought to escape the charge of *persecution* on this account. Writing to Narses on the subject, he exhorted him not to be moved by the "vain discourses of those who say that the church persecutes, when it only punishes crimes, and seeks the salvation of souls. They only persecute," he says, "who compel to do what is evil. But schism is an evil, which ought to be repressed by the secular power, and whoever is separated from the apostolic see is unquestionably in schism." He therefore desired him to send all who were refractory to the emperor; for that schismatics ought to be punished, not only with exile, but by confiscation of goods and severe imprisonment. The schismatics, however, were so far from being intimidated by these rigorous proceedings, that they excommunicated even Narses himself.

The bishops of Tuscany were so much dissatisfied with the conduct of the Pope on this occasion, that they struck his name out of the *diptychs* of their churches, which was a virtual excommunication of him. And this spirited conduct of theirs seems to have made some impression on him; for in a letter which he addressed to them on the occasion, he gave a confession of his faith, which he concluded with saying, that "he honoured as catholic, the venerable bishops Theodoret and Ibas." He also sent a confession of his faith, with an account of the controversy, to king Childebert in Gaul.

The bishops of Istria, with Elias, patriarch of Aquileia at their head, being particularly obstinate in this schism, pope Pelagius addressed three letters to them, but it was without effect. Afterwards the exarch compelled the successor of Elias to enter into communion with John of Ravenna, who condemned the three chapters; but the people and the other bishops were so offended at their conduct, that they con-

* "Chosen *anno* 579, without the Emperor's command, because the city being then straitly besieged by the Lombards, none could pass over to desire it, and therefore afterwards a deacon was sent to Constantinople, to compliment and crave the Emperor's pardon for that enforced omission." *Platina* adds, "Nil enim à Clero in eligendo Pontifice tum actum erat, nisi ejus electionem Imperator approbasset. This custom continued to be observed till near the year 700." *Hist. of Pop. I.* pp. 46, 47.

sidered them as apostates. The schism in Istria continued to the time of Gregory the Great. This Pope, who took great pains to put an end to it, held a council at Rome, for the purpose, in A. D. 591, and particularly invited the bishop of Aquileia to attend it. But the bishops of the province held a separate council, when they wrote to the emperor, referring themselves to his judgment, but refusing that of the Pope, as a party in the cause. Maurice was then emperor, and he was so much moved by this letter, that he entreated the Pope not to give them any molestation till Italy should be at peace. Some persons, however, in Istria, abandoned the schism, and Gregory wrote in their favour to the exarch, and the bishop of Ravenna, to prevent their suffering in consequence of it; which implies that the country in general were favourers of this schism.

Theodelinda, wife of Agilulf, king of the Lombards, in Italy, was so zealous in favour of the three chapters, that because Constantius, bishop of Milan, did not expressly take the same part, she separated from his communion, and three of his bishops joined her in it. Pope Gregory, writing to her on this question, and merely mentioning the *fifth general council*, which had condemned the three chapters, Constantius did not even think proper to present the letter; and in consequence the Pope wrote another letter, in which he made no mention at all of it; so far did this great Pope think it necessary to temporize in this business. Farther than this, when the bishops and citizens of Brescia required Constantius to declare that he had never condemned the three chapters, the Pope advised him to do what his predecessors had done before him, and abide by it; but, to satisfy the people, he wished him to declare that he did not deviate from the Council of Chalcedon.

It appears, from the letters of Gregory, that there were schismatics also in Gaul, who withdrew from the communion of the church, on the pretence of adhering to the Council of Chalcedon. Syangrius of Autun, who was sent to Rome to receive the pallium from the Pope, with the recommendation of the king, was of this number.

At length, in A. D. 603, Firmus, bishop of Istria, renounced the schism, and wrote to pope Gregory to acknowledge it, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of Severus, bishop of Grada, to prevent it. Maximus, bishop of Salonæ, renounced the schism in A. D. 599. It appears there were some remains of this schism in the church of Aquileia, in A. D. 606, one of the bishops of that diocese, named John,

being supposed to defend the three chapters. Also Agrestus, who separated from the monks of St. Columban, went into this schism.

SECTION III.

The History of Arianism in this Period.

WE have seen that almost all the barbarous nations bordering on the Roman empire were converted to Christianity by Unitarians or Arians,* especially the latter, when they were sent into banishment by the orthodox emperors. This was the case with the Vandals, who, after traversing Gaul and Spain, seized upon a great part of Africa. Unfortunately these Arians, having been persecuted by the Catholics, became persecutors in their turn. This, at least, appears to have been the case with Genseric, the first king of the Vandals, in Africa, and his successors. For other Arian princes, we shall find, were remarkably tolerant.

Genseric began with forbidding the ordination of any Catholic clergy in the proconsular province, and in Zeugitana, so that from being sixty-four in number, they were, at the end of thirty years, reduced to three. He then obliged the Catholic clergy to deliver up their sacred vessels, and their books. He also allowed none but Arians to attend upon himself, or any of his children, and at length he shut up the Catholic church at Carthage, and banished the clergy: for at that time there was no bishop of the place.

This prince, dying in A.D. 477, was succeeded by his son Huneric, who at first behaved towards the Catholics with much moderation; but afterwards became a most cruel persecutor of them, and not of them only, but also of the Manichæans, many of whom he caused to be burned, and others banished. The behaviour of the Catholics, however, furnished some excuse for this severity of Huneric. For, the Catholic church of Carthage having been without a bishop twenty-four years, he permitted the ordination of another, at the request of the emperor Zeno, on condition that the Arians in his empire might have the liberty of exercising their religion, than which nothing certainly could be more reasonable. Notwithstanding this, the Catholics replied, that on those terms they chose rather to have no bishops, but leave the government of the church to Jesus

* The latter may justly object to this distinction. Who, indeed, can read the scriptural arguments against a Trinity, by Emlyn and Tomkins, and not consider them as really Unitarians, or asserters of the Divine Unity, as Lardner or Priestley?

Christ. The commissary, however, took no notice of their protest, and Eugenius, who had distinguished himself by his exemplary conduct, particularly by his charities, was appointed bishop, to the great joy of the Catholics, especially the young people, who had never seen any bishop in that see.

Lest any of the Vandals should attend divine service in the Catholic church, it was ordered that no person in any other habit than that of a Roman should be present; and to enforce this order, persons were appointed to attend at the door, who were directed to tear the clothes of, and otherwise abuse, those who attempted to enter, in disobedience to it. In the next place, he took away the pensions of the Catholics who were about the court, and obliged them to perform harvest-work and other laborious services in the country. He then discharged all Catholics from serving in any public office, and banished them to Sicily and Sardinia. He ordered that the goods of the Catholic bishops should be confiscated after their deaths, and that no person should be chosen to succeed them till they had paid a large fine. But apprehending that the Arian bishops in Thrace, and other places, would be treated in the same manner, he revoked this order. At length, however, he banished all the Catholic bishops to the number of 466, without any regard to the age or the infirmities of many of them. Those who either would not, or could not go, he ordered to be sent into the desert; and previous to this they were all assembled at Sicca and Lasæa, and put into a close prison, where they were subjected to the most distressing and disgusting inconveniencies. After this they were driven, like so many beasts, into the desert, where they had for some time an allowance of barley, but it was afterwards withdrawn.

At length, in A. D. 483, the king sent notice to the bishop Eugenius, that finding that many, contrary to his order, had celebrated the Lord's supper in the country possessed by the Vandals, to their seduction, with the consent of his own bishops, he ordered him to prepare for a public disputation on the subject of their differences. The Catholics, foreseeing that this measure was only a prelude to some farther persecution, wished to decline it, but proposed that, if it should take place, they might be assisted by the Catholic bishops of other countries. To this the king paid no regard; but, on the contrary, he took occasion to banish several of the most learned of the Catholic bishops in Africa.

On the first of February, the day appointed for the con-

ference, ten persons were chosen on each side to conduct it. Various difficulties arising, the Catholics gave in a confession of their faith, with the reasons on which it was founded. This was on the 20th of April. But instead of any other answer, the king, after complaining of their behaviour, made an order that every thing belonging to the churches of the Catholics, or to the bishops, should be given to the Arian clergy. He gave them till the first of June to make their submission, and after that he banished them from Carthage, stripped of every thing belonging to them, and with a prohibition, to every body, to supply them with necessaries. In this distress they applied to the king in person; but instead of giving any attention to them, he ordered his horsemen to disperse them, and several old and infirm people were wounded. After this they were ordered to meet some commissioners from the king, who informed them that, if they would take an oath to maintain the succession of the next heir to the crown, and not write to their friends in other countries, they should have their churches and houses restored to them. For, having been in power, it was highly probable that they had corresponded with the popes, and the emperors, in order to bring about a revolution, and of course a change in their favour. Those, however, who took this oath were sent into the country to cultivate the ground like slaves, and the rest were banished to Corsica, to cut wood for ship-building. The persecution then became avowed, and general; and it was conducted with all the cruelty with which the Heathens had acted towards the Christians, neither age nor sex being spared. It is to be observed, however, that we have no account of this persecution except from the Catholics.

Among those who were banished on this occasion, was Vigilus of Thapsus, who wrote many things in the name of Athanasius, and others of the Christian fathers, on account, as he alleged, of his situation, not daring to write in his own name. Those writings of his, under borrowed names, long passed for the production of an earlier age, especially the famous *creed* which he ascribed to Athanasius, and which still bears his name. Vigilus, however, going to Constantinople, wrote in his own name against Eutychanism.

Among other barbarities exercised on those African Catholics, the king ordered the tongues of some of them to be cut out. But it is said that, notwithstanding this, they continued to speak as well as ever. Victor of Vita, who relates this, says, "If any person will not believe this, let him go to Constantinople, where he may see one of them, Reparatus,

a subdeacon, who now speaks without difficulty, and who is on this account held in great honour by the emperor Zeno."

Considering the many miraculous circumstances, evidently fabulous, that are inserted into the account of this persecution, this particular circumstance would not be entitled to any credit, had not a Platonic philosopher, Æneas of Gaza, said that he himself had seen these martyrs, and heard them speak; and that he wondered not only that they should be able to speak, but even to live. This, however, must be an exaggeration; for if they had had no part of the tongue left, they could not have had the power of swallowing, and therefore without a constant miracle must have died; and as this philosopher did not see them till long after the operation, they might have acquired some power of articulation with a very little tongue. The narrative adds, that two of these confessors having had to do with a common prostitute, lost the power of speaking; and that one of them, who had never spoken from his birth, even when he had a tongue, began to speak after it was cut out. Such an account as this certainly does not add to the credibility of the story.*

I have omitted the mention of many improbable circumstances in the relation of this persecution; but I shall notice one, as, like the rest, it may shew us in what light other particulars in the narrative may be considered. Seven monks were ordered to be put into a vessel filled with small dry wood, to which fire was to be set when they were at sea. But it was found impossible to fire this wood. The king, it is said, seeing this, and being in a rage at it, ordered their heads to be broken with a bar of iron, and their bodies to be thrown into the sea.

After so evident a miracle in favour of those martyrs, it is not to be believed that even a heathen persecutor would

* Since the account of the Catholic confessors in Africa, speaking after their tongues were cut out, was printed, I have met with an account of a young woman in Suffolk (recorded in *Martyn's Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions*, IX. p. 126) who spoke articulately without any tongue at all. It is related by Mr. Boddington, of Ipswich, a Turkey merchant, who says he had prevailed upon Mr. Notcutt, "a minister, a learned and curious gentleman, and Mr. Hammod, who perfectly understood anatomy," to accompany him to the place where she lived; and they all attest as follows, viz. that she informed them, that when she was four years old, she lost the greatest part of her tongue by a cancer; but that when, after a medical application, the remainder of it dropped out, she immediately said to her mother, "Do not be frightened: it will grow again." She was then more than twenty years old, and, examining her mouth, they found neither tongue nor uvula; and yet she discoursed as fluently as other persons, though she sometimes pronounced words ending in *ath* as *at*, *end* as *emb*, and *ad* as *eib*. A more particular account of this extraordinary case, and of others of a similar nature, may be seen in the place above mentioned. (P.) Addition at the end of the History.

have persisted in his purpose. Had Jesus actually descended from the cross, and presented himself before the Jewish rulers, they surely would not have made any other attempt on his life.

A famine and a plague with which Africa was afflicted was considered as a divine judgment on account of this persecution, and so was the death of Huneric, in A. D. 485, his body being eaten of worms, and falling in pieces; which, it is something remarkable, was the case of several other persecutors. The emperor Zeno sent an embassy to Huneric on the subject of this persecution, but without any good effect.

This persecution ceased on the succession of Gontamond. He recalled from exile Eugenius, bishop of Carthage. In the third year of his reign he restored to the Catholics of that city the burying-ground of St. Agileus, and in his tenth year he allowed the opening of all their churches. His brother Trasamond, who succeeded him in A. D. 496, endeavoured to gain the Catholics by rewards; but this not answering his purpose, he forbade the election of bishops to their vacant sees. Little regard, however, was paid to this order; and among others Fulgentius was ordained bishop of Ruspé, but he was immediately banished to Sardinia. After this the king sent for him, and proposed to him some difficulties, and though he gave the king no satisfaction, the Catholics of Carthage triumphed not a little on the occasion. The king sending him other queries, he answered them in a treatise which is still extant. After this he was remanded to the place of his exile.

On the death of Trasamond in A. D. 523, his successor, Hulderic, recalled all the Catholic bishops, and permitted them to open their churches. They were received with great joy by their Catholic friends, and especially Fulgentius.

The Catholics had little reason to complain of persecution, to which they were always sufficiently inclined themselves; and when the Donatists recovered their liberty under the Vandals, it gave them great offence. The emperor Justin having ordered all their churches to be taken from the Arians, Theodoric, king of Italy, threatened to treat the Catholics in the same manner, and obliged the Pope, who was his subject, to go in person to the emperor, at Constantinople, to get the order revoked, which he did, and succeeded.

On this occasion, as well as on many others, religion was too often made a pretence for political measures. Clovis, king of France, made war on Alaric, a Gothic king in Spain,

with a view, as he said, to extirpate Arianism, but no doubt to enlarge his dominions.

The Vandal princes were not, however, the only Arian persecutors of the Catholics. Evaric, the Gothic king of Spain, persecuted them, forbidding to ordain any bishops in the place of those who were deceased. He also banished some of them, so that many of their churches went to ruin. Levigild, king of the Visigoths in Spain, was exceedingly provoked that his son Hermenigild was made a Catholic by his wife. He banished, and put to death, many Catholics; and at length proceeded to this extremity with his son, after promising him his life, but without effect, if he would consent to receive the communion at the hands of an Arian bishop. He also persecuted the Suevi, who inhabited Galicia, on their becoming Catholics. Afterwards he repented of the murder of his son, whom he did not long survive, and even became a Catholic himself. He durst not, however, acknowledge it, for fear of his subjects. But his son and successor Ricared, openly avowed himself a Catholic, and the conversion of the whole nation followed soon after. Thus ended the reign of Arianism in Spain.

Ricared became a Catholic, held a council at Toledo in A. D. 589, in which the king and all the bishops solemnly abjured all heresy, acknowledging the authority of all the general councils, and expressly rejecting the decrees of a former council held at the same place, and that at Rimini in Italy. And whereas the Arian bishops had been married, this was on this occasion forbidden to the Catholics. At a council held at Narbonne in Gaul, where were several of the same bishops who attended this council of Toledo, it was ordered that, after the recitation of every psalm in the public worship, the *gloria Patri*, &c. should be sung, as a profession of faith, against Arianism. This was universally adopted by the Catholics, and it is in the liturgy of the church of England to this day.

In general it is acknowledged that the Arian princes were tolerant. Odoacer shewed the Catholics of Italy all possible indulgence, and so did Theodoric after him. Had he been a Catholic himself, he could not have behaved to the bishops and clergy of Rome with more equity and generosity. Also, while Trasamond was persecuting the Catholics in Africa, Alaric, king of the Visigoths in Spain, though an Arian, treated them with the greatest humanity.

It is remarkable that, though all the nations that conquered, and settled, in the Roman empire, were at that time

Arians, they all afterwards, chiefly by the influence of the popes, became Catholics; and it is no less remarkable, that in many of the cases women were the chief instruments in effecting the change.

In A. D. 516, Gondebold, the Arian king of the Burgundians, was succeeded by his son Sigismund, and he was converted to the Catholic faith by Avitus, bishop of Vienne. In A. D. 562, the Suevi of Spain became Catholics. In A. D. 591, Theodelinda, the wife of Agiluf, king of the Lombards in Italy, converted her husband; and eventually all Lombardy became Catholic.

Though these northern conquerors are in general called Arians, by historians, it is evident that there were many proper Unitarians among them; and for any thing that certainly appears, the majority may have been such. Of the Burgundians, whom St. Patient took much pains to bring over to the Catholic faith, it is expressly said that they were *Photinians*. Also Chilperic, king of the Franks, was a Sabellian. This prince made an order that, instead of the term *trinity*, the word *God*, without any hint of distinction of persons, should be used. But being opposed by Gregory of Tours, and other bishops, he dropped that design.

When these kings found it convenient to become Catholics, the people did not always follow their example; and when we consider the sensible reasoning of the Arians on the subject, we cannot but be satisfied that the conversions were not the effect of argument. When Avitus addressed Gondebold, king of the Burgundians, and exhorted him to return, as he said, "to the law of God," and that then he would have peace with all his enemies, he replied, "Because I will not acknowledge three Gods, you say I will not acknowledge the law of God. I never read in the Scriptures that there are more gods than one." When he afterwards became a Catholic, he durst not make open profession of his faith, though urged to it by Avitus, for fear of his people, who were still zealous Arians.

SECTION IV.

The History of the Monks in this Period.

WE have seen in former periods of this history what deep root the principles of the monkish system had taken in the minds of the generality of Christians.* Unfortunately, they

* See Vol. VIII. pp. 194—198, 376. Also Vol. V. p. 388.

had learned of the Heathens that they were to recommend themselves to the Deity by austerity, and abstract contemplation ; and that by these methods they attained the highest pitch of excellence to which human nature could arrive, every other attainment being of far inferior value. On those principles many thousand persons, in all Christian countries, had secluded themselves from the world, and consequently from all the duties of social life, to employ themselves in prayer and meditation, and in circumstances in which life could barely be supported ; thinking that the soul was elevated and refined by the mortification of the body.

But hitherto this business had not been reduced to any uniform plan. They who adopted the monkish life, though they retired from the world, mixed with it again whenever they thought proper, and voluntarily conformed to whatever mode of living they most approved, and these were very various. This continued to be the case in the East ; but in the West we now find a more regular system adopted, the monks binding themselves by solemn oaths to devote their whole lives to their profession, to conform to a system of rules, and to obey a superior. In consequence, too, of the monks forming themselves into more regular bodies, under a few heads, we shall find them acquire more influence, and gradually obtaining exemptions from the authority of the bishops in whose dioceses they lived, though as yet this was little compared to what they obtained in later periods.

This change in the affairs of the monks was made by *Benedict*, and his rules being universally adopted in the West, it may be proper to give some account of the man, and his previous history.

Benedict was born in A.D. 480, of a good family, at Nursia in Italy, and educated at Rome. Being offended at the wickedness of the times, he passed three years in retirement, unknown to any person, except one *Romanus*, who supplied him with victuals, while he lived in a cavern in a rock. By degrees, however, he became known to the neighbours, who supplied his wants, and received his instructions. His fame extending itself, many persons put themselves under his conduct ; and for some time he undertook the charge of a monastery at Vicovarro. But the monks not liking his severe discipline, he left them, and went back to his former retirement. Becoming more and more distinguished, he built twelve monasteries, each consisting of twelve monks and a superior. At length, however, giving way to the envy of a priest, whose name was *Florentius*, he abandoned all his

monasteries, and removing from place to place, came at last to mount Cassin, in the country of the ancient Samnites, on the declivity of which there was a small town. Here he demolished an ancient temple of Apollo, to whom the people then offered sacrifices, and built two oratories, one to St. Martin, and the other to St. John; and in A. D. 529 he founded there the monastery which was afterwards so famous. The following is an abstract of Benedict's principal rules.

He had fixed times for public prayers, and they varied with the seasons of the year. One of these times was in the night, as well as early in the morning. At these meetings for prayer the psalter was recited every week, which he thought very moderate, as he said their fathers repeated the whole every day, with fervour. After these public prayers, each monk prayed by himself, and the time that was not spent in prayer was employed in working or reading; and he ordered that there should be seven hours for working, and two for reading, every day. If the harvest required it, they worked more hours. The work was not, however, left to their choice, but was enjoined by the superior; and from the nature of this work it appears that the majority of Benedict's monks were artisans; and those of better condition among them were required to employ themselves as the rest did.

With respect to their diet, they were not allowed either flesh meat or fish, but they were not forbidden a moderate use of wine. They all performed the servile offices of the family, such as preparing the victuals, in their turns. Their dress was that of the poorer people of the country, without any regard to the colour or length of their garments; but they had them out of a common stock at the discretion of the superior.

All the monks slept in separate beds, ten or twenty in the same room, or dormitory, in each of which was one elderly person to observe the conduct of the rest; and that they might always be able to attend the public prayers, they slept in their clothes. No speaking was allowed in the dormitory, and but little in the course of the day. Nothing of recreation is mentioned in Benedict's institute; but after supper, while the rest of the monks were seated, one person read to them in the lives of the saints, or some other book of edification. These original Benedictines were all, of the laity, Benedict himself not being in orders, though he preached. If any priest joined them, he was to be subject to the same

rules with the other monks, except that he was seated next to the abbot. They received the communion only on Sundays. They had no occasion to learn Latin, as that was still the vulgar tongue in Italy.

If any monk went out of the monastery, which could not be done without leave from the abbot, he was forbidden to speak of any thing that was transacted within it.

Strangers were received into the monastery, and treated with great hospitality; and for this purpose the abbot had a table separate from that of the monks.

The abbot was chosen by the monks, though sometimes the neighbouring bishops interfered, to prevent an improper choice; and when he was chosen, he was ordained by the bishop of the diocese. He might consult with the monks, but all the power was in his own hands. Under the abbot was a prior, and several deans, each having the inspection of ten monks. These were appointed by the abbot, and were not independent of him, as in other monasteries. There were also other officers, as in other great families.

A novice was not received till after a year's probation, and upon admission he surrendered every thing that he was worth, to the monastery, or to the poor.

These rules were so much approved, that they were adopted by all the monks of the West. As the religious life of Benedict began, so it ended, with the superstition of the times. When he found himself on the point of death, he caused himself to be carried into the church, and expired there.* There were in these, and especially in later times, many other examples of this superstition.

Among those who distinguished themselves as founders of monasteries in this period, were J. Gildas of Scotland, and S. Columban from Ireland. Gildas was born A. D. 484, and preached in the northern parts of Great Britain, then in Ireland, whence he passed into Gaul, where he established himself near the city of Vannes, and built the monastery which still bears his name, and of which in after times the famous Abelard was abbot.

Columban went from Ireland to preach to the northern Picts, but before this, he erected a monastery at Dermach,

* In 543. For the ridiculous attempts to swell the *Chronicle* of the order of *Benedictines*, whose eminent learning is however generally acknowledged, see *Benoit and Cajetan* (Constantine). *Nouv. Dict.* I. p. 372, II. p. 6. Cajetan was so much disposed to transfer eminent men from other orders to his own, that it was said he would certainly make Peter himself a Benedictine. "Le Cardinal Cobellucci disoit, au sujet de ce *voleur* de Saints, qu'il craignoit que *Cajetan* ne transformât bientôt *St. Pierre* en *Bénédictin*." *Ibid.*

which became very famous, and another of still greater celebrity at Ily or Iler, in the north of Ireland. In these monasteries Easter was not celebrated in the manner of the church of Rome. He lived thirty-four years after he left Ireland, and died A. D. 598.*

St. Gal, the companion of Columban, established a monastery, which was called after his name, in Swisserland, and was afterwards very famous. The abbots of it erected it into a sovereignty, which continues to this day, and it is confederated with the Swiss cantons.†

The most distinguished of the monks in the East in this period was Sabas, the great and active supporter of the Catholic faith. He founded several monasteries in Palestine, the rules of which he left in writing. He was famous for his austerities and his miracles; but the truth of them is rendered suspicious by the manner in which they are recorded by his panegyrist St. Cyril, who wrote his life.‡

The first monastery for women, called in English *nunnery*, was founded in this period by queen Radegonda, at Poitiers. She made her sister Agnes the abbess, and the institution was confirmed at the second council of Tours, A. D. 567, when an anathema was pronounced against any who should leave the monastery, or those who should marry any of the women who entered it. Before this, many young women had made vows of chastity, but they had lived with their parents, attended public worship in the churches, and even received visitors, only distinguishing themselves by a veil, which was given them by the bishop of the place.§

Fleury, in his observations on the state of monkery in this period, in which the monks worked, but did not beg, when they were subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, and did not make a distinct order of men, says that "their life was the model of Christian perfection."|| This shews how far his ideas were from the genuine standard of Christianity. No doubt much more reasonable maxims prevailed in this period than such as were adopted in later, and more corrupt times. In all the monasteries the article of labour was more or less attended to. At the second council of Seville, A. D. 619, the monks were enjoined to work six hours in the day, and to read three. Their work was for their own subsistence, as well as for the poor. It

* In Italy. *Rapin*, L. ii. *Etat de l'Eglise*, I. p. 145. *Nouv. Dict.* II. p. 257.

† *Sueur*, "Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire," 1730, A. D. 612. (P.)

‡ Ibid. A. D. 530. (P.) See *supra*, p. 28. § *Sueur*, A. D. 567. (P.)

|| *Hist.* VIII. p. 6. (P.)

was chiefly, however, in the garden, while the slaves were employed in the more laborious works of husbandry and building, &c.

It is evident from the accounts we have of the discipline of monasteries in this period, that there were great disorders in many of them, many persons being admitted who were by no means prepared for that mode of life. To correct these disorders, recourse was had to corporal punishment; and among other punishments that of flagellation seems to have been most common. In the rule of St. Columban, the usual discipline was six strokes of the whip for light offences, and for others, in proportion, as far as two hundred, though never more than twenty-five at one time. Sometimes the monks were enjoined silence, or extraordinary fasting, but very frequently the repetition of certain psalms.

Some care, however, was taken to prevent the introduction of improper persons into monasteries, and more especially nunneries. At the Council of Agde, in A. D. 506, women were forbidden to take the veil, under forty years of age. The emperor Maurice made a law forbidding soldiers to become monks, probably supposing that it usually arose from a desire to change a laborious and hazardous life for an idle and secure one. But pope Gregory did not approve of the regulation. Writing to him on the subject, he says that "by that means he would shut the gates of heaven to many persons; for that numbers could not be saved without quitting the world altogether." This shews how prevalent were false rules of Christian duty in this period.

The number of monks we have seen to have been very great, in the preceding periods of this history, but from the increasing superstition, and the increasing violence of the times, which led many to retire from the world, their numbers were more considerable in this. Mention is made of not less than three thousand and five hundred in two *lauras*, or places appendant to monasteries, at Scetis.* And it appears from the letters of pope Gregory, that in A. D. 599, there were near three thousand monks in Rome only.

Sacred as monasteries were generally considered in these times, they often suffered greatly from the depredations of their neighbours, especially of the Heathens. The monasteries of the East were laid waste in the Persian war, in the time of Heraclius, and in A. D. 577 the monastery at mount Cassin was plundered, and broken up by the Lombards. As

* *Fleury*, VIII. p. 243. (P.)

monasteries became wealthy, they were often too tempting an object to Christian princes and lords in those times. On this subject we shall find many complaints in the subsequent periods of this history.

Though M. Fleury praises the state of monkery in this period, from the monks not being exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, it was only so in general. In A. D. 599, at the request of the patriarch Theodore, who resigned the church of Constantinople, the monastery to which he retired was exempted from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, except that of the church of Constantinople. In the third council of Arles, A. D. 461, assembled to determine a dispute between the bishop of the diocese and the monastery of Lerins, it was settled that the clergy and ministers of the altar should be ordained by the bishop, but that the laity of the monastery should not be subject to any jurisdiction besides that of the abbot.

Monks, and especially those of the clerical order, were not so strictly confined to their monasteries in this period but that, at the call of the prince, they would quit them. For we read that Clothaire demanded of his bishop Sulpicius to do the duty of abbé in his army, which implies that monks were usually employed by him there.

That, in general, monasteries were well conducted in this period, and favourable to such kind of piety as was held in veneration at this time, I have no doubt. But these places of retreat from the world, did not even then exclude ambition, and even such as prompted to gross violence, especially when persons of rank were members of them. This is evident from the following account given by Fleury from Gregory of Tours.

Chrodieude, daughter of king Cherebert, was member of the monastery of the holy cross in Poitiers, when Lebouere was abbess. In order to drive her from the place, and become abbess herself, she engaged in her interest her cousin Basire, daughter of king Chilperic, and left the monastery with forty other nuns, notwithstanding the endeavours of bishop Merowee to detain them. The complaint they made was, that they were not treated as became the daughters of kings, but as slaves; and they likewise accused their abbess of several crimes. Having quitted the monastery, they travelled on foot in the month of February, in A. D. 589, and in very bad weather. They were, however, persuaded to wait till the next summer at Tours, where they arrived the first of March. Then applying to king Gontram, he

appointed an assembly of bishops to judge of the affair. They not coming, Chrodielde and her companions returned to Poitiers, and assembling a company of robbers and debauched people, fortified themselves in the church of St. Hilary, and declared they would not return to the nunnery till the abbess was expelled. So far were they from paying any regard to the remonstrances of the bishops in the neighbourhood, who pronounced a sentence of excommunication against them, that the banditti, entering the church in which they were assembled, knocked them down on the pavement, and broke the heads of some other clergymen who were present on the occasion; so that they were obliged to fly as well as they could.

After this Chrodielde seized upon the lands of the monastery, threatening that if she could get into the place, she would throw the abbess over the wall. The rigour of the next winter obliged these rebellious nuns to separate, when Chrodielde and Basire quarrelled, the latter saying that she was a princess as well as herself.

The year following, in A. D. 590, Chrodielde, always surrounded with her troop of banditti, ordered them to enter the monastery by night and drag the abbess out. She, having the gout, could only get herself conveyed into the church, and thither the banditti followed her with torches and arms; but some friends of the abbess extinguishing the torches, they could not find her. The next morning, however, they seized her, and put her in prison; and the night following they plundered the monastery, leaving nothing that they could carry away.

Being again threatened by the bishops, Chrodielde again assembled her banditti, and ordered them to kill the abbess if any attempt should be made to rescue her by force. However, she was rescued, and took refuge in the church of St. Hilary. But the sedition continued, and some murders were committed even before the shrine of the holy cross.

At length, by the interference of the princes, these banditti were overpowered, and brought to punishment, some having their hands cut off, and others their noses. And the bishops being once more assembled on this occasion, all the complaints of Chrodielde and Basire were declared to be groundless. Yet when they were ordered to make their submission, and were threatened with excommunication till they should do it, they haughtily refused, and still threatened to kill the abbess. The bishops, therefore, pronounced the sentence of excommunication. This measure had, at length,

the desired effect ; for both these ladies made their submission at the Council of Metz, and obtained absolution. This history will serve to give some idea of the disorders of those times, with respect to civil as well as religious matters.

Austerity being now considered as essential to Christian perfection, several persons went far beyond the monks in this respect ; and as a view of the extravagancies of the human mind has its use, I shall in this place relate some instances of it that occurred in this period ; observing, however, that I do not vouch for the literal truth of every part of the narrative, though seemingly pretty well attested, considering that the accounts are from friends.

The most ancient of these lovers of mortification, that I shall mention, is James, the Syrian. He lived on a mountain, at a small distance from the city of Cyr, well known by Theodoret having been bishop of that place. He passed all his time in the open air, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, sometimes burning in the sun, and sometimes found buried under the snow. Under his clothes he had heavy chains of iron. He did not make use of fire, even to dress his victuals, which were only pulse and water.

Another was Baradat, who, after living some time in a hut, ascended a rock, where he shut himself up in a kind of box, in which he could just stand upright, but exposed to the weather. Afterwards he lived in the open air, with his hands continually stretched towards heaven, and so covered with a skin, that only his eyes and nose were visible.

But the most celebrated person in this way was Simeon, surnamed the Stylite, of whom a slight mention was made in the preceding part of this work,* and who got that appellation from living on a pillar at a considerable distance from the ground. After living two years in one monastery, and ten in another, where he went beyond all his companions in his austerities, eating only twice a week, and distinguished by other mortifications, some of which are without the bounds of credibility, especially his pretended fast of forty days, in imitation of Moses and Christ, (which it is, however, said that he repeated every year for twenty years together,) he went to pass his whole time upon a pillar, at first six feet high, eating only once a week, and not at all during lent. He had no covering but a skin, which reached to his feet. Here he was much resorted to, and even by the

* See Vol. VIII. pp. 549, 560.

emperors Marcian and Leo, and by the king of Persia. Thus he lived thirty-six years on columns of different altitudes, the last of which was thirty-six cubits high, and died in A. D. 462, at the age of sixty-nine.

After the death of this Simeon, who properly comes within the former period of this history, one Daniel undertook to follow his example. He was born near Samosata, and at the age of twelve years retired to a neighbouring monastery. But accompanying his brother in a journey to Antioch, he saw Simeon on his pillar; and being permitted to go up to him, he received his benediction. On *his* death, he fixed himself on a similar pillar at Anaplis, near the mouth of the Euxine sea. The situation of this place, subject to severe storms of wind and rain, made his mode of life a harder discipline than that of his predecessor. One winter he was nearly carried away by the wind. It stripped him of his clothes, and he remained almost dead with cold. Notwithstanding this, he lived in this manner to the age of eighty. In this situation he was ordained a priest by Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, who went up to him on his pillar to give him the communion. The emperor Leo often visited him, and shewed him great respect. He even built a monastery for his disciples near to his pillar, and a place to receive those who came to visit him, and also an oratory in which to deposit the remains of Simeon, which Daniel had got translated from Antioch. Gubar, king of the Lazi, having come to renew his alliance with the Romans, the emperor took him to Daniel, as the most extraordinary person in his empire, when the king prostrated himself with tears before the column, and the Stylite was made arbitrator of the terms of the treaty. This prince never afterwards sent any message to Constantinople, but he desired the prayers of Daniel.

Near Egina, in Cilicia, there were two Stylites, one a Catholic, and the other a Severian, and one Valsiliac lived upon a pillar for some time near Treves, in Gaul; but so severely did he suffer from the cold, that several times his nails fell off. At length, however, he was persuaded by the bishops of the neighbourhood to come down from his pillar, and live in a monastery with his disciples below. This was the only example of *Stylitism* in the West.

Some monasteries, however, in this period, were sufficiently severe in their discipline. The nuns of *La Baumé*, in France, were so strictly confined, that they never went out but into the church-yard; and though any of them had a son or a brother in the monastery at Lauconne, which was very

near to them, they never saw them, nor heard any thing more of them than if they had been dead.

Aurelian, who founded a monastery at Arles, in A. D. 548, ordered that his monks should never go out of the monastery, or receive any laymen, except in the parlour. Women they could never see at all. They were not even allowed to speak to one another in private. The eating of flesh was forbidden, but fowls were allowed to the sick, and fish to all on certain days. Here we first find, says Fleury, a distinction between the flesh of fowls and grosser meat.

SECTION V.

Of the State of Heathenism, Judaism, and various Sects of Christians in this Period.

THOUGH the emperors had now for a long time been Christians, there were many remains of Paganism within the bounds of the Roman empire, as appears by the laws and regulations that were made to suppress them. Cæsarius preaching against the vices of the times, A. D. 506, particularly enlarges on the observance of auguries, the honours paid to trees and fountains, and other remains of Paganism. These things were also forbidden by the fourth Council of Orleans, A. D. 541. Also several Pagan customs having been kept up on the Christian festivals, which had been instituted to take place of them, they were forbidden by the Council of Tours, A. D. 566, as they also were at the Council of Toledo, A. D. 589.

The opposition which the Jews had made to the propagation of Christianity was never forgotten or forgiven; and the Christians now having the power, cruelly retaliated upon them, though there were some instances in which the Jews still exerted what power they had, in the persecution of Christians. In A. D. 522, Dunaan, a Jewish prince of the Homerites, cruelly persecuted the Christians in his dominions; and on taking the place, the inhabitants of which were all Christians, he burned all the monks and nuns. But the year following he was attacked by Elesbaan, a Christian king of Ethiopia, assisted by the Greek emperor, when he was taken and put to death, together with his principal relations. In A. D. 610, the Jews made a tumult at Antioch, and killed the patriarch Anastasius.

But the severities exercised upon the Jews were far more numerous than those that were exercised by them, and both

the Romans, and the barbarian Christians, were equally hostile to them. The emperor Heraclius drove all the Jews from Jerusalem, and ordered them not to approach within three miles of it. In A. D. 556, St. Ferreol drove from the city of Uzes, and all the diocese, the Jews who would not become Christians. At the Council of Toledo, A. D. 589, Jews were excluded from all public offices, forbidden to have Christian slaves, or to marry Christian women. Sisebat, king of the Visigoths, in Spain, is said to have converted all the Jews in his dominions, except such as fled into France, which sufficiently implies that force was used in their conversion. Ricared, another king in Spain, made an ordinance against the Jews; and being offered a great sum by them, in order to obtain the repeal of it, he was commended for his refusal of it by pope Gregory; and yet this Gregory forbade the use of force in the conversion of Jews. In Sicily, however, he promised them a diminution of the rent they paid to the see of Rome if they would become Christians. He acknowledged on this occasion that these conversions might not be very sincere; but he said the children would by this means be baptized, and have a better disposition. In France and other places, force was used in the conversion of the Jews, and they were banished if they refused to be baptized.

But little mention is made of *Unitarians* in the history of this period. But it is evident from the remarkable passage in Facundus, quoted by me in the *History of Early Opinions concerning Christ*,* that they were numerous among the common people in the time of Justinian. They who were called *Bonosians* were Unitarians, and they existed in the time of pope Gregory. This Pope, in giving directions in what manner to receive heretics, says, that if they had been baptized in the name of the Trinity, they should be received without baptism, on their simple profession of the Catholic faith; but that the *Bonosians*, who did not believe that Jesus Christ was God, must be rebaptized.† I have observed before, that though the nations that invaded the Roman empire are generally styled Arians, they were not universally so. For, according to Gregory of Tours, Childebert, king of France, was a Photinian. And Chilperic wrote a treatise in defence of Sabellianism, which he shewed to

* B. iii. Ch. xvi. in Vol. VII.

† Bonosus was bishop of a church in Macedonia. He held the same sentiments with Photinus; and his followers, and those of Photinus, were numerous in Spain. Baronius says, that between the Priscillianists and the Arians the Catholics were a small number, bearing no proportion to the heretics. *Robinson's "Ecclesiastical Researches,"* 1792, p. 213. (P.)

Gregory and other bishops, hoping to have their approbation of it; but not succeeding in this, he suppressed it.*

The Novatians were not yet wholly extinct: for Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, who died A. D. 600, wrote against the Novatians and other heretics.

The Pelagian controversy was never wholly dropped, from the time of Austin to the Reformation. The more rigid doctrines of Austin were always objected to by many persons in Gaul, and a council of bishops joined in the condemnation of them. At a council in Arles, one Lucidus, a priest, was obliged to retract them, particularly the following, viz. that they who perished had not the power to save themselves, that Christ did not die for all, and that God predestinated any person to damnation.

At the Council of Orange, A. D. 528, it was decreed that the sin of Adam affected all his posterity, so that every thing that is good in man comes from the grace of God, and not from nature, but that all who are baptized can, and ought, by the co-operation of Jesus Christ, to accomplish every thing that is necessary to his salvation, and that no person is predestinated to evil, by God. Gennadius, a priest of Marseilles, and a considerable writer, did not approve of the doctrine of Austin concerning grace. Fulgentius distinguished between sin and the punishment of it, with respect to God; saying, that it was the latter only that was predestinated, though the former was foreseen.

Pelagianism flourished much in Dalmatia, and Picennm in Italy, which was opposite to it. There an old man, of the name of Seneca, taught, that there was no such thing as original sin, that infants dying unbaptized would not be damned, and that man, by the use of his own free-will, might be saved. He said that the clergy and monks might live with nuns, having nothing to fear, if they lived innocently. This old man was brought before pope Gelasius, but the arguments of his holiness made no impression upon him.

Notwithstanding all the attempts that had been made by argumentation, and (what had unhappily been often had recourse to) by force, the *Donatists* still continued in Africa. Pope Gregory, writing to a bishop of that country, complains that that sect was much increased, and that they not only rebaptized many Catholics, but recalled bishops from their sees; so that this pope wrote to desire that the laws might

* *Sueur*, A. D. 582: (P.)

be enforced against them. However, the orders of the emperor Maurice to that purpose were ill executed. There were even of the clergy who suffered their children, or slaves, to be rebaptized by them.

Persecution had also failed to exterminate the *Priscillianists*. At a council of Braga, A. D. 563, decrees were made against the remainder of this sect. One of the priests of Gregory of Tours denied the resurrection, which proves that he had embraced their opinions: and by the permission to abstain from flesh and wine, in the rules that Isidore composed for the regulation of his monastery, it appears that there were Priscillianists at that time in the country, and that their prejudices were respected.

That *Eutychianism* was far from being suppressed by the Council of Chalcedon, we have sufficiently seen in a preceding Section, and *Nestorianism* was in some measure revived by those who defended the *three chapters*, though it was peculiarly offensive to the church at Constantinople. In order to vex the emperor Heraclius, Chosroes, king of Persia, compelled all the Christians in his dominions to embrace that sect.

Besides the continuance, or revival, of old sects, in this period, we find one new one, and what was peculiar to it, the founder, as he was called, of it had been long dead. This was that of the *Origenists*; the numerous writings of Origen continuing to be read and admired by many, especially among the monks, who had leisure and a turn for speculation. It was during the reign of Justinian, that the controversy on this subject broke out, the peculiar opinions of Origen being embraced by the monks of Palestine, at the head of whom was Nonnus. This doctrine spreading into many monasteries, complaint was made of it to the emperor, who joined in the condemnation of it. It consisted of six heads, whether justly imputed to Origen or not, viz. "that the Father is greater than the Son, and the Son than the Holy Spirit; that God could create only a certain number of spirits, and a certain quantity of matter; that the souls of men pre-existed, and were confined to bodies for a punishment; that the sun, moon and stars are animated; that, at the resurrection, the human body will be of a round figure; that future punishment will not be eternal, and that even that of the demons will have an end." The patriarch of Constantinople, and the Pope, joined in the condemnation of these and some other errors, especially that of "the pre-existence of the soul of Jesus Christ, that his body was formed in the

womb of the Virgin before its union with the logos, and that in a future age Christ will be crucified for the demons, as he has been for men."

Nonnus and his party were so much offended at this condemnation of the Origenists, that they separated from the communion of the Catholics; and having induced the patriarch to acknowledge that anathemas not agreeable to God were null, they returned to their monasteries. But retaining their zeal for their opinions, they preached publicly; and the controversy between them and their opponents growing warm, they came to blows in the city of Jerusalem, and in the monastery itself; on which occasion one Theodulus, a Catholic, received a wound, of which he died. In the end, all these monks voluntarily or otherwise declared themselves Origenists, and got possession of all the monasteries in the neighbourhood.

After the death of Nonnus, the Origenists were divided into two sects. The chief of one of them was Isidore, and Theodore of Cappadocia, who was powerful at court, was at the head of the other. Isidore finding that he could not resist the power of Theodore, joined himself to Conon, abbot of the *laura* of St. Sabas.

While preparation was making for the council on the subject of the *three chapters*, and when the proper business of that council was concluded, the emperor, having been urged by the deputies of the patriarch of Jerusalem, sent to the bishops an account of the errors of Origen, as maintained by the monks, in which he says, "We exhort you to assemble, and read carefully this account, and to condemn each article of it, with the impious Origen, and all those who shall be of the same sentiment." The bishops, obedient, as usual, to the wishes of the emperor, unanimously condemned Origen and his followers. Theodore of Cæsarea would have prevented this condemnation, but he had lost much of his credit, after the death of the empress Theodora. The monks of the new *laura* of St. Sabas, not approving of this condemnation of Origen, separated from the communion of the church, and in consequence of it were banished from the province.

Gregory, afterwards pope, being at Constantinople, had a dispute with Eutychius, then restored to the church of Constantinople, who, retaining some remains of Origenism, maintained that after the resurrection the body of Christ was *impalpable*. These two prelates not being able to agree, Gregory refrained from communicating with Eutychius. On this the emperor Tiberius summoned them before him, and

thought of burning the book of Eutychius on the subject ; but presently after, the patriarch died. However, as he declared, in dying, that he expected to rise again *in that flesh*, it was supposed that he had changed his opinion.

SECTION VI.

Of the Progress of Christianity in this Period.

CORRUPT as Christianity was now become, it made some progress in this period, but not by the fairest means. The apostles and primitive Christians never addressed themselves in the first instance to princes, but to those persons in the middle classes of life to whom they had the easiest access, and on whom they thought their arguments were likely to have a good effect. But in this period, and ever after, the popes and emperors applied in the first instance to kings, and other persons in power ; and these being gained, fear or interest brought over those who were subject to them.

Justinian persuaded the king of the Heruli, and also a son of the king of the Huns, to embrace Christianity ; but the latter was put to death by his father for it. In one case the resentment of the people against their king operated to produce the same effect. In A. D. 542, the Abages, a people inhabiting near Mount Caucasus, embraced Christianity, because their king used to take beautiful children from their parents, and make them eunuchs, in order to sell them ; and this practice was forbidden by Justinian.

The Axumites, an Ethiopian nation, also embraced the Christian religion,* on their conquering the Homerites, in Arabia, whose king had put to death some Christians who went through his country to trade in Ethiopia.† After this, their king sent to Justinian for clergy to instruct the people ; and he giving them the choice of a bishop, they took John, of the church of Alexandria. Naaman, an Arab chief, was converted to Christianity about the year A. D. 593, but in what manner this was brought about is not said.

The Sardinians were chiefly Pagans in the time of pope Gregory. He ordered, that if any peasant, belonging to the church, should not be converted, he should be taxed so high, that he should be compelled to it.‡

* This conversion was earlier. See Vol. VIII. p. 442.

† See Geddes, "Ch. Hist. of Ethiopia," 1696, p. 15.

‡ This paragraph is probably, like too many in this *Continuation*, misprinted. By unconverted peasants, *belonging to the church*, my author might possibly design *villains*, attached to the lands which the church had already acquired in Sardinia.

St. Amand procured orders from Dagobert, king of the Franks, to compel the people about Ghent to be baptized, which *Fleury* says was the first example of compulsory conversion with respect to the Pagans, though it had been used with respect to the Jews.* This Dagobert ordered all his subjects to be baptized, though pope Gregory had said that all conversions should be voluntary. St. Amand met with much difficulty in his undertaking, being insulted by the women and peasants.

The conversion of the Saxons in England being more interesting to those for whom this history is principally written, I shall dwell a little longer on the circumstances of it. It is said that Gregory, afterwards pope, seeing some handsome slaves exposed to sale at Rome, inquired of what country they were, and being informed that they were from England, he expressed his admiration of their persons, as not *Angli*, but *angeli*, not English, but angels,† and also his concern that a nation so well formed in body should not have their minds enlightened with the knowledge of the gospel, but remain under the power of the devil; and as soon as he had an opportunity, he sent Austin the monk to attempt their conversion.‡ This was in A. D. 595.

Austin and his companions, to the number of about forty,§ landed in the isle of Thanet in A. D. 597, about a century after the arrival of the Saxons in Britain, when they were received by Bertha, the wife of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and daughter of Cherebert, king of France. She being a Christian, had stipulated for the free exercise of her religion, and accordingly had brought with her a bishop of the name of Levidard. The king having received these missionaries in the open air,|| and allowed them to reside in his capital

* *Hist. Ec.* VIII. p. 292. (P.)

† And as they "came from a province of Britain, called *Deira*, he said it was pity a country yielding such lovely creatures should not be delivered à *Dei irâ*, from the wrath of God." *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 52.

‡ Gregory had designed to attempt this conversion 20 years before, on seeing the English slaves, when he was *archdeacon*. But the people of Rome were so attached to him, that they prevailed on the Pope to forbid his departure on such a mission. See *Rapin*, L. iii. *Eglise de Kent*, I. p. 223.

§ "Besides some of the French nation, whom they took along as interpreters." *Milton*, "Hist. of Britain," 1677, B. iv. p. 163. These missionaries had been so alarmed, that Austin was, at first, "sent back, in the name of all, to beseech Gregory they might return home, and not be sent a journey so full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel nation, whose tongue they understood not." *Ibid.* p. 162.

|| "Possessed with an old persuasion, that all spells, if they should use any to deceive him, so it were not within doors, would be unavailable." *Ibid.* p. 163.

"Il s'assit dans un lieu découvert, parce, dit *Bede*, qu'il craignoit quelque sortilège dont il croyoit prévenir les effets par cette precaution." *Rapin*, I. p. 224.

* Austin and his company (says *Bede*, L. i. C. xxv.) marched with a silver cross,

city, which was Canterbury, they entered in a solemn procession. By their strict lives they soon converted many of the inhabitants, and at length the king himself,* who gave them funds for the endowment of an episcopal church. Austin going to France, was ordained bishop of England at Arles, and returning to England, baptized more than ten thousand at the festival of Christmas in A. D. 597. He then sent to acquaint the Pope with the success of his mission.†

In order to draw the Saxons to the Christian churches, Gregory advised Austin to make use of the heathen temples, and even their festivals; but instead of sacrificing to demons, to kill the beasts as usual, and eat the flesh in thanksgiving to God;‡ that, “by leaving them,” as he said, “these sensible joys, he might more easily insinuate into their minds the joys of eternity.” This, he said, should be done more particularly on the anniversaries of the dedication of churches, and the festivals of the martyrs.

Austin found the ancient Britons, who were Christians, not at all disposed to conform to the usages of the church of Rome. They celebrated Easter on the 14th day of the moon, and they administered baptism in some different way. He had two solemn conferences with their bishops§ on the subject, but he could not make any impression upon them.

Austin not being able to prevail upon these ancient British Christians to acknowledge the supremacy of the church of Rome, and conform to its ritual, excited a cruel persecution of them by means of the king of Northumberland, who was induced by the king of Kent to send an army into Wales; carried in the front, as a banner, to which was fixed the image of our Saviour, curiously painted in a table, and singing litanies as they went.” *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 55. Milton conjectures that this procession might have “wrought in Ethelbert more suspicion that they used enchantments.” P. 163.

* “Then multitudes daily, conforming to their prince, thought it honour to be reckoned among those of his faith: to whom Ethelbert indeed principally shewed his favour, but compelled none. (*Bede*, L. ii. C. v.) For so he had been taught by them who were both the instructors and the authors of his faith, that Christian religion ought to be voluntary, not compelled.” *Milton*, pp. 164, 165.

† “And to be resolved of certain theological, or rather Levitical questions: with answers to which, Gregory sends also to the great work of converting, that went on so happily, a supply of labourers, Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Rufinian, and many others; who, what they were, may be guessed by the stuff which they brought with them, vessels and vestments for the altar, coaps, relics, and for the archbishop Austin a pall to say mass in: to such a rank superstition that age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of apostolic zeal.” *Ibid.* p. 165.

‡ “De faire autour les temples, des calanés, avec des branches d'arbres, pour y célébrer les fêtes par des repas modestes. au lieu de sacrifier des animaux aux idoles: voulant les faire monter, par degrés, de la fausse religion à la vraie.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* 1772, I. p. 267.

§ “By means of Ethelbert, summoning the *Britain* bishops to a place on the edge of Worcestershire, called from that time *Augustine's oak*.” *Milton*, p. 167.

when the historian says that twelve hundred of them were crowned with martyrdom.*

The conversion of the other Saxons in England was, in general, brought about in a manner similar to this by Austin, the kings being gained in the first place, and frequently by means of their wives. Thus Edelburga, a daughter of the king of Kent, marrying the king of Northumberland, introduced the Christian faith into that part of the country.†

SECTION VII.

The History of Persecution in this Period.

IN the preceding periods of this History we have seen the beginning of the accomplishment of our Saviour's prediction, that he came *not to send peace on the earth, but a sword*. After the cessation of Pagan persecution by the emperors becoming Christians, it was resumed by the Christians themselves in the time of Constantine. It has continued with more or less violence to this day, and will continue, till the complete downfall of Antichrist, or that power, temporal or spiritual, which is contrary to that *kingdom of peace and righteousness*, which will be finally established by the universal prevalence of the genuine gospel of Christ.

The severe edicts of Constantine and Theodosius‡ being continued, the particulars under this head that deserve to be recited, as new, are not many. The emperor Leo ordered that no person should act as an advocate in any tribunal, but

* *Sueur*, A. D. 600. (P.) "To excuse Austin of this bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful policy, Beda writes that he was dead long before, although if the time of his sitting archbishop be right computed sixteen years, he must survive this action. Other just ground of charging him with this imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from Geffry Monmouth, whose weight we know." *Milton*, p. 170.

† This king *Edwin* assured *Paulinus*, the bishop who had accompanied his queen into Northumberland, "that the Christian belief he himself ought by promise, and intended to receive; but would confer first with his chief peers and counsellors, that if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptized. They therefore being asked in council what their opinion was concerning this new doctrine, and well perceiving which way the king inclined, every one thereafter shaped his reply.

"The chief priest, speaking first, discovered an old grudge he had against his gods, for advancing others in the king's favour above him their chief priest: another, hiding his court-compliance with a grave sentence, commended the choice of certain before uncertain, upon due examination: to like purpose answered all the rest of his sages, none openly dissenting from what was likely to be the king's creed: whereas the preaching of *Paulinus* could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without success. Whereupon *Edwin*, renouncing Heathenism, became Christian; and the Pagan priest, offering himself freely to demolish the altars of his former gods, made some amends for his teaching to adore them." *Ibid.* pp. 178, 179.

‡ See Vol. VIII. pp. 313—318, 475.

a Catholic. Pope Gelasius banished some Manichæans from Rome. Justinian took from the heretics all their churches, and gave them to the Catholics, in the third year of his reign. He also confiscated their property, as he did that of the Pagans, allowing them three months for their conversion. The churches of the Arians were very rich, and many poor persons, even of the Catholics, were maintained out of them. On this, several, out of despair, put an end to their lives; and some Montanists, shutting themselves up in their churches, and setting fire to them, burned themselves along with them. The severity of this emperor to the Samaritans made them revolt, and commit several outrages; but they were subdued with great slaughter.

Pope Hormisdas, who died A. D. 523, whipped and banished the Manichæans. At the same time the emperor Justin ordered that they should be banished, and punished with death. He took from the Pagans, the Jews, and all heretics, every public employment, excepting only the Goths, for fear of offending Theodoric. At the same time they met with much worse treatment from Cavades, king of Persia. He first made them believe that he would encourage their doctrine, and having assembled them, and their bishops, he ordered them all to be put to death.

SECTION VIII.

Of the State of Superstition in this Period.

THAT superstition should be found among Christians, especially in this period, is not to be wondered at, when we consider that it is universally the offspring of ignorance; and though the light of revelation tended to banish it from both Judaism and Christianity, its principles were not always sufficiently attended to. Events in which men are much interested they will always be apt to ascribe to wrong causes, and it is in this that the essence of superstition consists.

From habits of long continuance, a prejudice even for heathen customs remained a long time among Christians. In the time of pope Gelasius, the senator Andromachus, and others, wanted to restore the *Lupercalia*,* one of the most extravagant and indecent of all the heathen ceremonies; imagining the omission of this festival to have been the cause of a public malady with which the city of Rome

* A festival in honour of *Pan*. See Plutarch. in *Romul*.

had been afflicted. But the Pope addressed a letter to them on the subject, and so far was he from being of the same opinion with them, that, with equal superstition, he ascribed the fall of the empire to the Christian emperors not having abolished those things before.

The privileges of sanctuaries were introduced from Heathenism into Christianity, but as yet this abuse was very moderate. The emperor Leo ordered that no person should be taken from a church, or have any claim on the bishop or the clergy for the debts of persons who took refuge in them, as had been ordered by Arcadius. They were answerable, however, to their creditors, and effects deposited in the churches were to be given up.

Divination by lots was a common heathen practice, and this also was copied by Christians. And with them the favourite mode of prying into futurity was by opening a Bible at random, and reading the first passage that presented itself, as applicable to the circumstances in which they were. This mode of superstition was forbidden by the Council of Agde, in A. D. 506, but this was far from putting a stop to the practice. When the emperor Heraclius marched against the Persians, in A. D. 622, he took in his hand an image of some saint, said not to have been made by human hands, and swore to his troops to fight even to death, and returning from his victory he cast lots by the Scriptures about the place where he should pass the winter.

The *ordeal*, especially that by fire, was sometimes used by Christians. At the Council of Saragossa, in Spain, when Arianism was suppressed in that country, it was ordered that the relics which had belonged to Arians should be tried by fire, on the idea that true relics could not be burned. What was the issue of this trial we are not told. It should have been extended to all relics alike.

The greatest and best men of this age did not escape the superstitious veneration for relics. The empress Constantina, having written to pope Gregory for some part of the body of St. Paul, in order to its being deposited in a church erected to his honour, the Pope wrote in answer, that the bodies of the apostles were so dreadful for their miracles, that no person durst approach them; that several persons only digging near them had been terrified by apparitions, &c.; and that their custom was to lay pieces of linen cloth near their bodies, and then enshrine them, and that these had the same virtue with the bodies of the saints themselves.

St. Eligius, or Eloi, bishop of Noyon, was famous for the

discovery of the bodies of saints. It was he who found those of St. Quintin, St. Plato, St. Crispin, St. Crispinian, St. Lucian, and many others.*

Having found prejudices in favour of ancient heathen customs among Christians, we shall less wonder at finding some in favour of Jewish ones, especially in transferring the sabbath from Saturday to Sunday. This was the less extraordinary, as both these days having been used for the purpose of public worship, it was not unnatural to give them the same uses in all respects. Constantine, however, who made the first ordinance on the subject, made the proper distinction between them, allowing the labours of husbandry on Sundays. But these were forbidden by the third Council of Orleans, in A. D. 538. Childebert also forbade all labour on that day, except what was necessary to procure subsistence. At the Council of Maçon, in A. D. 585, it was forbidden to fight on Sundays, this being classed among works of labour. It would have been happy for the Christian world if this ordinance had been observed. Some persons observing both Saturday and Sunday as days of rest, pope Gregory reproved the superstition of those who observed the former, at the same time that he enjoined rest from all labour on the latter.

Of superstition with respect to baptism we have seen a great deal in former periods of this history. A curious case relating to it occurs in this. A person having made profession of the Christian faith, so as to be prepared for baptism, having been rendered incapable of making the proper responses at the time, by a disease of which he died presently after, and another person making the responses for him, as for infants, a question arose whether his baptism would avail for his salvation. Ferrand of Carthage thought it would not, since he had actual sin, though it would suffice in the case of infants, who had only original sin. "Besides, is it not an injury," said he, "to children if they die after they have been baptized, but before they have received the Lord's supper?" Fulgentius, however, maintained that, as this man was converted, having really changed his opinion before his illness, he was safe, and that they who are baptized begin in reality from that time to feed on the body and blood of Christ, even without receiving the outward elements; an idea which gradually led the church to omit the communion

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 21. (P.) Cent. vii. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. i. Note [w]. "The bishops of this age," says *Mosheim*, "pretended to be endowed with a miraculous sagacity in discovering the bodies of saints and martyrs."

of infants, especially as the idea of the sanctity of the elements was advanced, and infants were liable to receive them in what was thought to be an irreverent manner.

We do not wonder that bread actually consecrated for the purpose of communion should be regarded with superstitious respect: but that which had only been presented at the time, though not consecrated, was considered as something sacred, and the partaking of it a kind of communion. These loaves were called *eulogies*. King Merovæus demanding those eulogies, was for some time refused by Gregory of Tours, till he remonstrated that he ought not to be suspended from communion, but by the consent of the other bishops.

As it was thought to be wrong to wash immediately after baptism, or to eat before communion, it was also thought to be improper to bathe presently after communion. Theodore Siceota reprovèd those who did it, saying that they who were perfumed did not bathe, lest they should lose the grateful odour of the perfumes.

It had been well if superstition among Christians had ended with the mere folly of it; but it has generally been the substitute for substantial virtue. In the delineation of a good Christian by Eligius, or Eloi, above-mentioned, nothing is said of the love of God, resignation to his will, obedience to his laws, or of justice, benevolence, or charity towards men; but the whole of religion is made to consist in going often to the church, bringing offerings to the altar, lighting candles in consecrated places, and such-like vain services.*

Even in this early period the obligation of an oath was thought capable of being dissolved by the authority of a Christian priest. The army of the emperor Maurice having revolted, and bound themselves by an oath that they would no more obey his general Philippicus, Gregory, bishop of Antioch, who had persuaded them to return to their obedience, told them that, by the power which he had from Christ, to *bind and to loose*, he could absolve them from their oath, and this satisfied them. We shall see more instances of this flagrant violation of morality hereafter.

The progress of vice generally keeps pace with that of superstition; and as this was an age in which the barbarous

* Mosheim, II. p. 22. (P.) "Oblationes et decimas ecclesiis offerte, luminaria, sanctis locis, juxta quod habetis, exhibite, ad ecclesiam quoque frequentius convenite. Quod si observaveritis, securi in die judicii ante tribunal æterni judicis venientes dicetis: Da Domine quia dedimus." Dacherius, *Spicilegium veter. Scriptor.* in Mosheim, Cent. vii. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. i. Note [x].

nations made the greatest irruptions into the Roman empire, we cannot wonder at the many accounts of rapine and violence that we meet with. The desolation of Italy by Christian invaders in the time of pope Gregory was dreadful. In the anarchy of ten years, which took place in Italy after the death of the Lombard king Clephis, the churches were stripped, the bishops murdered, cities ruined, and the people exterminated. In the history of Gregory of Tours, there are many examples of bishops and priests dragged from their churches, loaded with chains, beaten and insulted various ways. In the civil wars in France, A. D. 573, the churches suffered more, says Gregory of Tours, than in the persecution of Diocletian. Theodebert, son of Chilperic, laid waste the Limosin and Le Querci, burning churches, seizing sacred vessels, killing the clergy, driving away the monks, and ravishing the nuns.

Another consequence of the disorders of those times was the injury that was done to ecclesiastical discipline. Many of the clergy adopted the licentious manners of the secular princes. The bishops became too much addicted to the pleasures of the world, when the empire became Christian, and for the purposes of ambition they had gone to Constantinople more than the duty of their office admitted. On this account Justinian thought it necessary to forbid their going thither without leave. By another ordinance of Justinian, in A. D. 541, the clergy were forbidden to play at dice, even to look on while others played, or to be present at any public spectacle, under the penalty of three years' suspension. At the Council of Epaigue, in A. D. 517, the clergy were forbidden to keep hounds or hawks.* At the Council of Maçon, in A. D. 585, bishops were also forbidden the same things. At a council of Chalons, in A. D. 579, two bishops, Salonicus and Sagittarius, were deposed, and among other enormities it appeared that they fought in person, and killed people with their own hands. At a council of Maçon, in A. D. 585, bishops were forbidden to bear arms.

With so many incentives to ambition, we do not wonder at the factious disposition of so many bishops of this period. Egidius, bishop of Rheims, at the Council of Metz, in A. D.

* At the close of Queen Mary's reign, Cardinal Pope issued an ordinance to the English clergy, dated March 8, 1558, *De Clericis venatoribus*. He complains, that they scruple not to lead hounds, and carry hawks on their hands, like laymen, through cities and other public places, *canes venaticos loris, more laicali ducere, et accipitres, manibus, per civitates, et loca publica gestare, non verentur*. To repress this indecorum, *tantam impudentiam reprimere*, they are threatened with suspension. Wilkins, *Concil. Mag. Brit.* fol. 1737, IV. p. 474.

590, charged with conspiring against the life of king Childebert, at length confessed that he had always acted against the interest of the king and his mother, and that it was by his advice that the wars which had been the cause of the ravages in Gaul had taken place. In consequence of this, he was deposed, and banished to Strasburgh. So general was the suspicion of the superior clergy living disorderly lives, that at a council held A. D. 502, on occasion of the pope Symmachus being charged with adultery, or some other heinous crime, it was ordered that all bishops, priests and deacons, should have persons of approved virtue to live with them, and be witnesses of their conduct. These guardians of the virtue of the clergy were called *Syncelli*.

Bishoprics being of so much value in a temporal respect, and giving men so much power, we cannot wonder at improper methods being used to get them. It is observed by *Fleury*, under the year A. D. 534, that in France a custom was introduced of the kings selling bishoprics. At the Council of Clermont, in A. D. 535, an attempt was made to put a stop to this abuse, by ordering that all bishops should be chosen by the clergy and people; and that if any person obtained a benefice by means of caballing at court, he should be deprived of communion with that church. By a law of Justinian, simony was so strictly forbidden and guarded against, that *Fleury* observes it must have been very common.*

The interest which the founders of churches had in appointing the clergy to officiate in them was, of course, very great, and this was a motive with wealthy persons to build and endow churches. But in A. D. 538, the emperor Justinian made a constitution, by which the founders of churches were prohibited from appointing the clergy to serve them. They could only present them to the bishop of the diocese. Here, as *Fleury* observes, we see the origin of patronage.†

SECTION IX.

Of the Power of the Popes in this Period.

WE have seen the great extension of the authority of the bishops of Rome in consequence of the law of Valentinian.‡ During the subsequent troubles of Italy, in which the influence of the popes was of particular consequence to the

* *Hist.* VII. p. 338. (P.) † *Ibid.* p. 371. (P.) ‡ *Ibid.* II. p. 545. (P.)

emperors residing in the East, their power kept gradually extending itself, though in this period it was far short of what it came to be afterwards. What is most astonishing to a person acquainted with the preceding history, is the impudence of the claims of the popes of this period. But the times were favourable to them,* and not to any rigorous inquiry into the foundation of their pretensions.

Pope Gelasius asserted the authority of the popes to receive appeals in all cases of heresy. "The canons," he says, "have ordered that all appeals be made to the see of Rome, and that there be no appeal from it." With respect to Eutychianism, about which he was writing, he says, "Timothy of Alexandria, and Peter of Antioch, were deposed by the sole authority of the apostolic see, and Acacius himself is witness of it, seeing he was the executor of their judgment; so that he himself was condemned in the same manner, when he joined in communion with them." Writing to the bishops of Dardania, A. D. 495, he says, "It belongs to the apostolic see to confirm the acts of councils by their authority. All acknowledge," he says, "now, that the see of St. Peter has a right to absolve from the judgment of all the bishops, and to judge the whole church, without any person having a right to arraign their decision, since," as he observed before, "the canons order that appeals may be made to that see from all the world, and no appeals from it." Now the only authority for this was a council held at Rome in A. D. 378, consisting of national bishops, in which they thank the emperors Gratian and Valentinian for the authority they had given to the see of Rome. But this was far from being a general council, admitting the decrees of such a council to bind the whole Christian church.

However, in a synod held at Rome in A. D. 494, consisting of sixty-six bishops, this Pope declared that the church of Rome is to be preferred to all other churches, not by the constitution of councils, but by the voice of our Lord Jesus Christ himself, when he said to Peter, *Upon this rock will I build my church*, which places the authority of the popes on a foundation quite different from that of the councils.†

The same pope, writing to the emperor Anastasius, says, "There are two methods by which the world is governed, the sacred authority of the bishops, and the royal power.

* "From the *shipwreck* of the empire they gathered planks to patch up that fabric, which since they call *St. Peter's barque*." *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 38.

† *Sueur*, A. D. 494. (P.)

The office of the bishops is the greater, because they are to give an account to God, even of kings. For though," he adds, "your dignity raises you above the rest of mankind, you bow to the prelates, you receive the sacraments at their hands, and follow their judgment in matters of religion. And if the faithful in general ought to be subject to the bishops, how much more ought they to be subject to the bishop of that see which God has established above all the bishops, and which has always been acknowledged as such by the whole church?"

The government of the church having by this time been pretty well established, by which bishops and metropolitans had a certain jurisdiction, the popes did not directly make any innovations in that. In the time of pope Gregory, Fleury says, the Pope had a proper jurisdiction over the sees that were termed *suburbican*, over which he was the regular metropolitan, that is, over the southern parts of Italy, where he was the sole archbishop; also over Sicily and the other islands, though they had their respective metropolitans. But he did not exercise the same power in the provinces immediately dependent on the sees of Milan and Aquileia, or in Spain and Gaul, though he had his vicars in Gaul, and in Illyricum.* He also extended his care to the churches in Africa, so far as to direct councils to be held, and see that the canons were observed. He had no jurisdiction at all over any of the churches in the East, and took no notice of their conduct, except on extraordinary occasions.

But though the authority of the popes was in some measure limited in those provinces in which the Christian religion had been long established, and in which a certain discipline had prevailed, it was unbounded in those countries in which it was then first received. On the mission of Austin to England, Gregory, by his own authority, appointed what bishoprics should be created, and the manner in which they should be subordinate to one another.

Of the abject submission to the popes by those whose interest led them to yield it, we have too many instances in this period of our history. The bishops of Dardania, writing to pope Gelasius, call him the *father of fathers*, and say that they will obey his orders in every thing; and that as

* The bishops of Milan were never ordained by those of Rome, but by the bishop of Aquileia. *Bingham*, l. p. 347. (P.) Dr. M. Geddes shews "that before the 8th century, the bishop of Rome had no jurisdiction or authority in the Spanish church." See his Dissertation on the Papal Supremacy. *Mis. Tracts*, 1730, Ed. 3, p. 20.

soon as they received them, they renounced the heresy of Eutyches, of Acacius, and his followers.

Ennodius said of pope Symmachus, that he "was constituted *judge in the place of God*, which he filled as vicerent of the Most High."* In one of his works he even maintained that all who were raised to the dignity of pope, either were then saints, or became so; that men may judge other men, but that the judgment of the Pope was reserved for God only; since Jesus said to Peter only, *Thou art Peter*.

It was from the emperors of the East that the popes borrowed their extravagantly high titles. Under Theodosius the younger it became customary to ascribe to the Christian emperors the titles of *divinity*. The emperor and Valentinian gave each other the title of *eternally august*. Then the bishops, and among the rest those of Rome, and the councils, gave them these titles. They often called Marcian *most divine emperor, most divine Augustus*, and *eternally August*. Every thing that came from them was termed *sacred, celestial* and *divine*. Then they were called *adorable*, and *for ever adorable*; and in addressing them they said that they laid themselves at their feet, and when they came into their presence they kissed their feet. When the emperors were driven out of Rome, and the bishops became masters of it, they claimed the same honours.†

Even the Arian princes found it their interest to favour and extend the authority of the popes, so much did they see it to be in their power, by means of the influence they had with other bishops, and the people at large, to disturb their government. In A. D. 528, Athalaric, king of the Goths in Italy, ordered that no action should be brought against any of the clergy of Rome before the cause had been carried to the Pope.

The churches of Africa in this period shewed an implicit deference to the authority of that of Rome. It was consulted with respect to the treatment of those who yielded to persecution in the time of the Vandal princes. A synod was called on this occasion by Felix, bishop of Rome. It consisted of thirty-eight bishops, when various decrees were made respecting the different cases, as of clergy and laity, &c., and in this decision the churches of Africa acquiesced.‡

* *Mosheim*, I. p. 443. (P.) Cent. vi. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. ii. *Mosheim* calls Ennodius an "infamous and extravagant flatterer," and Symmachus "a prelate of but ambiguous fame."

† *Sueur*, A. D. 549, 550. (P.)

‡ *Ibid.* A. D. 487. (P.)

There are examples even in Eastern churches of extraordinary power being allowed to the bishops of Rome. Pope Gregory absolved John of Chalcedon of heresy, though condemned by the churches appointed by the patriarch of Constantinople, and the patriarch made no opposition to it.

When other bishops, however, made any pretensions which tended to exalt them over their brethren, none were so ready to repress that aspiring spirit as the popes. This was remarkably the case with Gregory with respect to the title of *œcumenical* or *universal bishop*, which had been given by way of compliment to several patriarchs, as to Dioscorus of Alexandria,* and was first assumed by John the patriarch of Constantinople. On this occasion Gregory wrote to him to reprove him for it, as a thing that "scandalized all his brethren." A title, he says, "full of extravagance and pride, and that though the same title had been offered to the bishops of Rome at the Council of Chalcedon, it was rejected by them." He also wrote to the empress, and to the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, on the same subject. All these letters are dated A. D. 595. Farther to reprove the arrogance of this patriarch, Gregory assumed the title of *servus servorum Dei*, the *servant of the servants of God*, which has been retained by the popes to this day.†

This John, though seemingly so ambitious, was so exemplary for his mortifications, (which was the great test of virtue in this age,) that he obtained the surname of *The Faster*. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Gregory, John would not give up his title, nor would his successor Cyriacus, which added to the resentment of Gregory. He did not, however, break communion with him on this account, but he exhorted him to renounce so profane a title.

Afterwards he seems to have resented it still more. For when he sent his nuncio to Constantinople, he ordered him not to communicate with the patriarch, unless he would renounce that title, and he gave his reasons for this to the emperor and to the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch. They advised him not to cause a scandal for a thing of nothing, but the Pope would not yield, saying the assumption of this title by the patriarch of Constantinople would tend to corrupt the faith of the whole church, since several of the bishops of Constantinople had been heretics. He even added that, whoever should assume the title of *universal bishop*, was the forerunner of Antichrist, by placing himself

* Sæur, A. D. 595. (P.)

† Giannone's "History of Naples," 1729, l. p. 325. (P.) Hist. of Popery, l. p. 50.

above others.* In order, probably, to depress the see of Constantinople, he maintained that Peter, the prince of the apostles, had his church in three places, the chief at Rome, where he died, another at Alexandria, whither he sent Mark the evangelist, and the third at Antioch, where he lived seven years.

As good a man as pope Gregory appears to have been, these pretensions of the bishop of Constantinople, which interfered with his own dignity, were much upon his mind, and he omitted no opportunity of protesting against them. A council being about to be held at Constantinople, he wrote to the Oriental bishops to warn them not to consent to the title of universal bishop being given to the patriarch of Constantinople, on that occasion, and in general to guard against any encroachment on the rights of other churches.

This pope seemed not a little inconsistent with himself when he thought it necessary to express his humility as a Christian, at the same time that he would abate nothing of his pretensions as bishop of the Apostolic see. He even reproved the bishop of Alexandria for using, in a letter to him, the expression *as you ordered me*; saying that he was "his brother by his rank, and his father by his virtue." "Let us," says he, "forbear expressions which puff up vanity and hurt charity."† On another occasion he says, "All bishops are subject to the papal see when they commit faults, though all are equal according to the law of humility. No one doubts," he says, "but that the church of Constantinople is subject to the holy see, as the emperor and the bishops of that city declare continually."

This very same title, however, which gave so much offence to pope Gregory, when assumed by the bishops of Constantinople, was sought after, and accepted by pope Boniface, when it was given him by the emperor Phocas,‡ who, being an usurper, might think it necessary to secure the favour of the Pope. He also wished by this means to mortify Cyriacus, the patriarch of Constantinople, with whom he was at variance.§ The Catholics pretend that nothing was then meant by this title besides that just superiority to which the church of Rome was entitled above that of Constantinople. But why then did Gregory reject it, and condemn it universally?

The bishops of Constantinople discovered as much am-

* See his *Epistles*, quoted in *Hist. of Popery*, I. pp. 49, 50.

† Ibid. p. 50.

‡ Ibid.

§ *Giannone*, I. p. 225. (P.)

bition as those of Rome, but circumstances were not so favourable to them. After the emperors became Christian, and resided in that city, the bishops began to extend their authority; first emancipating themselves from the jurisdiction of the bishops of Heraclea, to which the church of Byzantium was originally subject. They then extended their authority in Asia, Pontus and Thrace, and then over the three original patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria. In the time of Leo *Isauricus*, the patriarch of Constantinople, claimed the jurisdiction of Illyricum, Epirus, Achaia and Macedonia, and also of Sicily and many parts of *Magna Græcia*.*

Such was the situation of the bishops of Rome at this period, that much business of a civil nature was devolved upon them. Gregory complains of this in a feeling manner. Writing to a friend on his election, he says, "There is so much of temporal business in this dignity, that I find myself almost separated by it from the love of God. I have more temporal concerns than when I was a layman." Writing to Leander in Spain, he says, that "he was continually plunged in low thoughts, so that he could hardly have a moment for contemplation, being obliged to apply to terrestrial things."

At this time the popes were by no means temporal princes, yet the urgency of the times led them sometimes to act as such. Thus, through the negligence of the Exarch, pope Gregory appointed a commander to act against the Lombards. The great wealth of the bishops of Rome contributed much to their power. When Trasimond, king of the Vandals, in Africa, banished two hundred and twenty bishops, pope Symmachus caused all of them to be furnished with every thing necessary to their subsistence.†

The power of the popes being so great in this period, we cannot wonder at the eager contests there sometimes were for that dignity. In the schism between Symmachus and Laurentius, A. D. 501, there was much violence, and many murders committed, and among the rest several priests lost their lives.

The popes, like other bishops, were originally chosen by the clergy and the people jointly; but the votes of the people were gradually excluded, and at length those of the ordinary clergy. In a council held by pope Symmachus,

* *Glennone*, I. pp. 168, 171. (P.)

† *Ibid*. p. 189. (P.)

A. D. 499, it was ordained, that when any pope died before any provision could be made for a successor, he should be appointed, who had the majority in the votes of the clergy.

SECTION X.

Some Particulars relating to the Clergy, Churches, &c. in this Period, and other Articles of a miscellaneous Nature.

THE state of the clergy in this period was not materially different from what it was in the former: but the following circumstances of a miscellaneous nature deserve to be noticed.

1. There was no place of clerical education, besides the churches and the houses of the bishops, who directed the studies of particular persons. This was the more easy, as profane science was not thought necessary to the functions of the clergy. There were, however, larger schools for catechumens in some places, especially that at Alexandria, where Origen had taught; but these were not for the use of the clergy, as such. All the knowledge required of them was that of the Scriptures, the writings of the Fathers, and the canons of the church, which in time came to be an intricate but lucrative study, like that of the civil law. Pope Gregory forbade even the teaching of grammar, because in the grammar-schools use was made of profane authors, at the hazard of teaching idolatry. This apprehension, though well founded, is thought to have contributed to the extinction of liberal knowledge in general among the Romans.

2. Bishops were always chosen from the inferior clergy belonging to the see, and by the people; the metropolitan and the neighbouring bishops giving their approbation by ordaining them. It was only in the greater sees, after the emperors became Christian, that they interfered in the choice of bishops. The priests always performed the duty of the bishop in his absence or illness, and this seems to have been arranged among themselves. But pope Gregory appointed that, in case of the sickness or incapacity of the bishop, a particular person should be fixed upon to do his duty, with a view to succeed him, and this was the origin of *coadjutors* in the Catholic church.

3. The habit of the clergy began to be distinguished from that of the laity at the time of the irruption of the Barbarians

into the Roman empire, the clergy keeping to the Roman dress, which consisted of a large flowing garment, very different from the close dress of the northern nations.

At the Council of Narbonne, in A. D. 589, the use of the surplice was enjoined, but only during divine service.

4. Cardinal bishops, priests and deacons, in the time of pope Gregory, were, according to *Fleury*, those who were attached to particular churches, distinguished from those who served them only by commission.* *Giannone* says, they were strangers in the churches in which they were appointed to officiate, said to be incardinate into them, or depending upon them as the door upon their hinges, whence the term. They had not, he says, any peculiar dignity or superiority.† But *Sueur* ‡ says, the term *cardinal* seems to have been used in different senses by ancient writers, many of them for the *principal*, agreeable to the use of the word on other occasions, as the *cardinal points* in the heavens, the *cardinal virtues*, &c. Thus the church in which baptism was administered was called the cardinal or principal church; and the clergy who officiated in it, the cardinal clergy.

5. It appears that at Alexandria there were of the clergy, who were both married and artisans, for mention is made of one who maintained himself, and many relations, by his labour.

Justinian was the first emperor who enlarged the cognizance of the bishops in ecclesiastical causes, and granted them the privilege of not pleading before lay judges, and that civil actions of the clergy and monks should be decided by the bishops. But they had not as yet any prisons, nor could they inflict corporal punishment, or impose a fine.§

6. By an ordinance of Justinian, in A. D. 471, bishops, before their consecration, were to recite their formulary for communion, for baptism, and other solemn prayers; from which it may be inferred, that though those forms might be precomposed, they made no use of books for that purpose, but repeated *memoriter*, if they were not capable of officiating extempore.

7. It is evident from the New Testament, that in the primitive times there was no precomposed form for public worship among Christians, though there probably was among the Jews. They met to read the Scriptures, sing psalms,

* *Hist.* VIII. p. 36. (P.)

† *Hist.* I. p. 232. (P.)

‡ A. D. 964. (P.)

§ *Giannone*, I. p. 181. (P.)

administer the Lord's supper, and exhort the people as there was occasion. As our Lord *gave thanks* at the institution of the Eucharist, this was gradually extended to a considerable length. It is probable there was much uniformity in the subject of it, but every bishop acquitted himself in this respect as he was able, (*ὡς ἔδυνάτο*) as Justin Martyr says. Some persons, however, being, in process of time, less qualified to do this to the satisfaction of the assembly, forms were gradually introduced; but they were different in different places. In this period pope Gelasius composed one for the use of the church of Rome; and he is the first who is said to have done this.

But the person to whom the church of Rome is still more indebted in this respect was pope Gregory. In A. D. 599, he reformed the offices of this church, adding to what had been done by Gelasius, and altering many things. At the same time all the other great churches had their own offices, and not only those in Greece, and the East, but the Latin churches in Africa, Spain, Gaul and Milan. Gregory also regulated the singing, and established a school for teaching it. Austin, when he went to Britain, took persons from this school, who instructed also the Gauls in psalmody.

8. At the Council of Braga, in A. D. 562, bishops were forbidden to use the form *pax vobiscum*, peace be with you, in blessing the people, but to say *nobiscum*, peace be with us, which was required of priests. But notwithstanding this the distinction prevailed, and is still kept up in the church of England.

9. One bishop having been originally appointed for one city or district, when there was only one congregation of Christians in it, the same continued to be the case after they became numerous, and were therefore obliged to meet in separate places. In this case the bishop preserved his superiority over the whole, and the inferior clergy officiated in the subordinate ones. This accounts for the great number of priests and deacons in such churches as those of Rome, Constantinople and Alexandria. By a law of Justinian, the great church at Constantinople was to have sixty priests, one hundred deacons, forty deaconesses, eighty subdeans, and twenty-five chanters; so that all the clergy were four hundred and twenty-five, and one hundred porters. These, however, served ten other churches united to the cathedral.

10. At the Council of Maçon, in A. D. 585, *tithes* were

ordered to be paid to the ministers of the church, under pain of excommunication. This, says *Fleury*, is the first mention that is made of tithes.*

11. The first instance of a general confession, *Fleury* says, was made in this period by St. Eloi, who confessed all his sins from his youth, to a priest, and imposed upon himself a severe penance.†

In A. D. 509, at Epaigue, in France, a council ordered that no altars should be consecrated but such as were made of stone. Before this they were in the form of tables; but now they had that of an altar, supported either on one foot, or a pillar, or erected like a tomb.‡

In the Council of Agde, in A. D. 506, is the first distinct account of the consecration of altars, where the ceremony of chrism was added to that of sacerdotal benediction.§

12. Mention is made of four altars in the church of Saintes in this period. But *Fleury* says, we are not to conclude that they were all used at the same time.||

It was first determined in the Council of Agde, in A. D. 506, that all Christians should communicate at the three great festivals, under the penalty of not being considered as Catholics. At the Council of Lateran, under Innocent III. it was made necessary only at Easter.¶

In the time of pope Gregory there were no private masses, or masses without communicants, which were in after times recited for particular purposes, as the delivery of persons from purgatory: and all who assisted at the service partook of the Lord's supper.**

13. At the Council of Braga, in A. D. 563, it was forbidden to bury the dead, in churches.

14. In A. D. 607, the Pantheon at Rome was converted into a Christian church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and all the saints. Then also was instituted the festival of *All Saints*.

15. In this period we find the first mention made of the *Interdict*, which in later periods was a thing so much dreaded by the Christian world; and it is amusing to observe from what causes things which had so great an influence on human affairs arose. On the murder of Prætextatus, bishop of Rouen, in A. D. 586, the church was shut up, and all

* *Hist.* VII. p. 526. (P.)

† *Ibid.* VIII. p. 294. (P.) In the *Northumberland* edition, a paragraph follows respecting *Theodore*, which belongs to the next *Period*, where it will be inserted.

‡ *Bingham*, p. 302. (P.)

§ *Ibid.* p. 328. (P.)

¶ *Hist.* VIII. p. 103.

¶ *Bingham*, p. 829. (P.)

** *Sueur*, A. D. 600. (P.) See Vol. V. p. 246.

divine service omitted till the murderer could be discovered. This and some other instances of interdicts are recorded by Gregory of Tours.

16. Superstition with respect to baptism could not have been quite so great in this period as it came to be afterwards; for it was celebrated only two days in the year, though there was much preparation for it. But when children were in danger of dying, this ordinance was administered out of the usual course. It appears from the liturgy of pope Gelasius, that the majority of baptized infants were the children of Christians.

17. Advent was a festival which began to be observed in this period.

In the fifteenth year of Justinian, the Latins began to celebrate the festival of the *purification of the virgin*, on the second of February. Before this time, the Greeks had celebrated a festival called *the meeting*, viz. that of Simeon with Mary, when he took the child Jesus in his arms and blessed him. But they did not then invoke the Virgin, nor light up candles in honour of her, from which this festival obtained the appellation of *Candlemas*.*

18. The first Council of Orleans, in A. D. 511, ordered three days before the ascension, to be kept as a fast, after the manner of lent, with rogations and litanies; and that on those days servants should rest from their labours, keeping to the old rule of the church, not to fast in the fifty days between Easter and Whitsuntide. By an order of the Council of Girone, those litanies, and this fast, were put off till the week after Whitsuntide.†

19. It is still a doubt with many persons, whether the obligation to refrain from eating blood, and animals that have been strangled, does not continue on the authority of the apostles.‡ It is strictly observed in the East to this day. In the second Council of Orleans, in A. D. 525, they were excommunicated who ate of animals killed by beasts, those that were strangled, or that died of any disease.

20. Among the other miscellaneous articles in this period, it is worth noticing that, in A. D. 591, a person pretended to be Jesus Christ, and was accompanied by a woman who was called Mary. He had more than three hundred followers, who were guilty of great outrages. As he was going to attack Aurelius, a bishop in France, some of the bishop's

* Sueur, A. D. p. 442. (P.) See Vol. V. p. 205.

† Bingham, p. 560. (P.) Ibid. p. 309.

‡ See Vol. II. pp. 376—380.

friends met him, and pretending to do him reverence, stabbed him, on which his followers were dispersed.

21. As Christians will feel themselves interested in every thing relating to Judaism, I would observe, that when Belisarius conquered Carthage, in A. D. 534, he brought away the sacred vessels which had been in the temple at Jerusalem. They had been carried to Rome by Titus,* and thence to Carthage by Genseric. Justinian sent them to the church at Jerusalem.

* See Vol. VIII. p. 92.

PERIOD XV.

FROM THE RISE OF MAHOMETANISM IN A. D. 608, TO
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE
UNDER CHARLEMAGNE, IN A. D. 800.



SECTION I.

Of the Controversy occasioned by the Monothelites.

THERE is not, perhaps, in the whole compass of ecclesiastical history, a more melancholy example of the mischief that may arise from metaphysical subtleties, and at the same time from the improper interference of the civil magistrate to direct the faith of mankind, than in what relates to the *Monothelites*. And this controversy, like all the preceding ones of any note, related to the ideas which Christians entertained concerning *the person of Christ*, a subject which has been the principal cause of division among Christians from the first propagation of Christianity to the present time.

Though the doctrine of the distinction of the two natures in Christ was established at the Council of Chalcedon, many of the bishops who received it, still maintained that, in consequence of the unity of the person, there ought not to be ascribed to him more than *one will*, and *one operation*; and by moderate men it was hoped, that the acknowledgment of this would unite the two parties into which the Christian world had long been divided. Theodore, bishop of Pharan, in Arabia, is said to have been the first who advanced this opinion; but it was received by Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, who, it is observed, was born of Eutychian parents, and therefore might be supposed to have a leaning to an opinion which savoured of that heresy, which this doctrine of Monothelitism did.

Sergius pretended that this doctrine had been maintained by Mennas, a former patriarch of Constantinople, and,

hoping to heal the divisions in the Christian church, he wrote to several persons of eminence, on the subject, and among others, to George, surnamed Arsan, a Paulianist, or Unitarian, to whom he expressed his hope of a good effect from it. Indeed with the Paulianists, who were probably pretty numerous at this time, Fleury observes, he could not but find approvers. For, believing Christ to be a mere man, they could not attribute to him more than one will and one operation. The patriarchs of Alexandria being generally opposed to those of Constantinople, John, who then occupied the former of these sees, was so far from concurring with Sergius in this measure, that he would have proposed the deposition of him on account of this letter of his to George, but that an incursion which the Persians then made into Egypt prevented it.

The emperor Heraclius, seeing his dominions suffer so much by divisions among Christians, eagerly joined with Sergius in this scheme of uniting them; and with this view held a conference with the chief of the Severian Eutychians in Armenia, and with the concurrence of Sergius he wrote to Arcadius, archbishop of Cyprus, on the subject. This letter he read to Cyrus, bishop of Phasis, and metropolitan of that country. But Cyrus, not entering at that time into the emperor's views, answered him by appealing to the celebrated letter of pope Leo, at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, which he said evidently indicated two operations in Christ. But not choosing to say any thing more in opposition to the emperor, he wrote to Sergius on the subject, and his letter is dated A. D. 626. Sergius replied, that the council had not determined any thing definitively on the subject, which was not then agitated, but that Cyril had advanced that there was only one vivifying operation in Christ, and he denied that the letter of Leo favoured the contrary opinion. He also said, that he did not know that any of the fathers had maintained the doctrine of two operations, and that we ought to conform to their doctrine without making any innovations.

The Eutychians were as much inclined to Monothelitism as the Unitarians. For, to acknowledge but one will in Christ was to acknowledge, as they thought, but one nature. On this principle, Athanasius, patriarch of the Jacobites, being promised by the emperor to be made bishop of Antioch if he would acknowledge the Council of Chalcedon, consented, and in this Cyrus then concurred; and George, patriarch of Alexandria, dying at that time, Cyrus succeeded

him, and joined Theodore, bishop of Pharan, in the profession of the same sentiments.

By means of this new doctrine, Cyrus succeeded in reconciling the Theodosian sect of the Eutychians, which was very numerous. This union took place at Antioch, A. D. 633, all these sectaries entering the great church of that city, and receiving the communion in it. But they boasted that it was not they who had received the Council of Chalcedon, but that the council had come over to them; for that by acknowledging but one operation in Christ, it was acknowledged that he had only one nature. Sophronius, a monk, of great celebrity in those parts, and afterwards patriarch of Jerusalem, remonstrated strongly against the articles of this union, both with Cyrus and Sergius, but without effect. He will appear to have been the principal promoter of the opposition that was made to the new measures.

In order to gain pope Honorius, Sergius wrote to him on the occasion, giving him an history of what had passed in the East with respect to it, mentioning the letter of Mennas to pope Vigilius, and professing to have no opinion of his own on the subject. He mentioned with regret the opposition of Sophronius to the union that had taken place with the Eutychians, which he thought a happy event, and stated the metaphysical difficulties which occurred on the question, and which he thought it best to avoid by general expressions.

The Pope in his answer expressed himself pleased with the letter of Sergius, commended him for his endeavours to prevent disputes about novel expressions, which he said might scandalize the simple, and that he acknowledged but one will in Christ, because the divinity had taken not our sin, but our nature only, as it was created before the fall; and which could, therefore, (we may suppose he would have said,) have no will different from that of the divinity. He farther said that he did not see that either the councils, or the Scriptures, authorized us to say that there was either one or two operations, and concluded with stating the difficulty of insisting on either of these expressions, lest the one should be construed into Nestorianism, and the other into Eutychianism.

Sophronius, on being made bishop of Jerusalem, in the confession of his faith, which it was then usual to make on those occasions, said that there was in Christ a *theandrique operation*, or something of a middle nature between the

divine and the human. On this, Honorius wrote to him, and also to Cyrus, expressing his disapprobation of the new terms, of one operation or two, as novelties which might obscure the doctrine of the church. Sophronius, in his answer, complied so far as to promise that he would not speak of two operations, provided that Cyrus would cease to speak of one. At least his deputies promised this for him. This, however, had no effect. On the contrary, Sophronius continued to oppose the Monothelites, and collected in two volumes six hundred passages from the fathers, to confute them. But this only irritated them the more. Perceiving that he gained nothing by this means, he sent Stephen, bishop of Dora, to Rome, in order to procure a formal condemnation of this new doctrine; and notwithstanding the attempts of the Monothelites to prevent him, the bishop arrived at Rome, but probably not till after the death of Honorius. However, Sophronius himself died first, a short time after the taking of Jerusalem by the Saracens, in A. D. 636.

The emperor Heraclius, willing to prevent the rising storm, published what was termed an *ecthesis*, or exposition of the Christian doctrine on this subject, composed by Sergius, in which he disclaimed the terms *one operation* or *two*, but maintained that in Christ there was only one will, saying that, if even Nestorius, who admitted two natures, yet acknowledged only one will, much more ought the Catholics; and that the flesh of Christ, animated by a rational soul, had never any natural motion separate from, or contrary to, that of the *logos* which was united to it. This *ecthesis* was adopted by a council held at Constantinople, and was received by all the bishops of the East. It did not, however, give the same satisfaction at Rome, where a council was held under John IV., which condemned it. And then the emperor, perceiving the offence it had given, disclaimed being the author of it, and ascribed it wholly to Sergius.

Since, however, his predecessor Honorius had appeared to favour the Monothelites, pope John thought it necessary to write to the emperor in his vindication; saying that, though he denied two contrary wills in man, or the human nature of Christ, which other men derive from Adam, he maintained only one will of the humanity, and one of the divinity. "If," says he, on this occasion, "we maintain that Christ had only one will, we must deny either his divinity or his humanity; and if the two natures have but

one will, we not only confound the wills, but the natures too."

From this time the popes were uniformly zealous against the Monothelites, and pope Theodore wrote to Paul, the patriarch of Constantinople, who had succeeded Sergius, requesting him to hold a council for the purpose of condemning the *ecthesis* of Heraclius; but little attention was given to this demand. However, Sergius, the metropolitan of Cyprus, wrote to the Pope to express on this occasion his submission to the holy see, as founded on the power given to Peter. Stephen, bishop of Dora, also wrote to complain to the Pope of the conduct of Paul, in consequence of which, the Pope made him his vicar in Palestine, with power to regulate all ecclesiastical matters, and especially to depose the bishops whom Sergius had irregularly ordained. Accordingly Stephen acknowledged none to be lawful bishops but those who renounced the *ecthesis* of Heraclius. But many churches appointed no other bishops in the place of those whom he deposed. The bishops of Africa also wrote to the Pope, declaring against the Monothelites.

In this controversy, as well as that which followed on the subject of image worship, the monks took a part opposite to that of the court of Constantinople, and the same with that of the Pope; and the person who distinguished himself the most in this business was Maximus, some of whose writings are come down to us. Being in Africa at the same time with Pyrrhus, who had retired from the see of Constantinople, they had a conference on this subject, in which Pyrrhus maintained the doctrine of the Monothelites, and Maximus the contrary. On this occasion Pyrrhus acknowledged a compound will in Christ. But this would not satisfy Maximus, who maintained that, though Christ had the affections of hunger and thirst, &c., it was not necessarily, but voluntarily. The essential properties of humanity, he said, prove his human nature, but the manner of his holding them proves the mystery of the union. On this, Pyrrhus advised to drop these subtleties, which he said the common people would not understand, and content themselves with saying that Christ is perfect God and perfect man, without troubling themselves any farther, and also with the decrees of former councils, which said nothing about one will, or two. But this would not satisfy Maximus, who said that, as a proof that there may be two distinct operations in the same substance, a hot knife both cuts and burns at the same time. In the issue Pyrrhus yielded, or

seemed to yield, to the reasons of Maximus, and afterwards went to Rome to make his retraction before the Pope, and on this, the Pope acknowledged him for the lawful patriarch of Constantinople.

This retraction of Pyrrhus was the occasion of several councils being held in Africa, the decrees of which were all against the Monothelites, and were calculated to induce Paul, who held the see of Constantinople, to conform to what they called the doctrine of the church. Fortunius, however, the bishop of Carthage, was a Monothelite, and joined Paul at Constantinople.

Paul, pressed by these remonstrances, and especially in his controversy with the Pope's legates, wrote to the Pope an explanation of his opinions, alleging that the reason why he allowed only one will to Christ was not to ascribe to him any contrariety or difference of will, and thus introduce two persons. But his letter gave no satisfaction at Rome, or to the bishops of Africa, and those of the West in general, who held with the Pope.

It appearing necessary, however, to do something to content the Africans, then invaded by the Saracens, the emperor Constans, who had succeeded Heraclius, thought proper to recall the *ecthesis* of his predecessor, and by a new edict to order that there should be no more disputing on the subject, but that all persons should abide by the decisions of the five general councils, and the language of the fathers, without particular explanations. This edict was called the *type*, or *formulary*.

Pope Theodore, seeing that neither his letters nor his legates had any success to bring back Paul of Constantinople to the Catholic faith, pronounced against him the sentence of deposition. This was probably in a council convened for the purpose, and in the same he condemned Pyrrhus, who having gone from Rome to Ravenna there renewed his profession of Monothelitism, having been probably gained by the exarch with the hope of his succeeding to the see of Constantinople. Paul, hearing of his deposition, overturned the altar which the Pope had at Constantinople in the oratory of the palace, forbade his legates to celebrate mass there, and even persecuted them, and other Catholic bishops, some with imprisonment, some with banishment, and others with corporal punishment.

Martin, who succeeded Theodore in A. D. 649, immediately on his accession called a council, which consisted of one hundred and five Italian bishops, and after five solemn

sessions, in which he had inveighed bitterly against the Monothelites, as *Acephali* and Apollinarians, and against the conduct of Paul and Pyrrhus, sentence of condemnation was passed on all those who held that in Christ there was only one will and one operation. They included in their anathemas Paul, Pyrrhus, and in general all those who received either the *ecthesis* of Heraclius, or the impious *type* of Constans.

As the writings of the Catholic fathers were admitted as authorities in the proceedings of this council, and the spurious ones of Dionysius the Areopagite were not then questioned, the Pope was at much pains to explain the phrase *theandrique operation*, which occurs in it, as signifying in reality not one, but two operations, viz. of the God, and of the man. All the discourses delivered at this council, *Fleury* observes, were probably precomposed, few persons being at that time qualified to speak extempore, as in the former councils; and the Latin tongue being much corrupted, they were ashamed to write as they spake.* It must be added that Paul, bishop of Thessalonica, appearing to favour the principles of the Monothelites in his synodical letter, was excommunicated by the Pope.

Though the Pope carried every thing thus triumphantly in the West, what he did there had no effect in the East. On the contrary, the emperor was so provoked at his conduct, that he sent orders to the exarch Olympius to oblige all the bishops and landholders in his jurisdiction to subscribe his *type*; and if he was sure of the army, to seize the Pope himself. This order was given, before the emperor had heard of the preceding council. Olympius, finding the council assembled, and perceiving that he could not depend upon the army, formed a design to assassinate the Pope; but this scheme failing he went to Sicily to oppose the Saracens, and being defeated he there died.

His successor Theodore had the same orders to seize the Pope, on the accusation of heresy, for having condemned the *type*, and not sufficiently honouring the mother of God. For, by the Monothelites the Catholics were always charged with Nestorianism. He was also accused of favouring the Saracens. The exarch, having received these orders, actually seized the Pope, though he was sick, and had his bed carried to the porch of the church of Lateran, and Eugenius was made pope by the authority of the emperor.

Martin, being thus made a prisoner, was conducted from place to place in his way to Constantinople, and spent a whole year in the isle of Naxos. At length he arrived at Constantinople in A. D. 654, where he was kept a prisoner three months without being allowed to speak to any person, and after an irregular and insulting trial on the subject, being accused chiefly of crimes of state, he was delivered over to the executioner, confined among the common malefactors, and treated with great inhumanity. After being kept several months in this situation, he was, at the intercession of the patriarch Paul, not put to death, but banished to Ephesus, where he complained that he was destitute of necessaries, and where he died, A. D. 655.

Paul dying, Peter the new patriarch of Constantinople sent his synodical letter, containing, as usual, a confession of his faith, to Rome; but as he did not in it make mention of two wills and two operations, it was rejected by pope Eugenius and the people.

The monk Maximus having great influence in all the East, it was thought of particular consequence to gain him to the side of the court, but the methods that were taken to intimidate him were altogether unsuccessful. He underwent as rigorous an examination as the Pope, and, like him, constantly refusing to communicate with the Monothelites, he, and two of his disciples of the name of Anastasius, were banished to Thrace, where they were left in a very destitute condition. Commissioners, however, were sent to hold a conference with him in the place of his exile; and after this he was reconducted to Constantinople, where still persisting in his opinions and conduct, he was exposed to the grossest insults, and conducted to a prison at Pera. After this, a council being held on the subject, at Constantinople, this old man with his two disciples were sentenced to be publicly whipped, to have their tongues cut out, and their right hands cut off, then to be exposed in all the streets of Constantinople, and to be sent into banishment into the country of the Lazi; and this horrid sentence was actually executed.

In the same council pope Martin, Sophronius of Jerusalem, and all their adherents, were anathematized. Maximus was confined in a castle called *Schamaki*, near the country of the Alans, where he died A. D. 662. He left many writings, especially on the subject of Monothelitism, on which his mind had been so much employed. One of his disciples, Anastasius *Apocrisiaire*, was permitted, after much ill usage, to retire to a monastery, where, though he had been deprived

of one of his hands, he wrote books. He died in the castle of Thascume, A. D. 666.

The next emperor, Constantine Pogonatus, finding it, no doubt, to be his interest to gain the Pope, without which he could not expect any aid from the West, of which the Eastern empire then stood in great need, adopted measures the reverse of those of his predecessors; and a change in the sentiments, at least in the conduct, of the bishops immediately, as is usual, followed this change in the court; and from this time the cause of Monothelitism, which had been so triumphant, suddenly declined.

This emperor began by expressing his willingness to compose the differences that had arisen between the bishops of the East, and the see of Rome, in a letter to the Pope, dated A. D. 678, in which he promised a safe-conduct to any bishops that should be sent to a conference or council to be held at Constantinople on the subject of Monothelitism. On this, pope Agathon held a council, and in consequence of it addressed a letter to the emperor, in which he gave the reasons for the faith of the church of Rome (which he says could not err, according to the promise of Christ to Peter) in favour of the doctrine of two wills and two operations in Christ, expressing his hope that the bishops in the East would conform to it. At the same time he apologizes for the want of erudition in the persons he should send to the council, on account of the rude state of Europe at that time. The letter from the council is in the same strain, complaining of the decay of literature, (of which *Fleury* says their letter is itself a proof,) on account of their being to provide for their subsistence by their labour, to which they had been reduced by the devastations which the Barbarians had made in the patrimonies of their churches. But notwithstanding this they expressed the greatest firmness in the confession of their faith, and declared they should receive as brothers those who joined them in it, but should reject, and not even bear the society of those who should renounce it.

Whatever was done at Rome was sure to be acceded to by all the churches in her communion. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, held a council in A. D. 680, on the subject of Monothelitism, in which all the bishops assembled professed to receive the five general councils, and also the late one held by pope Martin. This, being carried to Rome, gave great satisfaction.

In consequence of the measures that had been taken in this new state of things, deputies were sent from Italy to

Constantinople ; and on their arrival another general council, called the *sixth*, began to be held A. D. 680, and the emperor himself, accompanied by thirteen of his principal officers, presided in it.

In this council the doctrine of the Monothelites was maintained by Macarius, bishop of Antioch, and that of the other party by the legates from Rome, evidently favoured by the emperor, and the appeal was made to the language of the Christian fathers. So far was there from being any freedom of debate in this assembly, that in the eighth session Macarius was condemned and deposed, in the ninth the clergy from Rome pushed him by the shoulders out of the council, and Theophanes, the abbot of Baiæ in Sicily, who had defended what was deemed the orthodox faith against him, was put in his place. In the tenth session, when the emperor left his seat to four commissioners, the late patriarchs of Constantinople, viz. Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul and Peter, and also Honorius the late pope, were anathematized, as having held heretical and impious doctrine. Polychronius, a priest and monk, being examined before the council, acknowledged himself a Monothelite, and proposed to prove the truth of his doctrine by raising a dead man to life. But the trial being made without effect, he also was degraded and excommunicated.

Constantine, a priest of the church of Apamea, demanding to be heard, advised the abstaining from persecution on account of any opinion on the subject in question ; but appearing to be in fact a Monothelite, saying that Christ divested himself of flesh and blood upon the cross, and that then he had only one will, which was that of the divinity, he was declared to be a heretic, as holding the doctrine of the Manichæans, and of Apollinarius.

In the last session the emperor attended in person, when one hundred and sixty bishops were present, though they were only forty at the first. He confirmed the decrees of the council, and forbade any more disputing on the subject, declaring that any bishop, clerical person, or monk, who did not conform to the acts of this council, should be deposed ; that if he held any public office he should be deprived of it, and have his goods confiscated, and if he was a private person, he should be banished fifteen miles from Constantinople, or any other city.

Pope Agathon dying presently after the celebration of this council, the acts of it were confirmed by Leo, who succeeded him, and who joined in anathematizing all who had been

condemned by it, pope Honorius among the rest. But when he sent an account of this council to the bishops in Spain, and mentioned the condemnation of his predecessor Honorius, it was for not having observed the apostolic traditions, which, as *Fleury* says, was to intimate that his offence was personal, and did not prejudice the apostolic see. But if one pope and his council might err, why might not another, and consequently all of them?

The succeeding pope, Benedict, took much pains to bring over to the Catholic faith, Macarius, the late bishop of Antioch, who lived in exile at Rome, but without any effect.

The emperor, whose object had been to conciliate the bishops of Rome, in order to pay a farther compliment to them, sent the hair of his two sons thither, and it was received by the Pope, the clergy and the army, in token of their having adopted them, a custom made use of for that purpose in those times.

As no canons had been made in either of the two last general councils, another was assembled by the emperor Justinian II., in A. D. 692, commonly denominated from the place where it was convened, within the precincts of the palace, in *Trullo*. One hundred and eleven bishops met on this occasion, and enacted many canons relating to discipline, which are observed by the Greek church to this day. The principal of them were, that none of the clergy might marry after their ordination, and that bishops must abstain from any commerce with the wives they had before their ordination, but that priests, deacons and subdeacons may cohabit with them, except on those days on which they approach the sacred mysteries.

The emperor sent copies of the decrees of this council to Rome; but though they had been signed by the Pope's legates at the time, he refused to confirm them, on account, as *Fleury* says, of its being forbidden in them to fast on Saturdays, except on that before Easter Sunday, which was contrary to the custom observed at Rome, and which was expressly ordered to be corrected. The emperor was so much provoked at this refusal, that he sent to have the Pope apprehended; but the officer sent to execute this commission, with great difficulty escaped the resentment of the Roman populace. Afterwards, however, the emperor sent those decrees to the succeeding pope, John VII., in A. D. 705, and, with human weakness, says *Fleury*, he returned them without any alteration.

The archbishop of Aquileia and his suffragans held a

council, in which they objected to the receiving of the fifth general council, but they were reconciled to it by pope Sergius, who died in A. D. 701.

The emperor Philippicus, who dethroned Justinian, was a Monothelite, and he reversed every thing that had been done against them, such influence had the imperial power in all these proceedings. He summoned a council in which the last was condemned, and, as far as appears, without any opposition. He expelled the patriarch Cyrus, and put in his place John, who was a Monothelite like himself. In these proceedings he was supported by Germanus the metropolitan of Cyzicus, Andrew, bishop of Crete, and many other persons of great eminence. He even persecuted those who refused to subscribe the decrees of this council, banishing some of them, and had the acts of the preceding general council, publicly burned.

At Rome, however, open resistance was made to all the attempts of this emperor to enforce the decrees of this new council, and a sedition was occasioned by the sending of the emperor's letters on the subject, from Ravenna, in which more than twenty-five persons were killed in the streets.

Presently after this, Philippicus was deposed, and Anastasius, who was no Monothelite, succeeded him: all the bishops then present at Constantinople, and all the clergy of the place, proclaimed the sixth council. The new patriarch of Constantinople wrote to the Pope to apologize for his conduct, in joining with Philippicus, as having acted by constraint.

Cosmas the Melchite, patriarch of Alexandria, abandoned the heresy of the Monothelites, which had been held by the Melchites from the time of the patriarch Cyrus. This Cosmas could neither write nor read, and was by trade a needle maker, so low was this once magnificent see, at this time. Indeed the Melchites had but one small church in Alexandria, all the rest being held by the Jacobites, or Eutychians. The Nubians also were all Jacobites in A. D. 740, and so are the Abyssinians to this day.

No whole description of men continued the profession of Monothelitism except the *Maronites*, a people so called from inhabiting a district near mount Libanus in Syria, called *Maronis*, or *Maronia*. They were all avowed Monothelites till of late years, when, as it is said, they subjected themselves to the church of Rome.*

* *Sueur*, A. D. 676. (*P.*) *Mosheim*, Cent. vii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. xi. Cent. xvi. Sect. iii. Pt. i. Ch. ii. Sect. xxiv.

SECTION II.

Of the Rise and Progress of Mahometanism.

THIS period of our history is chiefly distinguished by the rise, and wonderfully rapid progress of a new religion, which for some time threatened the extirpation of Christianity, and all other religions whatever. But the circumstances in which it rose, and the manner in which it was propagated, were exceedingly different from those which I have related concerning the promulgation of Christianity, and certainly much less favourable to its evidence, as will appear from the following succinct account.

The founder of this religion was Mahomet,* an Arab of the tribe of *Korash*, born at Mecca, A. D. 568.† When he was two years old he lost his father Abdalla, and the family being in low circumstances, his uncle Abutaleb took the care of his education, and employed him in merchandise; and in this capacity he travelled to Damascus, in Syria. After this a rich widow, of the name of Cadigha, employed him as her factor, and then married him, when he was twenty years old, and she forty. By her he had several children, and among them a daughter of the name of *Fatima*.

At the age of forty, Mahomet, having first prepared himself by retiring to a cave in the neighbourhood of Mecca, in the month *Ramadan*, began to assume the character of a prophet. His first convert was his wife, to whom he opened the secret of his mission, in the cave, but it was with much difficulty, and two years after this retired and austere life, that he gained her. During four years he taught only in private, and did not advance his pretensions except to those with whom he might naturally expect to have the most influence. His second convert was his slave *Zayd Ebn Hareth*, to whom he thereupon gave his liberty; and hence it became a law with the Mahometans to make their slaves free whenever they embrace their religion. His third convert was *Ali*, the son of *Abutaleb* his uncle, and the fourth, *Abubeker*, who being a man of character and fortune, was soon followed by five others, who were afterwards the principal generals of

* "His name is Achmed in *heaven*, Muhammed or Mahomet on *earth*, and Alvatrazim in *paradise*." *Genealogy of Mahomet*. See *Life* prefixed to "Four Treatises concerning the Mahometans," by *Reland*, 1712, p. 10.

† 571. *Ibid.* p. 11. See also *Prideaux's Life of Mahomet*, p. 1. and *Ockley's Arabians and Mahomet*, prefixed to his *History of the Saracens*, 1757, Ed. 3, p. 6.

his armies. Having gained those nine disciples, he began to preach more openly. This was in the forty-fourth year of his age, and in the fifth year of his pretended mission he had thirty-nine disciples. However, the men of his tribe in general treated him as a madman, or an impostor, and continually demanded of him to prove his divine mission by miracles. But to this he always answered, that God did not send him to work miracles, but only to preach; that God had worked miracles enow by Moses, Jesus Christ, and other prophets, and that if he had worked miracles they would not believe in him. At this time, though some of the Arabs professed the Jewish religion and others the Christian, the generality were *Sabians*, or worshippers of the sun, moon and stars. In general they were very ignorant, and it was but a little before the time of Mahomet that his tribe had acquired the arts of writing and reading, and it is said that he himself understood neither. He pretended to have frequent conferences with the angel Gabriel,* and that he dictated to him from time to time certain compositions calculated to support his mission, and encourage his disciples, mixed with precepts of morality, religion and legislation. These being collected after his death, composed the *Koran*, or the Bible of the Mahometans.†

Mahomet did not pretend that his religion was new, but the same with that of Abraham and Ishmael in its purity. The doctrines on which he laid the chief stress were, that there is one God, the creator of all things, who had sent prophets from time to time to instruct mankind, as Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus, whom he said the Jews would have put to death through envy, but that God delivered him by a miracle. Both the Jews and Christians, he said, had corrupted their Scriptures, and run into idolatry. He therefore taught that men should worship only one God, without ascribing to him sons or daughters, or giving to any other person honours properly divine; that himself was the last prophet; that there will be a resurrection of the dead, and a future judgment; and that there will be a paradise in which the good shall enjoy all the pleasures of sense, and especially the society of beautiful women.

* "Falling into trances upon the angel's delivering God's messages to him, which his enemies gave out were fits of the falling sickness." *Reland*, p. 28.

† His "collections Mahomet laid up in a chest," which "was left in the keeping of *Happsa*, one of his wives; and out of the papers contained in it was the *Alcoran* compiled and collected into one book, by *Abubeker*, who likewise had recourse to the assistance of those who remembered what the impostor had taught them, many of the papers being so defaced that they were not to be read." *Reland*, pp. 29, 30.

He directed that prayers should be made five times a day, at stated hours, and that purity of body, consisting of the washing of the face, feet and hands, was necessary to prayer. He maintained the rite of circumcision, abstinence from wine, from blood and from hog's flesh, a fast all the month *Ramadan*,* and the sanctification of Friday for the purpose of public worship, in which he followed an ancient custom of the Arabs.† He particularly recommended pilgrimages to Mecca, to visit a square temple called the *Caaba*, which was held in great veneration by the Arabs, the foundation of it being attributed to Abraham; and the greatest respect was paid to a black stone in it. Also prayer was to be made in all parts of the world with the face towards this place. He strongly recommended the giving of alms, and paying tithes.

This religion he said was to be defended and propagated with the sword, and he promised the joys of paradise to those who should die fighting against infidels, and threatened the pains of hell to those who on those occasions staid idly at home, unless they contributed to the expense of the war. He taught that all idolaters, and also those who deserted his religion, after making profession of it, were to be exterminated; but Jews and Christians he tolerated on paying a tax. He insisted upon the doctrine of predestination in its most rigid sense, and chiefly recommended submission to the will of God, from which he denominated his religion *Islamism*, a word which in Arabic denotes as much. Hence his followers were called *Moslems*, and commonly *Musulmen*.

The increase of Mahomet's followers excited the jealousy and hatred of his tribe; and being persecuted and banished by them, he fled to Medina, a city about sixty leagues from Mecca, where he had some disciples. This was A. D. 622, and from this flight to Medina the Mahometans date their years, calling it the æra of the *hegira*. At Medina, Mahomet armed his followers, and on his defeating a party of Jews and Korashites, his sect greatly increased. In the sixth year of the *hegira* he made a truce with them, and in the same year his followers swore allegiance to him as their prince and legislator as well as prophet. As a lawgiver he allowed every man four wives, besides concubines, with the liberty of divorce; but he himself had a much greater number, which, as he said, was a privilege peculiar to himself.

The Korashites having broken the truce in A. D. 629, he

* "In imitation of the Jewish great Fast of Expiation, and of the Christian Lent." *Reland*, p. 59. See also *Prideaux*, Ed. 6, 1716, 12mo. pp. 84, 85.

† *Sueur*, A. D. 622. (P.) See *Ockley's South-West Barbary*, 1713, p. 58.

marched against them with an army of ten thousand men, and entering Mecca in triumph, his authority was acknowledged there. After this he still continued to reside at Medina, and only went to Mecca in pilgrimage in the tenth year of the *hegira*, and in the year following he died, in the sixty-third year of his age,* after he had conquered almost the whole of Arabia.

Mahomet having no son, he was succeeded by Abubeker, the father of his favourite wife. He took the title of *Calif*, that is, vicar, or lieutenant of the prophet. It was he who collected the chapters of the Koran, and published them in one volume.● He reigned two years, and his justice and disinterestedness are highly spoken of. He defeated two other professed prophets, *Armed* and *Moseilam*, who arose a little before the death of Mahomet, and also a third, named *Talitia*. In his short reign his followers conquered the Arabs bordering on Persia. His successor Omar took the title of *Commander of the Faithful*, which descended to his successors. In his reign of ten years he added Persia, Syria and Egypt to his empire, and in A.D. 713 the Arabs, or Saracens, took possession of almost the whole of Spain. Then they passed the Pyrennees, and were for some time masters of nearly one half of France, when they were defeated, and driven out, by Charles Martel, mayor of the palace, and in fact king of France. In A.D. 739 the Saracens made a second invasion of France, when they took Marseilles, Avignon, and the greatest part of the southern provinces; but on the Lombards joining the French against them, they withdrew into Spain.

The Saracens plundered and destroyed many monasteries in France, and put to death several of the monks, but especially in their retreat, after being defeated.

When the bishops of Jerusalem, Antioch, and other places, could not exercise their functions after those cities were possessed by the Saracens, the Council in *Trullo*† allowed them their rank and power; and when they died others were ordained in their place, whence came the custom of ordaining bishops in *partibus*, that is, in *partibus infidelium*.

* "*Heg. xi. Mar. 28, A.D. 632, through the force of that poison, which was conveyed to him in the speaking shoulder of mutton at Chaiber, three years before.*" *Abubeker* "commanded the bed, whereon he lay, to be plucked up, and a grave to be immediately dug under it—in the place where he died, which was in the chamber of *Ayesha*, his best-beloved wife, in *Medina*. And there he lies to this day, without an iron coffin or load-stone, as the stories which go about of him, among Christians, fabulously relate." *Reland*, pp. 76, 77.

† "692 Conciliabule de Constantinople in *Trullo*." *Nouv. Dict. L. p. cxxxvii.*

When we consider the extreme bigotry of the Catholic Christians, at the time of the propagation of Mahometanism, with respect to the most prominent doctrine of the Mahometan creed, viz. that of the unity of God, in opposition to that of a trinity in the divine nature, we cannot be surprised at the offence that was taken at it, and that Mahometans in return should entertain an utter detestation of the creed of such Christians.*

In the last expiring state of the Catholic churches in Africa, they obliged their converts not only to renounce Mahometanism, but to say, in their confession of faith, "I curse the god of Mahomet, who he says is one entire deity, neither begetting nor being begotten, and like to whom there is no other being. And I believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the holy, co-essential and undivided Trinity."† Few Christians, I presume, of the present age, would think this conduct prudent, whether they could conscientiously adopt this language or not.

SECTION III.

Of the Controversy relating to the Worship of Images.

IN the progress of superstition it was natural to expect that a particular regard would be paid to the relics of the Christian martyrs, and to any thing that could assist in recollecting their virtues; and among these, *pictures* and *images* had, no doubt, their use. But from this natural and allowable, because useful, kind of respect, the transition, in this period, among people who had not lost all traces of Heathenism, (in which image-worship was a predominant feature,) to a superstitious and undue reverence, was but too easy. The common people, not content with gazing at such images, and receiving some instruction and some good impressions from them, which was the use that was first made of them, began to bow down before them, as if the persons whose images they were, had themselves been present;‡ and Christ

* "Faith they divide into six articles; 1. A belief in the unity of God, in opposition to those whom they call *associators*; by which name they mean not only those who, besides the true God, worship idols, or inferior gods or goddesses, but the Christians also, who hold our blessed Saviour's divinity and the doctrine of the Trinity." *Ockley*, p. 77. See their 12th and 40th *articles*. Addison's *Mahomedism*, 1679, pp. 85—88.

† *Robinson*, p. 115. (P.) Art. 1. "To believe in one only God." *Ibid*.

‡ "Anno 712 a synod was assembled at London," in which "was canvassed the business of worshipping of images.—*Eguwinus*, a brain-sick monk, of the order of St. Bennet, affirmed that the Virgin Mary appeared unto him in a dream, and de-

being then considered as God, his picture, or image, was worshipped as he himself was. This practice was probably encouraged with a view to draw the Heathens from the worship of their idols, on the same principle as their festivals had been kept up with a nominal change in the object and use of them.

Many persons, however, of juster views, and greater discernment, did not fail to remonstrate against this practice, and among these the persons who took the greatest offence at it in the East were Constantine, the bishop of Nacolea, and the emperor Leo *Isauricus*,* who unhappily (but as we have seen it was universally done in those times) employed power and violence to gain his purpose. The peculiar rage of the Mahometans against all image-worship,† as a species of idolatry, is thought to have drawn the more particular attention of the Christians of this age to the subject.

Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, as well as the populace of that city, was an advocate for the prevailing superstition. He wrote several letters, now extant, on the subject, especially to John, bishop of Synnada, in Phrygia, the metropolitan of Constantine of Nacolea. In these letters he disclaims all proper worship except to God, but expresses his wishes that ancient and useful customs might be kept up. He also urges the miracles that he said had been wrought by images, especially one of the Virgin Mary, at Sozopolis, in Pisidia, which had sent a liquid perfume from her painted hand, of which he says there were many witnesses. At the same time, however, he disclaims the use of statues. He wrote also to pope Gregory, on the subject, who in return expressed his approbation of his sentiments.

An earthquake happening in an island of the Archipelago, in the tenth year of the emperor Leo, he imagined it was a judgment of God for the worship of images; and assembling the people of Constantinople, he addressed them on the sub-

clared, that it was her will and pleasure that her image should be set up in churches and worshipped. This notable proof presently satisfied the wise council in the point." *Hist. of Popery*, l. pp. 142, 143. Yet Rapin says of this period, "On se trompesoit se l'on pensoit que les Anglois adorassent les images." *Hist. L. iii. ad fin.* l. p. 274.

* He ordered by "an edict, A. D. 726, that all the images, except that of Christ's crucifixion, should be removed out of the churches." *Mosheim*, Cent. viii. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. x. In 728, there was a council held at Rome, against the *Iconoclasts*, and to encourage the veneration of images. See *Nouv. Dict.* l. p. cxxxviii.

† "Albacarius says, that as soon as Mahomet was born, all the images and idols fell on their faces to the ground—the sacred fires of the Persians were extinguished, and the palace of *Cosrhoes* was shaken: stories apparently borrowed from the fabulous legends of some ancient Christians, who report the like things to have happened at the birth of our blessed Saviour." *Reland*, p. 18.

ject, but in such a manner as gave them great offence. The people of Greece, and the inhabitants of the Cyclades, even made this a pretence for a revolt, and they set up another emperor, named Cosmas; but their generals being defeated on their approach to Constantinople, the revolt was suppressed. Not content with what he had done himself, the emperor, in the year A. D. 730, assembled a council at Constantinople, in which a decree was made against the worship of images, and the patriarch Germanus refusing to subscribe it, was deposed, and ended his days in a monastery.

The emperor pursued his purpose, and, in execution of the orders of the council, began with demolishing an image of Christ within the precincts of the palace, which was famous for the miracles said to have been wrought by it. But the person who executed the order was killed on the spot, by some women. In the place of the image he erected a simple cross, with an inscription, to shew that the image had been removed. The women who had been guilty of the murder, and some other persons who had been their abettors, were put to death. He did not, however, order the demolition in all places, but contented himself with forbidding the worship of them.*

It would have been happy if he had contented himself with punishing persons for such violent breaches of the peace as this. But his librarian, Œcumenicus, and twelve of his assistants, who taught both religion and the sciences, not complying with the emperor's wishes in this business, he surrounded the place with faggots, and burned both them and the library. He then ordered all the images of the Virgin Mary and other saints to be brought to a public place and burned, and the walls of the churches that had been painted to be white-washed. They who refused to obey the order were punished, some with death, and others with mutilation.

When the news of this persecution reached Italy, the statues of the emperor were thrown down, and trampled upon by the populace of Rome. The emperor, however, wishing to gain the Pope, sent him his decree against images, promising him his favour if he complied with it, and threatening him with deposition if he did not. The Pope, far from complying, exerted himself all he could in resisting the will of the emperor, though he did not, as some have said, excommunicate him;† and the people of Italy in general took his part. The inhabitants of the Pentapolis

* Mosheim, II. p. 90. (P.) Cent. viii. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. x. Note.

† Ibid. p. 92. (P.) Ibid. Sect. xi. Note.

also, and of the territory of Venice, rejected the orders of the emperor. The clergy even anathematized the exarch Paul, and him that employed him, meaning the emperor himself, and all who should obey him; and the people of Italy in general joining them, they resolved to choose another emperor; but the Pope, not willing to proceed so far, diverted them from their purpose. However, in consequence of this the emperor eventually lost all the exarchate, which fell to the Lombards.

On the other hand, Exhilaratus, duke of Naples, being master of Campania, persuaded the people of that province to obey the emperor, and put the Pope to death; but the people of Rome seizing him, put *him* to death, and his son. They also expelled Peter, the duke of Rome, because they supposed that he had written to the emperor against the Pope. At Ravenna, the people were divided, and the different parties coming to blows, Paul the exarch was killed.

Gregory III. who succeeded Gregory II. in A. D. 731, wrote a long letter of remonstrance to the emperor on the subject of the worship of images, defending it as an ancient practice, and a worship that was only *relative*, and not that of the wood or stone of which they consisted. God forbid, says he, that we should put our trust in these images. If it be that of our Saviour, we say, "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, succour us, save us." If it be that of the Virgin Mary, we say, "Holy Mother of God, pray to thy Son, that he may save our souls." If it be to the martyr Stephen, we say, "Holy Stephen, who shed your blood for Christ, and who have so much influence with him, pray for us." Speaking of the design of the emperor to have his predecessor carried in chains to Constantinople, he said, the popes were the mediators and arbiters of peace between the East and the West. He added, "We fear not your menaces. At the distance of a league from Rome we are in safety;" meaning in the dominions of the Lombards.

The violence of the emperor induced Gregory to call a council on the subject, at Rome, in A. D. 732, when ninety-three bishops attended, without including the Pope, Anthony, archbishop of Grada, or John of Ravenna. All the clergy of Rome were also present with the nobles, the consuls and the people in general; when it was unanimously agreed, that all persons who should destroy, or even speak with contempt of, the holy images, should be separated from the communion of the church.

The emperor, provoked at this opposition of the Pope, and the revolt of Italy, on this occasion, fitted out a fleet, and sent it to Italy to support his authority in that country; but it was shipwrecked in the Adriatic. He also confiscated all the patrimony of St. Peter in the countries subject to him, which amounted to a very great sum. In return, the people of Rome took an oath to defend the Pope both against Leo, and Luitprand, king of the Lombards, to whom they ceased to pay any tribute; and this was the origin of the temporal power of the popes, though they were not yet temporal princes.* The emperor also imprisoned or banished those in the East, who did not concur with him with respect to images.

John of Damascus, many of whose writings are now extant,† being out of the power of the emperor, wrote on this occasion in defence of image-worship, acknowledging the authority of the emperor in things of a civil nature, but strongly disclaiming it in all things ecclesiastical, and forewarning him of the judgments of God for his proceedings against his true servants, by the example of Saul, Jezebel and Herod.

In A. D. 754, Constantine *Copronymus*, who succeeded Leo, both in the empire and his zeal against image-worship, held a council at Constantinople, of one hundred and thirty-eight bishops, on the subject. It lasted six months, and in the confession of faith which they made on this occasion, they charge the worshippers of images with many heresies, especially that of Nestorius; saying that the true image of Christ was the Eucharist, comparing the union of Christ with the elements to the union of the logos with human flesh in the incarnation. The making, or the adoration of images, is by this council forbidden, upon pain of deposition to all clergy, and of anathema to monks and laymen. They conclude with declaring their unanimity in this business, and with anathemas against Germanus of Constantinople, George of Cyprus, and John of Damascus. In consequence of this council, images were burned in all the churches, and effaced from the walls on which they were painted. Copronymus moreover ordered his subjects to worship one God, that no person should be called a saint, that no relics should

* *Giannone*, I. pp. 246, 248. (P.)

† Published in 2 vol. f.d. *Gr. & Lat.* 1712, by *Ple Quien*. “Jean Damascene mourut vers l'an 760, à 54 ans.—Son zèle pour la foi étoit si grand, qu'il adoptoit quelquefois de pieuses fables pour appuyer des vérités.” *Nouv. Dict.* III. p. 446.

be adored, no departed spirit invoked, not even the Virgin Mary herself, who he said was after the birth of Jesus no more than any other woman.*

The person who suffered the most for defending the worship of images at this time was the monk Stephen of Auxerre. He was cruelly used by the emperor, and, after having been long banished, was reported to have wrought many miracles by presenting an image of Christ to be worshipped by sick persons. Being interrogated on the subject of his faith, in the presence of the emperor, he disclaimed all worship of the materials of which images were made. The emperor at the same time disclaiming all disrespect to Christ, though he trampled upon his image, the monk produced a piece of money on which was the image of the emperor, and throwing it on the ground trampled on it. But for this argument he was sent to prison, to be tried for violating a law that had been made with respect to such actions. Stephen was afterwards taken out of prison by order of the emperor, and killed by a blow on the head by one of the persons who were dragging him about the streets. After he was dead, the body was still dragged about the streets, and much abused.

Constantine, the late patriarch of Constantinople, was brought from the place of his banishment, and, after a formal degradation, carried through the streets of Constantinople on an ass, with his face towards the tail, and then beheaded, A. D. 767. This Constantine having baptized two of the emperor's children, was justly considered as an aggravation of this shocking cruelty.

The monks in general being advocates for the worship of images, the emperor did every thing in his power to suppress them, after using both promises and threatenings to gain them, putting out the eyes of many, and banishing others.

The Western church was as zealous in the defence of image-worship as the Eastern in the suppression of it. At a council held at Rome, in A. D. 769, it was decreed, that the relics and images of the saints should be honoured according to ancient usage, and the council held at Constantinople was anathematized; but the shocking cruelties practised in the East were not imitated in the West.

Leo, the son of Constantine, was as great an enemy of

* Robinson, p. 169. (P.)

image-worship as his father; but on his death,* Irene his widow being a strenuous advocate for them, and her son Constantine being only ten years of age, and she governing in his name, things soon took a different turn, both with respect to the worship of images, and the monastic life, which any person was now at full liberty to embrace. And there cannot be a greater proof of the decisive influence of power, in all proceedings of this nature, than the sudden transition from seeming unanimity on one side of the question to as great apparent unanimity on the opposite side. It was probably the same political motive that operated in this case as in that of the Monothelites. The concurrence of the popes, and of the powers of the West, was thought necessary in the then hazardous state of the Grecian empire.

In A. D. 784, Paul, the patriarch of Constantinople, being sick, retired to a monastery, when, being visited by the emperor and empress, and no doubt being apprized of their views, he acknowledged his weakness in joining in the condemnation of image-worship, in obedience to the orders of the former emperors, and presently after this confession he died. His successor, Tarasius, as well apprized of the new state of things, refused to accept of that dignity, unless a general council was called to heal the divisions of the church on the subject of image-worship. Application was then made to the Pope, who consented to the calling of the council, provided the first thing that should be done was the anathematizing of the former council. He even expressed his wish that, if it were possible, the images might be replaced in the churches before the council was held.

With some difficulty, legates from the churches of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, were procured to attend this council, the Saracens to whom those cities were now subject being naturally jealous of such assemblies. At length, the first of August, A. D. 786, was fixed for the holding of this council, in the church of the Twelve Apostles, at Constantinople. But the majority of the Eastern bishops being against the worship of images, or, as they were then called, *Iconoclasts*, and the design of the council being well known, they were very clamorous against it, as being in direct opposition to that which had been held in the same place before; and

* "A cup of poison, administered by the impious counsel of a perfidious spouse, (Irene,) deprived Leo IV. (*Porphyrogenitus*) of his life A. D. 780, and rendered the idolatrous cause of images triumphant." *Mosheim*, Cent. viii. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. xiii.

being joined by the old soldiers, attached to the principles of the emperor Constantine, it was found necessary to send for other troops to overawe them; and orders were given to hold the council at Nice the 24th of September, A. D. 787, where the bishops accordingly met, to the number of three hundred and seventy-seven.

The council was opened by a speech of Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, exhorting the bishops to reject all novelties, and adhere to the traditions of the church, which he said could not err, and said that they who had opposed the truth the year before might attend, and give their reasons. The bishops accused of this refractory disposition being then ordered to enter, the commissioners of the emperor read to them a letter which he had addressed to them, exhorting them to give peace to the church. Upon this, Basil, bishop of Ancyra, Theodore of Myra, and Theodosius of Amorium, stood up, when the first-named of them made an ample confession of his former heresy, and requested to be re-united to the Catholic church; saying he received with all honour the holy relics of the saints. "I adore them," he said, "with veneration, hoping to partake of their holiness. I also receive the venerable images of Jesus Christ, of his holy mother, of the angels, and all saints. I embrace them, and give them the adoration of honour. I reject and from my heart anathematize the false council called the seventh, as contrary to the traditions of the church." He added much more to the same purpose, and was followed in the same strain by the other two.

After this, seven other bishops, who had opposed the holding of this council the year before, stood up, and made their submission. Then, without any debate on the subject, followed a discussion of the manner in which penitents should be received; and one of the bishops asking in what rank they should place this new heresy of the *Iconoclasts*, which they were assembled to oppose, John, the legate from the churches of Jerusalem and Antioch (for he was sent by both) replied, it was worse than any that had preceded it, as it destroyed the incarnation.

In the second session, Gregory of Necocæsarea, one of the most celebrated of the *Iconoclasts*, and who had distinguished himself the most in the preceding council, acknowledged his offence, and asked pardon. The letter of the Pope being then read, except a part in which he had complained of the assumption of the title of universal bishop by the patriarch of Constantinople, and had asked the restitution of the patri-

mony of his church, Tarasius said he had expressed his own sentiments. Images, he said, must be adored with a relative affection, reserving to God alone the worship of *latreia*. All the bishops present, to the number of two hundred and sixty-one, declared they entertained the same sentiments, and the monks did the same.

At this council was read a discourse attributed to Athanasius, containing an account of a miracle wrought by an image of Christ, which had been pierced by some Jews, and from which had issued blood, which cured several sick persons. This piece is acknowledged by *Fleury* to be spurious, and the fact to be doubtful; but he maintains that this circumstance did not invalidate the decision. He only remarks on this occasion, that of so many bishops none seem to have been versed in criticism; for many spurious productions were cited; a proof, he says, of the ignorance of the age. But he must have been a bold man who, if he had entertained a doubt of the genuineness of those writings, should in that assembly have maintained his opinion.

In the fifth session, images were ordered to be replaced in the churches, and one being brought into the assembly, they all saluted it in form. They also directed that all books condemning the worship of them should be burned.

In the sixth session, the council of A. D. 744 was condemned, as not having had the concurrence of the Pope, or that of the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, or Alexandria, and as having even been anathematized by the bishops of those churches.

In the seventh session, the members of this council drew up and signed a confession of their faith, to the purport above-mentioned, and it was signed by the legates, and all the bishops, to the number of three hundred and five. They anathematized the council of Constantinople which had decided against the worship of images, and some of the *Iconoclastic* writers by name; and addressed a letter to the Pope, informing him of what they had done.

The last session of this council was held at Constantinople, when the empress Irene was present, with the emperor her son, and the confession of faith was recited, and signed by them both. They concluded, as usual, with loud acclamations, and the empress bestowed great liberalities upon all the bishops; and from her, they were fully entitled to them.

In the canons of this council it was ordered, that no churches should be consecrated without relics.

Thus smoothly were all things conducted in favour of the worship of images in the East, and in Italy; but the case was different in the countries subject to Charlemagne, who is said to have been dissatisfied with the conduct of Irene, who had demanded his daughter for her son, and afterwards married him to another. Whatever may be ascribed to the influence of this political situation, when the Pope sent a copy of the decrees of the preceding council to Charlemagne, he assembled the bishops of his extensive dominions, none of whom had attended the council, and they drew up a long letter in the name of the king in several books, and thence called *Caroline books*,* in which they express their disapprobation of both the councils which had been held on the subject of the worship of images, that of Constantinople, and that of Nice, recommending the use of images, but not for the purpose of adoration. They say they receive the six first councils, but that they reject all novelties, especially the council which ordered the adoration of images, the acts of which they say were destitute both of eloquence and common sense. The Council of Nice, they say, cannot be allowed to be universal, because there were not in it bishops from all parts of the world, and because its decisions are not agreeable to the doctrine of the universal church. Alcuinus, a learned Englishman employed by Charlemagne to teach the sciences in France, also wrote against the decrees of the Council of Nice, in a letter addressed to this prince,† in the name of the bishops and sovereigns of England.

Charlemagne, not content with this, having called another council of all the states subject to him, at Frankfort, A. D. 794, to settle various ecclesiastical matters, the adoration of images was then rejected unanimously, and great contempt of it expressed. Speaking of the council held by the Greeks on the subject, in the decrees of which it was said, that “whoever does not render to the images of Christ, service and adoration as to the divine trinity, let him be anathema,” they say, We despise and reject this service and adoration, unanimously.

Notwithstanding this harsh condemnation of the decrees of a council in which the Pope concurred, Adrian, writing to Charlemagne, treated him with the greatest respect. In justification of his own conduct he alleged chiefly two councils held at Rome against the *Iconoclasts*, in A. D. 732, and

* “*Libri quatuor Carolini de imaginibus*,” attributed to Alcuinus. See Biog. Brit. I. p. 123.

† *Ibid.* p. 122, Note [b]. *Rapin*, L. iii. *ad fin.* I. p. 274.

A. D. 769, in the last of which twelve bishops from France assisted, and when, nevertheless, it was agreed that images should be honoured. He also quoted a passage from a letter of St. Gregory, where he says that images are useful for instruction, though God only is to be adored. He said he received the canons of the Council of Nice, because they were agreeable to the opinion of pope Gregory, and because he feared that if he did not receive them, the Greeks would return to their errors, and he should have been responsible for the loss of many souls. Nevertheless, he added, that he had not then given any answer to the emperor on the subject of the council, and that, if he thought proper, at the same time that he thanked the emperor for the restoration of images, he would press him on the subject of the restitution of the patrimony of his church, and that if he refused to make this restitution, he would declare him a heretic. *Fleury* says the Pope had deferred sending his letters to Constantinople on account of the uncertain state of things there, and the great power of the *Iconoclasts*. That they were still very numerous there, appears from this circumstance, that when the patriarch Tarasius had threatened the emperor with excommunication for divorcing his wife, and marrying another, he did not venture to provoke him so much, lest he should join the *Iconoclasts*.

It is evident from these proceedings in the West, that no idea was at this time entertained of the infallibility of the popes.

SECTION IV.

Of the Controversy occasioned by the Opinion of Elipand of Toledo, and Felix of Urgela, concerning the Sense in which Christ is the Son of God.

HITHERTO we have seen that all the controversies concerning the person of Christ had their origin in the East. In this period one was started in the West, and though the consequences of it were not so great, or so lasting, as those of the preceding ones on similar subjects, they were by no means inconsiderable at the time.

In A. D. 790, Elipand, bishop of Toledo, consulting Felix, bishop of Urgela, in Catalonia, about the sense in which Christ was the Son of God, the latter answered, that he was his Son by *adoption*, and not by *nature*; an opinion which was well received, and maintained, by Elipand, as it was by

Ascaric of Braga. It also spread much in the Asturias, Galicia, and the southern provinces of France.

Pope Adrian hearing of this, wrote to the bishops of Spain, exhorting them to adhere to the doctrine of the fathers on the subject. On receiving this letter, Elipand called a council at Toledo, but neither the Pope's letter, nor any thing that passed there, led him to change his opinion, though opposed by Beatus, a priest and monk in the Asturias, and Ethurius his disciple, afterwards bishop of Osma, who recovered many who had embraced the opinion of Elipand. This, however, did not discourage the archbishop, and writing against his opponents, he said that, they who hold that Christ was the adopted Son of God according to his humanity only, and not according to his divinity also, were heretics. He said that the three persons in the trinity were God, the principle (*αρχη*), and the Holy Spirit; and he compared their union to that of husband and wife, which *Fleury* says was making it nothing more than of a moral nature, and that in other things he wrote like a Nestorian. But the sentiment expressed above is more nearly that of the proper Unitarians.

Charlemagne having extended his conquests into Spain, Urgela was in his dominions; and being informed of this new opinion, and, like all statesmen, alarmed at any innovation, he called a council at Narbonne for several ecclesiastical matters, as he said, but "principally on account of the pernicious opinion of Felix of Urgela." What was at that time done in this business does not appear, but in another council held at Friuli the same year, A. D. 791, the opinion of Felix and Elipand was condemned.

This sentence, however, does not appear to have had any more effect than the letter of the Pope; and the uneasiness of Charlemagne on the subject, continuing, Felix was brought before him at Ratisbon, in A. D. 792. Being heard and answered in the presence of the king, it is said that he renounced his opinions, and, being sent to Rome, he confessed and abjured his heresy, and then was permitted to return to Urgela. There, however, he maintained his former opinion, on which Alcuinus addressed to him a letter of remonstrance, and Felix replied. In this piece he said that since Christ, as a man, was the Son of David, and the Son of God, and it was impossible that the same person should have two fathers by nature, one of them must be by nature, and the other by adoption. Jesus Christ as man, he said, was God only nominally, since Peter said that "he wrought

miracles because God was with him, and Paul said that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. They do not say that Jesus Christ was God." These, it is easy to perceive, are the sentiments of one who was not far from pure Unitarianism.

Both Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, and *Alcuinus*, by order of Charlemagne, wrote a large answer to this piece of Felix, and they charge him with Nestorianism, in making two sons of God, one by nature, and the other by adoption.

Elipand appears to have been no less active than Felix in the defence of their common doctrine. He wrote a letter, addressed to the bishops of Spain, and another to Charlemagne, in support of his opinion; and the letter was recited, and seemingly with approbation, in a council which he assembled from the different provinces of Spain. This letter being read in the presence of Charlemagne, he arose, and spoke a long time on the subject, saying that this error had excited great horror to the very extremity of his dominions, and that it was absolutely necessary to put an end to it. The bishops who were present asked some days to give their opinion, and the king fixed a day on which they were to give it in writing. He also sent an embassy to consult the Pope on the subject, and likewise sent for learned men from Great Britain, in order to have the concurrence of all the Western churches.

The Pope on the return of the embassy, sent to Charlemagne a copy of the letter which he had addressed to the bishops of Gallicia in Spain, in which he replied to the letter of Elipand, and exhorted them to return to the faith of the church, threatening them with excommunication if they did not. Paulinus also gave his opinion in a letter written not only in his own name, but also in that of the archbishop of Milan, and those of all the provinces of Italy subject to Charlemagne.

This letter of Paulinus was read in the general council of all the countries subject to Charlemagne, held at Frankfort, A. D. 794, when two legates of the Pope attended. The letter of Elipand being then read to them, they answered it at large, in a synodical epistle, in the name of all the bishops of Germany, Gaul and Aquitaine, addressed to all the bishops, and the faithful in Spain. It concluded, however, with a simple exhortation, without any threatening of anathema.

Charlemagne also wrote in his own name to Elipand, and the other bishops of Spain, expressing his great concern for their subjection to the Infidels, but greater, for their errors with respect to the faith; and after reciting all that had been done

on the subject by himself, and the bishops in his connexion, he urges them in the most earnest manner to embrace their faith, promising them in this case his assistance to deliver them from the Infidels; but saying that, otherwise, he should consider them as absolute heretics, and hold no communication with them. The effect of this letter is not known; but as Spain was not subject to Charlemagne, it was probably very little. It certainly did not encourage him to do any thing for their relief.

Felix of Urgela was in a different situation, being entirely in the power of Charlemagne. He having relapsed into his heresy, as it was called, and replied to Alcuinus, the king caused a council to be assembled at Rome, in A. D. 799, when fifty-seven bishops attended. In this council Felix was declared to be excommunicated, if he did not renounce his errors.

In the same year Charlemagne sent a deputation of several bishops, and other persons of eminence, to persuade Felix to renounce his opinion; and in consequence of this, he consented to accompany the deputies to Charlemagne, at Aix la Chapelle. There, after giving his reasons for his opinions, in the presence of the king, and of many bishops and nobles assembled on the occasion, and heard their replies, he did finally renounce, or feigned to renounce, his opinion. But on account of his frequent relapses, he was deposed and sent to Lyons, where he passed the remainder of his days. This recantation was in the form of a letter addressed to the people of his diocese, exhorting them to join the universal church, and to cease from the scandal which he had occasioned.*

In A. D. 800, Charlemagne sent a deputation of archbishops, and other persons of eminence, to Elipand, and they carried with them a treatise of Alcuinus addressed to him, in which he exhorted him very earnestly to follow the example of Felix. But Elipand, who was then in his ninety-second year, was not to be gained. Old as he was, he replied to Alcuinus,† reproaching him with the number and value of his church preferments; saying, that he had not less than twenty thousand *serfs* at his disposal, lands being then given with the *serfs* or *villeins* who cultivated them. Thus ended this controversy, which does not appear to have had any effect after the age in which it arose.

* Claude of Turin was the disciple of Felix of Urgela: he was alive in A. D. 839, but his disciples formed no separate churches. *Robinson*, p. 448. (P.)

† See *Biog. Brit.* I. pp. 121, Note [A], 122, Note [C], 14—17. Among the works of Alcuinus, amounting to fifty-three Articles, is *Breviarum fidei adversus Arianos*.

SECTION V.

Of the Progress of Christianity, and the State of Heathens, Jews and Sectaries, in this Period.

ABOUT the year A. D. 637, Christianity was introduced into China by the Nestorians, who were indefatigable in their labours for this purpose, when *Jesucabas* of Gadala was at their head.* But it does not appear that any lasting effect was produced.

In the West, great progress was made in the conversion of the Germans by St. Winifred, to whom the Pope gave the name of Boniface, a man devoted to the see of Rome, the interests of which he seems to have had at heart, full as much as those of Christianity.

The conversion of the Heathens in the more remote parts of Europe was always attended to by the Christian powers, and especially by the popes, whose power and revenue were much increased by its success. Berinus, sent by pope Honorius to convert the Pagans in England, made a convert of Kinegils, king of Wessex, in A. D. 638. St. Wilfrid converted many of the people of Friesland, in his way to Rome, in A. D. 679. But the most successful apostle in this *age* [period] was Charlemagne, who propagated Christianity, as Mahomet did his religion, by the sword. The great theatre of his exploits was in Saxony, then occupied by the Pagans. These he conquered no less than four times, and every time, he compelled them to be baptized; but every time that they revolted, they never failed to apostatize from their profession of Christianity. It was judged, however, that though the first who were converted in this way would be very imperfect Christians, their posterity, instructed by Christian priests and monks, would be better, which certainly was the case.

How these new converts were instructed, before they were admitted to baptism, will appear from the behaviour of Radbod, king of Friesland, who was converted, that is, persuaded to be baptized, by Wolfram from England, in A. D. 719. When he had got one foot into the baptismal font, he stopped to ask where his ancestors, who had died unbaptized, then were; and Wolfram replying, that they were

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 1. (P.) Cent. vii. *ad init.* On the *disputed* authority of a monument which the Jesuits professed to have discovered at *Singapu*.

certainly in hell, he said he chose to go where they were, rather than with a small number of poor people into the kingdom of heaven, and refused to proceed any farther. He added, "I do not believe these novelties, and had rather follow the ancient customs of my nation."

Notwithstanding the wonderfully rapid progress of Christianity, especially within the bounds of the Roman empire, there were many remains of Paganism, especially in villages, and the more distant provinces, of which we find traces within this period. Many heathen, superstitious customs were noted and censured by *St. Eloi*, who laboured much in the conversion of the people of Flanders, about the year A. D. 640. The remains of Paganism were forbidden in the Council of Toledo, in A. D. 694, and in the Council of *Trullo* at Constantinople, in A. D. 692, especially the invocation of *Bacchus* in the time of vintage.

We see as little of the true spirit of Christianity in the conduct of Christian princes and councils towards the *Jews*, as towards the *Heathens*. At a Council of Toledo, in A. D. 633, it was ordered that the Jews should not be compelled to become Christians, but that such of them as had been made Christians by compulsion, in the reign of Sisebat, should continue in the Christian faith, and that the children of all Jews should be educated in Christian monasteries, in order to their being instructed in the Christian religion. In another council at Toledo, in A. D. 694, the Jews of Spain, on pretence of their having conspired against the state, and against the Christians, were condemned to have their goods confiscated, and be reduced to perpetual servitude, (their masters being charged not to permit the exercise of their religion,) to send their children at the age of seven years to be educated by Christians, and that they should be married to Christians.

The emperor *Leo Isauricus*, at the beginning of his reign, compelled the Jews in his dominions to be baptized, but they washed themselves immediately after, as if to efface their baptism, and, contrary to the custom of Christians in those times, they ate before they received the eucharist. As many Jews pretended to be converted, and observed their own rites in private, it was ordered at the second Council of Nice, that they should not be received to communion, and that their children should not be baptized. They were also prohibited from purchasing Christian slaves.

The emperor *Heraclius* obliged the Jews to embrace Christianity, or leave his dominions, and he persuaded

Dagobert, the king of France, to do the same.* But the Jews had been as hostile to the Christians, and whenever they had it in their power, shewed an example of great cruelty. When Chosroes II. of Persia, delivered his Christian prisoners to the Jews, they put them to death, it is said, to the number of forty-eight thousand.†

In A. D. 722, there appeared among the Jews in Syria, a pretended Messiah, and for some time he had many followers.‡

The ancient heresies, as they were deemed, were not wholly extinct in this period. In the reign of Leo *Isauricus* there were *Montanists*, who, being ordered to join the catholic church, rather chose to burn themselves in their churches. Grimoald, king of the Lombards, abolished Arianism in his dominions, after which all Italy professed the Catholic faith.§ On account of some remains of Arianism in Spain, Eugenius of Toledo wrote a treatise on the subject of the Trinity, in A. D. 658. The heresies of *Novatus*, and also that of *Jovinian*, who had distinguished himself in the time of Jerome, by opposing the system of monkery, were revived about the year A. D. 700, in the diocese of Clermont, in France, and the monks of Monlieu wrote to refute them. The *Pelagians* were by no means extinct. The clergy of Rome writing to the Scots in Ireland, in A. D. 640, reproved them for retaining the doctrine of Pelagius, maintaining that it was in the power of man, by his own will, and the grace of God, to live without sin.

On the conquests of the Saracens, the heretics of the East, who had been persecuted, and kept under, by the power of the Greek emperors, held up their heads. The *Nestorians* prevailed in Syria, and the *Eutychians* in Egypt. The Mahometans were more favourable to them than to those who held with the emperors, or the popes of Rome, who were their enemies; so that from this time we have no certain account of the succession of the Catholic bishops in the great sees of Jerusalem, Antioch, or Alexandria. When the Saracens conquered Egypt, they protected Benyon, the patriarch of the Jacobites, who had concealed himself ten years under the emperor Heraclius, and he entered Alexandria in triumph; and from this time there were two patriarchs of Alexandria, one of the Jacobites, and the other of the Melchites, so called, as has been observed, from their holding with the Greek emperors.

* *Sueur*, A. D. 629. (P.)

† *Sueur*. (P.)

‡ *Basnage*, VIII. p. 285. (P.)

§ *Giannone*, I. p. 226. (P.)

The controversy about the proper time for the celebration of Easter was kept up with great obstinacy on both sides, in England; the ancient Christians in Wales, Ireland and Scotland, maintaining the Jewish custom, of observing it on the fourteenth day of the month, without any regard to its being Sunday, and the new converts from Rome the custom that is now universally adopted in Europe, and thence called *Catholic*. Finan, bishop of Landisferne, in Ireland, held with the former, and one Romanus with the latter, as also Wilfrid, son of Oswy, king of Northumberland, who travelled to Rome, and on his return got the monastery of Rippon, from which the king ejected the monks, who preferred banishment to the observance of the new custom.

In A. D. 664, king Oswy appointed a solemn conference to be held on the subject, at the monastery of Strenshall, where Colman, bishop of Landisferne, was the chief speaker on the part of the Irish, and Wilfrid on that of the Romanists. In the issue both parties, as usual on such occasions, retired with their former opinions, and the king was confirmed in his own.

In A. D. 669, Theodore [a monk of Tarsus] was sent by the Pope to be archbishop of Canterbury, with the general superintendence of all the churches in England, accompanied by the abbot Adrian. He established the Roman custom with respect to the observance of Easter. He also founded a celebrated school of divinity, science and psalmody,* which from this time was introduced into all the churches in England. In A. D. 673, he held a council at Hertford, attended by four bishops besides himself, who all agreed to observe the Roman customs.†

From this time the opposition to the Roman customs gradually ceased. About the year A. D. 710, the nation of the Picts renounced the schism, and conformed to the Roman custom of keeping Easter, their king Naitan having

* At *Greeklade*. See *Rapin*, L. iii. l. pp. 235, 236. By *Theodore's* means "the Greek and Latin tongues, with other liberal arts, arithmetic, music, astronomy, and the like, began first to flourish among the Saxons." *Milton*, B. iv. p. 191.

† See *Rapin*, L. iii. *Conciles*, l. p. 264. The same prelate assembled another council at *Hatfield*, in 680, on a requisition from the Pope, to condemn the *heresy* of the *Monothelites*, from which the English were found to be entirely free. *Ibid.* p. 265. A writer, under the *Commonwealth*, when *Church and King* were in *abeyance*, thus describes the conduct and influence of this archbishop:

"This *Theodorus* played *Rex*, placing and displacing bishops and ministers, at his pleasure; and in a short time Christianity degenerated into *superstition*. Kings and queens that were religiously affected, left their kingdoms and turned monks and nuns; and as error overspread the land, so did impiety and profaneness. Kings turned tyrants, and the people wallowed in all manner of wickedness." *Martyrologie*, by Samuel Clarke, "Pastor of *Bennet Fink*, London," 1652, fol. p. 18.

adopted that measure. The monks of Ai conformed to it, and to ecclesiastical tonsure, in A. D. 716. Of so much importance was this question deemed, that no British or Irish priest could be reconciled to the Catholic church without a fresh imposition of hands, and no private person could receive the chrism (i. e. confirmation) or the eucharist, till he conformed to it.

Such was the state of heresies and opinions of an older date, in this period. Within it arose some that were new, besides those of Elipand and Felix, an account of which has been given before. About the middle of the eighth century, some disturbance was occasioned by Adalbert, in Gaul, and Clement, a native of Ireland,* who formed separate societies in Germany and France, independent of those which were in communion with the church of Rome. Adalbert had adherents among some bishops who in those times were ordained without a view to any particular sees, which was contrary to the canons. He is not charged with any irregularity of morals, but only with hypocritical austerity.† Clement rejected the authority of the canons, councils and fathers, allowed the marriage of a man with his brother's widow, and said that Jesus Christ when he went into hell saved all that were in a state of damnation, even infidels and idolaters. He is also said to have held some errors relating to Predestination. On the whole, it is probable that, if the sentiments and conduct of these two men were fully known, they would be ranked with the most early reformers.

Winifred, or Boniface, the Romish apostle of the North, wrote about these men to pope Zachary, and also procured them to be apprehended: and in a council held at Rome, in A. D. 748, some very absurd writings, said to be theirs, were produced, and ordered to be burned, and their authors to be deposed and anathematized, as also their followers, if they persisted in their errors. After this the Pope desired that the cause of Adalbert, Clement and Godalsace, (whose name does not occur before,) might be heard at a council in France; but what the following proceedings were, or what became of the men, or their partisans, does not appear.‡

The false bishops, as they were called, who were complained of at this time, were said to be more numerous than

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 99. (P.) Cent. viii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. ii.

† According to *Hist. Lit. de la France*, (IV. p. 82,) "he was the forger of a letter to the human race, said to have been written by Jesus Christ, and to have been carried from heaven by the archangel Michael." *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.* (P.) They "were committed to prison, where, in all probability, they concluded their days." *Ibid.*

the true ones. They are charged with being guilty of all kinds of crimes, and so were the primitive Christians and the later reformers. They assembled people in the fields, and the houses of the peasants. They did not baptize with the sign of the cross, or the other forms of Catholic baptism. These circumstances sufficiently shew why they were obnoxious to the popes and the Catholics. By the orders of the popes they were every where deprived of their priesthood in provincial councils, and confined in monasteries, i. e. imprisoned.

Among the novelties in this period, it may deserve to be mentioned, that a Scotch priest named Samson, taught that men might be saved without baptism, by the mere imposition of the hands of a bishop.

The subject which afterwards became the distinguishing difference between the Greek and the Latin churches, sometimes occurs within this period, but as yet no great stress was laid upon it. I mean the procession of the Holy Spirit, said in the Council of Constantinople to be from the Father: but he being said in the gospels to be sent by the Son, when this *procession* came to be understood as relating to the *manner of his existence*, and the Son was supposed to be God, equal to the Father, and the same was affirmed of the Holy Spirit, it was thought by some that he ought to be considered as proceeding alike from both. This, however, was not mentioned in any public act till the year A. D. 447, where it occurs in the acts of a synod held in Spain. The same phrase of the Holy Spirit "proceeding from the Father and the Son" occurs in the acts of a council held at Toledo, in A. D. 633.

It does not appear that any complaint was made of this addition to the creed, (for in that it was inserted,) till the year A. D. 767, when the emperor Constantine sent ambassadors to Pepin, who were heard at Chantilly, near Paris. There the question was agitated about the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father, or from the Father and the Son, and the Greeks complained of it as an innovation. But it does not appear that any thing was decided at this time on the subject. Indeed, neither the Greek nor the Latin church had any very settled opinion about it. For at the Council of *Constantinople in Trullo*, in A. D. 791,* it was maintained

* This *Conciliabule* or *Conventicle*, as it is termed in the Catholic list of councils, because not sanctioned by the presence of a papal legate, was held in 692, for discipline, on which subject the 227 bishops present, issued 200 canons. The

that this procession was from the Son as well as from the Father. And pope Adrian, writing to Charlemagne, approved of the sentiment of Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, who said that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father *through the Son*, which, as *Fleury* says, shews that at that time the church of Rome did not reproach the Greeks on that subject.

SECTION VI.

Of the Power of the Popes, and of the Bishops, in this Period.

IT was in this period of our history that the popes obtained the rank of temporal princes, (though not yet absolutely independent of a superior,) which they have held ever since; and the great wealth and temporal power acquired by the see of Rome was in all times that which emboldened them in their claims of spiritual usurpation, and led the Christian world to give way to them. In the former periods of our history, the patrimony of St. Peter (as the lands and revenues of the see of Rome were called) had been immense, not having been confined to the territory of Rome, or Italy, but consisted of donations made from time to time in Sicily, and all parts of the Christian world. But before this time they never received those revenues of any place or territory which had before been at the disposal of the prince, or emperor. But such an acquisition was now made by the popes, in consequence of their favouring the conquests of the kings of France in Italy; and such was the influence of the popes at this time in all affairs, temporal and spiritual, that it was of importance to the kings of France to purchase their alliance, at almost any price. Besides, they might imagine that, whatever they gave, they might hereafter, if they thought proper, resume. The steps by which this great revolution, in the state of the Christian world, took place, were as follows:—

Gregory III. having taken the part of Trasimond, duke of Spoleto, against Luitprand, king of the Lombards, and in consequence of it, Rome being besieged by the latter, applied for help to Charles Martel, mayor of the palace in France, but in reality king of France, in A. D. 741, promising that if he was relieved by him he would withdraw from the obedi-

Council of 791, was held in the *Friuli*, by Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, "Sur la Trinité, sur l'incarnation du Verbe, et sur Discipline." *Now. Dict. Hist.* l. pp. cxxxvii. cxxxix. On *Trullo*. See *supra*, p. 96.

ence of the Greek emperor, who had given him no assistance, and give him (Charles) the consulship of Rome.

After this, it was by the advice of pope Zachary, that Pepin, who had succeeded Charles Martel, assumed the title of king of France, the Pope, who was consulted on the occasion, saying, that the title should go with the power. In consequence of this, Childeric III., a weak and contemptible prince, was confined in a monastery.

Rome being again threatened by Astolphus, king of the Lombards, pope Stephen II. having in vain invoked the aid of the emperor, and tried the effect of a solemn procession, in which he walked barefoot, carrying an image of Christ, which was said to have been made without hands, wrote to Pepin, and sent the letter privately by a pilgrim; and in order to procure an interview, he desired him to send ambassadors to engage him to pay him a visit in France. He then went to Pavia, and there applied to the king of the Lombards to procure the restitution of Ravenna, and other places of the exarchate, which had been taken from the Greek emperors, who were still sovereigns of Rome. Not succeeding in this, he was permitted to go to France, the king of the Lombards having no suspicion of the business on which he went; and there he was received with the greatest honour by Pepin and his court, in A. D. 754.

The Pope having obtained the promise of the assistance he wanted, from Pepin, they returned together, and Astolphus being besieged in Pavia, promised to restore his conquests from the Romans. But on the return of Pepin to France, he not only refused to do this, but besieged Rome itself. The Pope, reduced to extremity, wrote to Pepin in the name of the apostle Peter, conjuring him in the most earnest manner to come to his assistance, promising him all the good things of this life and another, in case of his compliance, and threatening him with the torments of hell in case of his refusal. On this Pepin came again, and besieging Astolphus in Pavia, forced him to fulfil the terms of the treaty of the preceding year; and having thus obtained Ravenna and the exarchate, including Pentapolis, or the March of Ancona,* a territory containing twenty-two cities, he gave them in perpetuity to St. Peter, that is, to the church of Rome and the popes. And this was the first foundation of their temporal power. But notwithstanding this donation of Pepin,

* *Giannone*, l. p. 261. (P.)

the popes continued to date their letters by the years of the emperors of Constantinople, and still the senate and people of Rome called the Pope their father, not their lord.

On the death of Carloman, one of the sons of Pepin, and brother of Charles, who was afterwards, for his great exploits, surnamed Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, (and who had a share of the dominions of their father,) his widow went with her two sons to Desiderius, king of the Lombards, who requested the Pope to come to Pavia, and consecrate them kings of France, in opposition to Charlemagne, whom the peers of France had chosen for their sole king: but he refused. On this, Desiderius approached Rome with an army, but on the remonstrance of the Pope, he did not choose to enter the place by force. Charlemagne, however, coming to his assistance, besieged the king of the Lombards in Pavia, and during the siege went to Rome, where he confirmed by his signature (for it is said that at this time he could not write) the grant of his father Pepin, with the addition of Corsica, and beginning on the coast of Genoa, by the port of Spezia, extended his grant to Bargi, Reggio and Mantua, comprehending the whole of the exarchate, the provinces of Venetia and Istria, with the duchies of Spoleto and Beneventum.* On the return of Charlemagne to Pavia, Desiderius surrendered at discretion, and retired to the monastery of Corbie, in France. On Charlemagne's third visit to Rome, in A. D. 787, he added to his donation the cities he had taken from the duke of Beneventum, viz. Sora, Arces, Aquino, Arpi, Theano and Capua. But the extent of the grants of both Pepin and Charlemagne are much disputed by the adherents of the popes and of the emperors.†

In order to induce Charlemagne to make this grant of territory, it seems probable that the Pope alleged the example of Constantine the Great, who, it was pretended, had given the city and territory of Rome to pope Silvester, though some say that this forgery was of a later date.‡ Charlemagne,

* *Fleury*, IX. p. 421. (P.) "Il ne sût pas écrire." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 122.

† *Mosheim*, II. p. 69. (P.) Cent. viii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. ix. Note.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 72. (P.) *Ibid.* Sect. xi. Note [a]. A *Catholic* biographer of Constantine thus freely exposes this pretended grant, and shews how dangerous it once was to deny it:

"On connoît la réponse ingénieuse de *Jerome Donato* ambassadeur de Venise, [1510] au pape *Jules II.*, qui lui demandoit le titre de droits de sa République sur le Golfe Adriatique. 'Votre Sainteté trouvera la concession de la mer Adriatique,' dit-il à ce Pontife, 'au des de l'original de la donation que *Constantin* a fait au pape *Silvestre* de la ville de Rome et des autres terres de l'Etat Ecclésiastique.' Il étoit dangereux, dans les siècles d'ignorance, de rejeter cette donation, réprouvée depuis

however, retained the sovereignty of Rome, and probably of all the principalities that he had given him : for an oath of fealty was taken to him on the death of pope Adrian and the election of Leo III.

On Charlemagne's fourth visit to Rome, in A. D. 800, the Pope put a crown of great value on his head, and anointed him, giving him the titles of *Emperor* and *Augustus*, and after this the Pope prostrated himself before him, and acknowledged him his sovereign. The people of Rome easily consented to this transfer of allegiance, from the emperors at Constantinople, as they had given them no assistance, and the empire was then in the hands of a woman, which, being a novelty, made the Romans ashamed of their subjection. Thus the title of *Emperor of the West*, which had become extinct in A. D. 476, was restored after a lapse of three hundred and four years ; and from this time the popes dated their letters by the reign of Charlemagne.

One principal motive which induced Charlemagne to give so much power as he did to the clergy, and especially to the bishops of Rome, was, that he expected more submission from them than from laymen ; and that by their ecclesiastical power they would enable him to keep the others in subjection. Other princes acted upon the same principle, and were not altogether influenced by superstition. The excessive power of the clergy over the laity was confined to the West, where excommunication by the Druids had always excluded those who were subject to it from all the rights of society, and even humanity, as we learn from Cæsar. Of this circumstance the Christian clergy had availed themselves, to increase their own power.

In return for the temporal power which Charlemagne gave to the popes and the clergy, he assumed, and without opposition from them, much power of a spiritual nature. He not only retained the power of approving of the elections of the popes, which had been held by the emperors of the East, so that they could not be consecrated without his consent, but he regulated the churches by his *Capitularia*, calling synods by his own authority, in which both prelates and temporal princes were present, and in which rules were laid down for the discipline of the church, as well as for things of a temporal nature. Also, when any bishops were pre-

longtemps par tous les Savans ; par ceux même d'Italie. Ceux qui la nioient, furent sévèrement châtiés à Rome et dans d'autres villes. On assure même qu'en 1478, il y eut des hommes condamnés au feu, à Strasbourg, pour avoir combattu trop ouvertement cette erreur." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 285.

sented to him, and he thought proper to confirm the election; he invested them in their office by the delivery of the *crozier and ring*, and after this the new bishop was consecrated by the neighbouring bishops.*

In the history of this period the popes advanced their pretensions to power of various kinds: of this the following are instances:—

When St. Winifred, or as he was generally called Boniface, was ordained a bishop by the Pope, and sent into some parts of Germany, he took an oath by which he bound himself always to act in concurrence with the Pope, to hold no communion with those who did not observe the canons, to hinder them all he could, or to acquaint the Pope with their proceedings.

Gregory III. sending St. Willibald, who was a monk, on a mission, he said he must have the leave of his abbot, according to the rule of Benedict; but the Pope replied, “my orders are sufficient, the abbot has no right to resist me, if I were to send himself.” On this Willibald submitted, offering to go wherever he should send him.

Tassilon, duke of Bavaria, not readily agreeing with Charlemagne, the Pope declared him anathematized, if he did not abide by the oath he had taken, and said, that in this case the king would not be answerable for the murders committed, and other damages done in Bavaria. This, says *Fleury*, is the first time that the Pope pronounced upon the justness of any war.†

A circumstance which contributed very much to establish the power of the popes in these dark ages, was the production of the *decretal epistles* of the ancient popes, of which the first mention is made in this period. In A. D. 785, Ingelram, bishop of Metz, drew up a collection of canons, and in them he inserted some from the *decretals*, which *Fleury* says no person now doubts were forged by Isidore *Mercator* of Spain, and which, he says, were calculated to advance the power of the popes, and of the clergy in general. Gross as this imposition was, it was admitted by all the Latin church, eight hundred years, and was with difficulty abandoned by the Catholics even then.

Though those *decretals* are usually ascribed to Isidore of Seville, in the sixth century, *Mosheim* doubts their being so ancient, and is rather of opinion that they were forged in a later period, not without the knowledge of the popes.

* *Giannone*, I. p. 322. (P.)

† *Hist.* IX. p. 491. (P.)

Several of the more learned bishops, especially in France, were sensible of the imposition, and refused to receive these *decretals* as the law of the church; but the authority of the popes, especially of Nicolas I., reduced them to silence. The surname of *Mercator* added to Isidore is, he says, a mistake for *Peccator*, which it was customary for bishops, by way of humility, to subjoin to their signatures.*

In one respect we find an instance of moderation in this holy see, that was not so common in later ages. Pope Zachary, writing to Boniface, disclaims his having received any thing from those bishops to whom he had given the *pallium*. "Let every one," says he, "who is so bold as to sell the gifts of the Holy Spirit, be anathema."

Some of the greater bishops of Italy, as those of Ravenna and Milan, when they were not under the same civil government with the city of Rome, were sometimes induced to hold themselves independent of the popes. Thus Maurus, archbishop of Ravenna, being supported by the emperor Constans, would not receive the *pallium* from the Pope, on which account the Romans considered those who were subject to that see as heretics, and called them *Autocephali*.† In A. D. 979, Theodore, the then bishop of Ravenna, was reconciled to the Pope.

The popes did not gain so great an accession of power in this period without the clergy in general, and the superior clergy in particular, gaining something in proportion.

At a council held at Ratisbon, in A. D. 807, the *Choro-episcopi* were reduced to the condition of presbyters. They continued, however, notwithstanding this ordinance; and it was not till the middle of the tenth century that they were entirely suppressed, both in the East and the West.

It was their great wealth that gave the bishops of the greater sees so much power as to bear down the village bishops, though none of them obtained the *principalities* which they did in a later period. Some instances, however, of the great wealth of clergymen occur in this. The case of Alcuinus has been mentioned already. St. Wulfrid had so much secular power, in consequence of his immense wealth, the number of his monasteries, the magnificence of his buildings, and the number of his vassals who attended him in complete armour, that the king took umbrage at it, and persuaded the archbishop of Canterbury to depose him. This was in A. D. 678.

* *Mosheim*, II. pp. 126, 127. (P.) Cent. ix. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. viii. ix.

† *Sueur*, A. D. 649. (P.)

As the princes and the nobles assisted at the councils which were held at this time, we the less wonder at the regulations of a civil nature that were sometimes made in them. In a council at Toledo, in A. D. 633, several decrees were made with respect to the succession to the kingdom, and the part which the clergy were to take in it, which, says *Fleury*, is the first time that bishops took any part in civil government. At the sixth Council of Toledo, in A. D. 638, it was agreed with the consent of the king Cinithila and the nobility, that no person should ascend the throne who would not promise to preserve the Catholic faith; and that if he violated his oath, he should be condemned to eternal fire, with the bishops and others who should partake in his guilt. This, however, does not amount to the deposition of the prince.

Such a disposition, however, was shewn by the bishops in these councils to controul the sovereigns, that those of them who suspected that they were not favoured by them, took umbrage at such assemblies of the clergy. Sigebert, king of Austria, wrote to Disier, bishop of Cahors, to forbid his attending any council within his dominions, without his previous knowledge of it; saying he would never refuse their assembling whenever he thought the good of the church, or of the state, required it.

Marriage being considered as a religious engagement, as well as a civil contract, the clergy soon began to take cognizance of it; and it evidently favoured their purpose to limit the degrees of affinity within which it might be lawfully contracted. Gregory III. writing to Boniface, the bishop of Germany, in A. D. 732, says, that he should forbid marriages to the seventh degree of relationship, and if possible, prevent men from marrying more than twice.

Not only were priests forbidden to marry, and the wives they had before receiving holy orders to have no commerce with them; but at a council held in Rome, in A. D. 720, an anathema was pronounced against any person who should marry the widow of one who had been ordained a priest. At the same time they who married the wife of a brother or cousin were anathematized.

Godfathers and godmothers being considered as spiritual relations, the new laws of marriage were extended even to them. But these restrictions did not satisfy all persons. Boniface, writing to the archbishop of Canterbury, inquires for the authority in the Scriptures, or the canons of the church, for condemning the marriages of godfathers with the

mother of the child, when she was become a widow, which, he said, the Romanists say deserves capital punishment. "I do not comprehend," he adds, "how spiritual relationship should render marriage criminal, since by baptism we are all brethren." However, when the Pope was in France, in A. D. 754, it was agreed that marriage with godmothers, either at baptism, or confirmation, (for they were then used at both these rites,) should be unlawful.

There was no prohibition of parents being sponsors for their children, till the time of Charlemagne, at the Council of Mentz.*

In A. D. 702, Witiza, king of Spain, declared it to be lawful for the clergy in his dominions to marry. This was resented by the Pope, who threatened that if the law was not abrogated, he would take his kingdom from him. But the king, in reply, said he would pay him a visit with his army, and chastise his insolence, by plundering Rome, as his ancestor Alaric had done. He also assembled a council at Toledo, in A. D. 704, in which it was decreed "that the bishop of *Rome* had no authority in *Spain*, neither in church nor state. Within twelve years after this great council, Spain was conquered by the Moors." †

SECTION VII.

Of the Monks in this Period.

THE general situation of the monks continued to be nearly the same in this period, as in the preceding; but there are several particulars in their history, not undeserving to be recorded. So much more strict were the lives of the monks than that of the clergy, that the term *religious* became appropriated to them, as distinguished from the regular clergy, who, from living more in the world, obtained the epithet of *secular*. It appears, however, from the acts of the tenth Council of Toledo, held A. D. 656, that at that time the term *religious*, comprehended the clergy as well as the monks.

In the time of Charlemagne it began to be the custom to give lands in fee to churches and monasteries. That of Mount Cassin was the first that got possession of castles and

* Bingham, I. p. 513. (P.) See "Proceedings of Commissioners," 1661, Exception, p. 21.

† Geddes's Tracts, II. pp. 28—34. (P.) Baronius calls it a judgment. P. 35.

baronies, whence its abbot boasts of being the first baron in the kingdom of Naples.*

In several respects, the superstition of the times grew more favourable to the monkish system than before. Whereas Basil did not permit any persons to take the vows under the age of seventeen, the Council of *Trullo*, in A. D. 692, permitted it at the age of ten, on the pretence that the church should advance daily towards perfection. By the third Council of Saragossa, in the same year, the widows of kings were obliged to become nuns.

In A. D. 633, it was decreed in the fourth Council of Toledo, that no monk, though made so by the devotion of his parents, should ever return to secular life.†

In A. D. 694, abbesses, as well as abbots, subscribed to the Council of Bokenfield, in Kent, and before both presbyters and temporal lords. This is the first time that such a thing occurs in the history of the church.‡

It is probable that there were many persons who lived on pillars in the East within this period, though their names have not come down to us: for when, after the death of Tarasius in A. D. 806, Theodore advised the emperor Nicephorus to choose the most worthy to succeed him in the patriarchate of Constantinople, he wished him to look out not only among bishops and abbots, but also among the *stylites*, and the *recluse*.

There occur many examples within this period of sovereign princes renouncing their dignities, and confining themselves in cloisters. Kenred, king of Mercia, after having reigned six years, went to Rome in A. D. 709, and there embraced the monastic life. Offa, king of the East Saxons, at the same time did the same, and though young, he left his wife, his country, and kingdom together.§ Celwulph, king of Northumberland, quitted his kingdom in A. D. 737, after he had reigned nine years, and he afterwards lived twenty-two years in a monastery.|| Carloman, king of the Oriental

* *Giannone*, I. p. 324. (P.)

† *Bingham*, p. 255. (P.)

‡ *Ibid.* p. 259. (P.) Widred, the king, presided. In this subscription according to *Rapin*, five abbesses had precedence of a bishop, named Bothred, and of all the priests; a circumstance for which some have regarded the council as *suppositions*. This council decreed the exemption of the clergy from all civil imposts, and the church's independence of the royal authority, in all *spiritual* concerns. *Hist.* L. iii. *Council*, I. p. 265.

§ "Much desired by the people; and such his virtue, by report, as might have, otherwise, been worthy to have reigned." *Milton*, L. iv. pp. 199. See *Rapin*, L. iii. I. p. 179.

|| At *Lindisfarne*, (Holy-Island) where he became a monk, leaving his crown to

Franks, renounced the world in A. D. 747, leaving the government to his brother Pepin. He received the monastic habit at the hands of the Pope, and, after passing some time in a monastery at Soracte, spent the remainder of his life at that of Mount Cassin, conforming to the most rigorous discipline of that place, sometimes serving in the kitchen, keeping the sheep, and working in the garden.* Rachis, king of the Lombards, retired to the same monastery in A. D. 750.

Sebbi, king of Essex, would have embraced the monastic life, if he could have persuaded his wife to do the same. When he was at the point of death, he received the monastic habit at the hands of the bishop of London, and was the first instance, as *Fleury* says, that he finds of any person choosing to die in this manner. In later times it was very common.†

Vamba, king of Spain, being to appearance at the point of death, in A. D. 680, put on the monastic habit, and recovering, he was deemed incapable of the crown. The twelfth Council of Toledo confirmed his resignation, and the election of his successor, declaring it to be unlawful for any person professing himself a monk to take any military function, which was implied in that of a king. Vamba lived in a monastery seven years. This, says *Fleury*, is the first instance of the clergy absolving any persons from their oath of obedience to a temporal prince.‡

Exemptions of monasteries from episcopal jurisdiction gained some ground in this period. In the formulary of Marculfus, published about the year A. D. 660, we see the beginning of it, the bishop promising to give orders to any whom the abbot or the monks should recommend, and not to enter the monastery but at the request of the abbot. In A. D. 751, pope Zachary, at the request of Boniface, granted an exemption to the monastery of Fulda, from all episcopal jurisdiction, except that of the holy see. This, says *Fleury*, is the first example of this kind of exemption. Monasteries founded by princes were independent of the bishops of the

Eadbert, who, after a reign of twenty years, followed his example. "Kings, one after another, leaving their kingly charge, to run their heads, fondly, into a monk's cowl.—Clerks and laics, men and women, hasting to Rome in herds, thought themselves no where sure of eternal life till they were cloistered there." *Milton*, B. iv. p. 202. *Rapin*, L. iii. l. p. 171.

* "Il s'étoit fait un nom dans le monde par sa valeur et ses vertus. Il s'en fit un dans le Cloître par sa vie humble et pénitente. Il mourut en 755." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 50.

† *Hist.* IX. p. 6. (P.) *Milton*, B. iv. p. 192.

‡ *Hist.* IX. p. 62. (P.)

diocese, and subject to no other inspection than that of the king's chaplain.

In A. D. 785, pope Adrian granted to two monasteries, one of St. Martin de Tours, and that of St. Denis near Paris, the privilege of having bishops of their own. Other monasteries had the same. These bishops were in general such as, having quitted their preferments, had retired to these monasteries, and sometimes they were village bishops who had their residence in them. Sometimes the abbot himself was the bishop, and sometimes they were only priests who had the title of bishops, because they were sent to preach in certain districts.

In so high reputation were the austerities of the monkish life at this time, and so dissolute were the manners of many of the secular clergy, that a reformation for the promoting of piety and learning was much wanted. This was attempted, and in a great measure successfully executed, by Chrodogand, bishop of Metz, in A. D. 763, who, in imitation of Eusebius of Vercell, and Austin, formed a society of the clergy within his church, appointing revenues sufficient for their maintenance, and obliging them to live, as much as possible for those who had clerical duty, according to the rules of Benedict.

He did not require absolute poverty of his *canons*, as those regular clergy were called, but that they should give all their property to the church of Metz, enjoying only the *usufruct*. They had the disposal of the alms that were given for masses, confession, and attendance upon the sick, if they were not given to the community. And this, says *Fleury*, is the first mention that is made of alms, for masses, or any clerical duty. Those rules of Chrodogand were afterwards adopted in most cathedral churches, as those of Benedict were in the monasteries.

The rule of Chrodogand was condemned by Nicolas II., in A. D. 1059, on account of its permitting the canons to enjoy the possessions they had before their vows, and its allowing them too large a portion of bread and wine. But the true reason was, that it was instituted by the emperor, without the consent or knowledge of the Pope.*

We find great complaints of irregular monasteries in this period. It appears by the rules of Fructuosus, archbishop of Braga, for the monasteries in Spain, that there were what were called *false monasteries* in his time, erected by private

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 130. (P.) Cent. ix. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xii.

persons on their own authority, who confined themselves to their country houses, with their wives, children, slaves and neighbours, engaging by oath to live in common, but without rule or superior. They were, it is said, interested people, who far from giving, plundered others on pretence of poverty. They were quarrelsome, and often called on their relations and friends to assist them with an armed force. Bede complains of such pretended monasteries in England, during thirty years before he wrote. It is said there were also priests who, to get the reputation of piety, or to preserve their tithes and other perquisites, erected themselves into the superiors of monasteries, without conforming to the monastic rules; and they received with open arms those who quitted other monasteries, the discipline of which they decried.*

This account savours much of exaggeration. The persons here complained of might be disgusted with many things in the conduct of the generality of the monasteries of this time, and think they consulted their own improvement better by adopting rules of their own.

The monkish discipline being greatly relaxed, found an eminent restorer towards the close of this period in Benedict of Aniane, in France, a person of Gothic extraction, and born about A. D. 750. His father, the count of Maquelone, placed him in the service of king Pepin, and he was afterwards attached to Charlemagne; † but becoming a monk at the abbey of St. Seine, he distinguished himself so much by his voluntary austerities, as to be censured and ridiculed by the other monks.

His only food was bread without any wine. He slept little, sometimes on the bare ground, and often passed the night in the coldest weather with his feet uncovered, and was many days without speaking a word. He wore the meanest dress, the holes in which he mended with cloth of any colour, and also bore the vermin with which it swarmed, so that he was considered by his fellow-monks as a madman. The abbot endeavoured to prevail upon him to abate of his austerities, but without effect. He said the rules of Benedict were for the weak, whereas he aimed at greater perfection; but finding that he should have few imitators on this rigid plan, he reverted to the observance of Benedict's rules.

* See his *Epistola ad Egbertum*, quoted in *Biog. Brit.* II. p. 119, Note, Col. ii.

† He had been an officer in their armies. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 373.

On the death of the abbot he was chosen to succeed him, but there being too much difference between his manners and those of the monks of this monastery, he retired to an estate of his own near a brook called Aniane, in Aquitaine, where he founded another monastery about the year A. D. 780; but the monks finding they were to receive their victuals by measure, many of them left him. A few, however, continued with him, though they had neither farm nor vineyard, cattle nor horses, but only an ass to carry them when it was absolutely necessary. Their numbers increasing, they built a new monastery with their own hands, and covered it with thatch. Their sacred vessels were at first of wood, then of glass, and lastly of tin. Afterwards Benedict admitted of some ornaments in his church, and many donations being made to this new monastery, he received the lands, but gave liberty to the *serfs* that were upon them, and never reclaimed any thing that was stolen from him.

The example of Benedict was followed by many other persons; and being assisted by dukes and counts, he began in A. D. 782 to build a church with more magnificence. He also rebuilt his cloister with pillars of marble, and taking down his thatched roof, he replaced it with one of tiles. All the decorations of his church were regulated by the number seven. He had seven chandeliers, with seven branches, seven lamps before the altar, &c. &c. But what he did of most value was collecting a great number of books, and he had among his monks, grammarians, theologians and persons well acquainted with the Scriptures, of whom some were afterwards bishops.

Being in great favour with Charlemagne, Benedict received from him valuable presents, which he distributed among various monasteries, which he visited with great assiduity, as their common parent. The monks under his immediate care being increased to three hundred, he erected a larger building, which afterwards served for more than a thousand, and in various places he established smaller monasteries, dependent upon this, which were in later times called *priories*. His monks were sent for to other monasteries where the discipline was become relaxed, to serve for an example to them.

The emperor Lewis gave Benedict the superintendence of all the monasteries in his dominions, and with his assistance made new regulations for them all, at Aix, in A. D. 817. The principal cause of the relaxation of discipline, then so much complained of, was the observance of different rules

in different monasteries, pretending to be all of the order of Benedict; but now they were made exactly the same. Corporal punishment was allowed, but the monks were not to be whipped naked in the presence of their brethren. Benedict died in A. D. 821, aged 70.

SECTION VIII.

Of the disorderly State of this Period.

So great were the public violences and disorders of every kind, in the course of this period, though they were exceeded in the subsequent ones, that to give a clearer idea of them, as far as ecclesiastical matters were affected by them, I shall collect the principal articles into a section by themselves.

Excessive superstition, and great crimes, often go together, men having recourse to the one as an atonement and compensation for the other; and Christian princes too often set the example of occasionally plundering the wealth of churches and monasteries, as well as of bestowing it. After the death of pope Honorius, and before the election of another, the emperor's officers plundered the treasury of the church of Rome, and carried large sums to Constantinople. The monastery of Mount Cassin was entirely ruined by the Lombards, but restored by the orders of pope Gregory II. in A. D. 718, one hundred and forty years after the devastation. Charles Martel often gave the goods of the church to laymen, for the assistance they gave him in the wars that he carried on against the Saracens. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, was much affected with the frequent instances of this usurpation of the property of the church by laymen. Writing to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, he says, "Every layman, king, governor, or count, who takes a monastery by violence, withdrawing it from the ecclesiastical power, and subjecting the monks to himself, is called by the ancient fathers a ravisher, a sacrilegious prince, and a murderer of the poor, deserving of a terrible anathema before the tribunal of Jesus Christ."

Writing to pope Zachary, in A. D. 742, he says, "the greatest part of the episcopal sees in France are abandoned to laymen, debauched clergy, or public farmers. This had been the case," he says, "eighty years." He probably, however, referred to that part of France, which bordered on Germany, where he resided. He says, however, that there were bishops and priests of the French nation plunged in

adultery and debauchery, as appears by the children they have had since their ordination. In the same year, however, a council was held in Germany, for the purpose of correcting these abuses, in consequence of which pope Zachary addressed a letter to the French nation,* in which he thanks God that he had expelled from them the false schismatical priests and concubinaries. But, by the subsequent state of things, it too evidently appears, that to order a thing to be done, and actually to do it, are very different.

These disorders, as appears by this account, were owing to the clergy themselves, almost as much as to the laity. The greater clergy differed but little, in their habits of living, from the laity of equal wealth and power. During the troubles of France, the bishops, and even some of those who were the most esteemed for their piety, took a great part in public affairs, and in time of war marched with bodies of armed men like other great lords. But in A. D. 770, when Charlemagne held a council at Worms, it was requested by the laity of all his states, that the bishops and priests might not go to the wars, several of them having been slain in battle, and much inconvenience of various kinds having arisen from it. Accordingly it was ordered, that only two or three of the clergy, chosen by the rest, should attend the army, and that only to give the benediction, and for other spiritual functions.

The bishops of these times not only took part in civil dissensions, but sometimes appeared in arms against their sovereigns. When Wulfred was passing through France, he was met by one of the bishops who had conspired and killed king Dagobert, at the head of a great army, with a design to seize him and all his companions, to kill those who should make resistance, to sell others for slaves, and put Wulfred himself in prison.

Some instances of open violences committed by clergymen of those times, as well as those in which they were the sufferers, are shocking in the extreme. Tetricus, bishop of Auxerre, was killed by his archdeacon while he slept. Lambert was bishop of Maestricht, when two brothers, Gallus and Riold, plundered the goods of his church, and became incorrigible in their violences. The friends and relations of this bishop, provoked at this, killed them both. These brothers were the relations of Dodon, a domestic of Pepin,

* There was a council held at *Cliff*, in Kent, in 747, in consequence of a letter from this pope to archbishop Cuthbert. See *Rapin*, L. iii. I. p. 266. *Mag. Brit.* II. p. 1200. See Vol. V. p. 320, *Note*.

mayor of the palace, who revenged their death upon the bishop himself. He attacked him in his own house, and murdered him, and all the persons he found in it. In A. D. 715, Savaric, bishop of Auxerre, attacked with an army the country of Orleans, Nevers, and several other places, and annexed them to his bishopric.

It appears that some bishops, to gratify their resentment, caused the persons whom they disliked, to be put to death privately, on pretence of subjecting them to penance. In the eleventh Council of Toledo, it was therefore ordered, that all offenders should be punished in public, or at least in the presence of two or three witnesses, and that the sentence be subscribed by the bishop. Bishops, says *Fleury*, in those times did condemn to such punishments.*

But the most brutal violences and cruelties that we meet with in this period were committed at Rome, on occasion of the election of popes. After the death of pope Paul, in A. D. 767, Constantine, a layman, was made pope, his brother *Toton*, duke of Nepi, compelling three bishops to give him holy orders, and consecrate him bishop of Rome, a dignity which he held thirteen months. But then he was expelled by force, his brother, and other partisans, being overpowered by the help of the Lombards, and in the issue, Stephen III. was made pope.

As soon as he was elected, some of his partisans took Theodore, a bishop and vidame (*Vice domini*) of Constantine, put out his eyes, cut out his tongue, and shut him up in a monastery on Mount Scaurus, where he was suffered to die of hunger and thirst, calling for water, with the most lamentable cries. They also put out the eyes of Possit, another of Constantine's friends, and confined him in the monastery of St. Silvester, seizing the goods of them both. Constantine himself, after being treated with the greatest indignity, being set on horseback, with a woman's saddle, and with heavy weights to his feet, was conducted to the monastery of *Celles Neuves*. There he was solemnly degraded, his eyes put out, and left exposed in the public street. The priest Valdepert had his eyes put out, and his tongue cut out, in so cruel a manner, that he died of the operation.† After some time, a council was held at Rome, whither Constantine was brought; when, throwing himself on the ground, with his hands extended on the pavement, he confessed his

* *Hist.* VIII. p. 548. (P.)

† “Des yeux et des langues arrachées sont les évènements les plus plus ordinaires de ces siècles malheureux.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 581.

fault with tears. The next day, when he was making his apology, he was driven out of the church with blows, and condemned to do penance all the rest of his life.*

The treatment of pope Leo III., whether he was guilty or innocent of the things laid to his charge, is another proof of the violence of these times. Having affronted one Pascal,† an officer of his court, the latter, accompanied by some of his friends, seized the Pope in the midst of a solemn procession, and threw him on the ground. There they stripped him, tore his clothes, and endeavoured to put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue. They left him, however, in the middle of the street, believing that they had made him both blind and dumb. Returning to him again, they dragged him into the church of a monastery, and before the altar, again endeavoured to put out his eyes and cut out his tongue.‡ Then also they left him weltering in blood, and confined him under a strong guard, in the same monastery. Fearing that his friends might rescue him there, they conveyed him to another monastery, and kept him a close prisoner. However, making his escape, he fled to Charlemagne, who was then in Saxony. Being well received by this prince, he returned to Rome with a great force,§ accompanied by commissioners from Charlemagne to inquire into the accusations against him; and they, finding no proof of the things that were laid to his charge, seized his enemies, and sent them to France. In A. D. 800, when Charlemagne came to Rome the fourth time, the Pope purged himself before him by taking a solemn oath that he was not guilty of the things of which he was accused,|| and this was deemed sufficient for

* "At first he begged their pardon, but afterwards justified what he had done—instancing in *Sergius*, and *Stephen* of Naples, who of laymen were made bishops. This enraged Stephen and his associates, so that they cast him out, and (as some authors say) murdered him—whereas he had held a *synod*, wherein it was decreed, that the images and statues of saints should be broken down—these *gentlemen* pronounced that synod accursed; and ordained, that the images should be every where again restored. And here we may guess at the true reason why the rabble were so mad with this poor Constantine, and why these *Rabbies* put out his eyes and tormented him, even because he had more wit and grace than they." *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 281.

† "*Pascal Primicier, et Campule Sacellaire, tous deux neveux du dernier Pape.*" *Nouv. Dict.* IV. p. 84.

‡ "Some popish authors would persuade us that they pulled out his eyes, and that God, by miracle, put them into his head again. But *Aimonius* is half ashamed to report this tale, and therefore qualifies it thus, *as some thought.*" *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 284.

§ "Il entra à Rome comme en triomphe, au milieu de tous les ordres de la ville, qui vinrent au-devant de lui, avec des bannières." *Nouv. Dict.* IV. p. 85.

|| "Après l'avoir sacré empereur, se prosterna devant lui comme devant son souverain." *Ibid.* p. 84. He had before sent to him "the keys of the confession (supposed sepulchre of St. Peter), also the standard of the city, and other presents,

his justification. The emperor then heard Pascal, and the other enemies of the Pope, and condemned them to death; but the Pope interceding for them, they were only banished into France.*

Ages of superstition are also times of other immoralities besides open violence; for what vice is there for which some superstitious practice has not been thought an atonement? Boniface, writing to Ethelbald, king of Mercia, reproves him for having no lawful wife, and debauching nuns.† He adds, that the English nation were noted for their debauchery; in France and Italy. It was, he says, as a punishment for such vices as these, that Spain, Provence and Burgundy, were abandoned to the Saracens. Writing to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, he complains that the honour of the British church suffered much in consequence of the frequent pilgrimages of nuns from England to Rome. Most of them, he says, lose their modesty. There are few cities in Lombardy or France, in which there are not some English prostitutes. It is a scandal, he adds, to the whole church.

SECTION IX.

Miscellaneous Articles.

I SHALL begin my account of miscellaneous articles that occur in this period, with such as relate to churches, public worship, or discipline.

1. At the fourth council of Toledo, in A. D. 633, it was ordered that the same form of public worship should be observed through all Spain, lest, they say, there should be the appearance of *schism* in the church. Isidore, bishop of Seville, is considered as the author of the Mosarabic liturgy,‡ and he directed all the proceedings of this council; but he says that his brother Leander took much pains with it.

At this council, the Apocalypse was ordered to be read in the churches, some even then not acknowledging it to be a canonical book.

in token of *fealty* and *homage*." (*Aimonius*, L. iv. C. lxxxvi.) On Christmas-day he "set the imperial crown on the head of Charlemagne." After the salutations of the people, "he was (saith *Ado Viennensis*) adored by the Pope after the manner of the ancient princes." *Hist. of Popery*, I. pp. 284, 285.

* "Les ennemis de Léon ayant, de nouveau conspiré contre lui après la mort de Charlemagne, il en fit périr plusieurs par le dernier supplice, en 815. Il mourut l'année d'après." *Nouv. Dict.* IV. p. 84.

† "By his example most of his peers did the like." *Milton*, B. iv. p. 207.

‡ "Printed by cardinal Ximenez in the beginning of the 16th century." On the probable alterations made by him, see *M. Geddes's Tracts*, III. p. 39.

At a preceding council of Toledo, viz. A. D. 622, it was ordered, that baptism should be administered with one immersion, lest by three immersions they should imitate the Arians. It appears, by the capitulary of Theodulph, bishop of Orleans, in A. D. 785, that all children, even in case of sickness, were baptized in churches, and not in private houses. It appears, by the same work, that the dead were forbidden to be buried in churches, it beginning then to be practised.

Persons employed in converting the people of Friesland about A. D. 696, carried with them, besides vessels for the celebration of the eucharist, a consecrated table, which served for an altar, which, says *Fleury*, is the first mention that is made of a portable altar.*

2. Instances of the superstition of these times, with respect to public worship, and every thing else, are without end, this being always in proportion to ignorance.

It being contrary to the canons to rebaptize any person who had been baptized, even by heretics, with the proper form of words, that is, *in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, Boniface, so often mentioned in the history of this period, when he was about to baptize any person with respect to whose previous baptism he had any doubt, said, "I do not rebaptize thee, but, if thou be not baptized, I baptize thee in the name," &c. &c. This, says *Fleury*, is the first instance of conditional baptism.†

We see, however, some marks of good sense in the directions of pope Zachary with respect to baptism. Two priests who travelled in Germany under the conduct of Boniface, wrote to inform him of another priest, who, being ignorant of Latin, said, when he baptized any person, *Baptizo te in nomine Patriâ, et Filiâ et Spirituâ Sanctâ*, instead of *Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*; and Boniface was of opinion that such persons ought to be rebaptized: but the Pope very sensibly observed, that it was a valid baptism, as there was no heresy in the case, but only ignorance of the Latin tongue, and said he was astonished at the opinion of Boniface on the subject.

In the latter end of the sixth century, women did not receive the communion bread with their naked hands, but with a fair linen cloth. Some think this custom was as ancient as the time of Austin.‡

It is well known that superstition found its way into the

* *Hist.* IX. p. 113. (P.) † *Ibid.* p. 346. (P.) ‡ *Bingham*, I. p. 799. (P.)

courts of justice of those times ; but one of the forms of it, mentioned in the capitulary of Charlemagne, is curious. In a case in which either of the parties might be perjured without discovery, they both stood with their arms extended upright before a cross, and he who could stand the longest in that posture was deemed innocent.

It will be allowed to be an argument of the progress of superstition, and of a very hurtful kind, that pope Boniface V. made churches, places of refuge for all criminals.*

Though marriage could not be deemed absolutely unlawful, it was thought that there was a kind of pollution attending it ; and according to the *penitential* of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, a new-married couple were not permitted to enter a church within a month of their marriage, and they underwent a penance of a fortnight before they were admitted to communion.

3. All Christians for a long time refrained from eating blood, as they still do, except in these western parts. But pope Adrian, in his letter to the bishops of Spain, declares those to be anathematized who ate pork. Pope Zachary writing to Boniface, the apostle of Germany, forbade the eating of the jay, the crow, the stork, and even the hare.†

4. Masses for the dead, and other sources of gain to the priests, were greatly promoted by fabulous relations, to which persons of piety, and even of good sense in other respects, were too apt to give credit. Bede tells a story of a young man who was taken prisoner, when a brother of his who was a priest, supposing him to be dead, used to say mass for his soul, at a certain hour every day, and at that time he said his bonds were always loose. This being divulged, excited many to get those masses said for them.

5. The ignorance of this age extended to the clergy as well as the laity, though not in the same degree. There was certainly more learning in the East, than in the West ; and yet at the second Council of Nice, in A. D. 787, it was thought necessary to order that every bishop should be required to know the psalter, though by this was probably meant that he was to be able to repeat it, or some part of it, by heart. And the metropolitan was to examine him whether he was determined to read with assiduity the canons, the councils, and the Scriptures.

Few of the clergy of this age being qualified to preach,

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 28. (P.) Cent. vii. Pt. ii. Ch. iv. *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 135.

† *Sueur*, A. D. 748. (P.)

Charlemagne engaged Paulus Diaconus and Alcuinus to compose *homilies*, or discourses on the gospels and epistles, which were read in the public services, and which the clergy were to commit to memory, and repeat. This gave rise to the famous collection which went by the name of the *homiliarium* of Charlemagne, and which has been followed by many other similar works.* This prince directed the Roman ritual to be used in all his dominions.

Charlemagne, whatever his own education had been, endeavoured to provide a remedy for the ignorance of the age in which he lived.† He brought persons from Rome into France to teach all the sciences of which there was at that time any knowledge; and besides establishing schools within the precincts of his own palace, he appointed them in several cathedral churches and monasteries. The person he chiefly employed in this business was Alcuinus, an Englishman, and by him Charles himself was instructed in several sciences, especially astronomy. He expressed himself with ease in several foreign languages. He spoke Latin as well as German, which was his native tongue, and he understood Greek, though he could not speak it well.

It was but little, however, that was effected by these well-meant establishments of Charlemagne. All the literature of those times lay in a very small compass, and few were qualified to teach even that. The whole circle of sciences was then divided into seven parts, viz. grammar, rhetoric and logic, called the *trivium*, and arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy, called the *quadrivium*, and the manner of teaching had little to recommend it. They who wished to pursue their studies beyond the usual bounds of this circle, were advised to study the writings of Cassiodorus and Boethius.‡

In the East, John of Damascus was the most distinguished for his learning and ability in this period. He is said to have been the first who mixed the philosophy of Aristotle with theology. He distinguished himself by compiling, regu-

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 84. (P.) Cent. viii. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. v.

† "Quoi qu'il ne sût pas écrire, il fit fleurir les sciences. On tint devant lui des conférences qu'on peut regarder comme l'origine de nos Académies." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 122.

‡ *Mosheim*, II. p. 57. (P.) Cent. viii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. *fin.* In the catalogue of Alcuinus's works is "No. 27 *De septibus Artibus Liber*," of which there is "remaining no more than two chapters, viz. those on Grammar and Rhetoric, with a transition to Logic,—being a Dialogue between Charlemagne and Alcuinus." *Biog. Brit.* I. p. 123.

lating, and perhaps composing, chaunts for the Greek church, as pope Gregory had done for the Latin church.*

6. The origin of country parishes, in England, was about the end of the seventh century.†

The ignorant clergy of this period received very seasonable assistance in the discharge of their duty, by the *Penitential* of Theodore, who, from being a Grecian monk, was advanced to the see of Canterbury. It contains the definition of all sins, and the proper penances to be appointed for them, with the forms of absolution and exhortation. This work was universally received in all the Western churches; but in the eighth century this discipline, which was agreeable to the ancient canons of the church, grew into disuse, being supplanted by the new canon of *indulgences*.‡

* Williams's "History of Church Music," p. 36. (P.) John Damascenus "was born at Damascus, where his father, though a Christian by birth and education, had the place of counsellor of state to the Saracen *Khalif*." He had a learned education from an Italian *Religious*, who had been made prisoner by the Saracens. On the death of his father he succeeded to his office under the *Khalif*: but quitted it about 730 and became a monk in the monastery of St. *Sabas*, at Jerusalem. He died about 760, at the age of 54.

John Damascenus wrote *four books* on the *Orthodox Faith*, in which he maintained that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father *only* and not from the Son. Also several Theological Treatises. The whole were published in 1712 by P. Le Quien, in 2 Vols. fol. See *Novv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 446, *Gen. Biog. Dict.* 1784, IV. pp. 289, 290.

† Bingham, I. p. 406. (P.)

‡ Mosheim, II. p. 25. (P.) Cent. vii. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. v. See also *supra*, p. 119.

PERIOD XVI.

FROM THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE, IN A. D. 800, TO THE RAISING OF OTHO TO THE IMPERIAL THRONE, A. D. 936.



SECTION I.

Of the Intercourse between the Greek and Latin Churches on the Subject of the Patriarch Photius, which led to their final Separation from each other.

THERE had long subsisted a jealousy between the bishops of Rome and the patriarchs of Constantinople, one, the head of the Western, and the other, of the Eastern churches ; and notwithstanding the edict of Valentinian in favour of the bishops of Rome, and their claim to supremacy as successors of the apostles Peter and Paul, the patriarchs of Constantinople, which from the time of Constantine had been the seat of the empire, ill brooked their inferiority ; and being favoured by the emperors, assumed the superintendency of those provinces which were subject to the Greeks, as Sicily, Illyricum, Dalmatia, &c. &c.

The bishops of Rome, whom I shall now distinguish by the exclusive title of *popes*, which gradually took place, having gained a great increase of wealth, power and influence after Rome was no longer subject to the emperors of Constantinople, and especially after they became temporal princes, by the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, were less than ever disposed to yield to the pretensions of the Eastern patriarchs, and were particularly careful to take advantage of any difficulties in which the Greek church was involved, and when appeals were made to them by the contending parties in it. This was more especially the case on occasion of the schism which took place in that church from the rival patriarchs Ignatius and Photius ; and as the disputes on this subject led to the total separation of the two

churches, I shall be the more particular in my narrative concerning it.

When this disturbance commenced, Bardas, uncle of the emperor Michael, had the chief authority in Constantinople; and being reprov'd, and finally excommunicated, for his dissolute life, by the patriarch Ignatius, he contriv'd to make him suspected of seditious intentions, by the emperor, who in November, A. D. 857, banished him from Constantinople. The person chosen to succeed him was Photius, who was of an illustrious family, and related to the emperor, and more distinguished for his abilities and learning than any person in that age, or several of the preceding. He was also grand-nephew of the patriarch Tarasius; and though a layman, and having an office at court, he excelled in ecclesiastical as well as other branches of learning.

Bardas having determin'd to make him patriarch, found some difficulty in gaining the consent of the bishops who were to ordain him; but on his promising to honour Ignatius as his father, and to do nothing without his approbation, they were all gain'd over, except Metrophanes, the metropolitan of Smyrna; and from being a layman, he was in the space of six days rais'd to the rank of a bishop, and on Christmas-day, A. D. 857, ordain'd patriarch of Constantinople.* Two months, however, had not pass'd before he began to persecute all who were attach'd to Ignatius;† and assembling a council, he not only pronounc'd a sentence of deposition and anathema against Ignatius himself, but depos'd all who had been ordain'd by him. Ignatius was first load'd with chains, and then banish'd to Mitylene, in the isle of Lesbos; but, as was too customary in case of supposed injustice, he sought the protection of pope Nicolas, who, notwithstanding the remonstrance of Photius,‡ pass'd sentence of deposition against him, and all who had been ordain'd by him. He also order'd Ignatius to be restored, and that all who should prevent it, of whatever rank, (meaning the emperor himself,) should be excommunicated.

This conduct of the Pope provok'd the emperor to write to him in a haughty and menacing manner, and insist upon his revoking the sentence he had pronounc'd against Photius.

* “Le premier jour, on le fit *Moine*; le second jour, il fut *Lecteur*; le troisième, *Soudiacre*, puis *Diacre*, *Prêtre*, et enfin *Patriarche*, le jour de Noël en 857.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 1026.

† “En les faisant frapper des verges, jusqu’ à ce qu’ils eussent souscrit à la condamnation de leur *Patriarche*.” *Ibid.*

‡ Who appears to have known how to disguise his ambition. “Il gémissoit, disoit il, de ce qu’on avoit mis sur ses épaules le fardeau de l’*Episcopat*.” *Ibid.*

Nicolas, who was one of the most violent men that had, till then, filled the papal chair, replied with no less warmth ; and as the emperor had treated the see of Rome, as he thought, with disrespect, he magnified the prerogatives of it, as founded not upon councils, but on the words of Christ, and threatened him with excommunication if he did not attend to its admonitions. Photius, however, supported by the emperor, not only kept his see, but persecuted all those who separated from his communion on that account ; and hearing that the legates, whom the Pope had sent to Bulgaria, which had its first instruction in Christianity from Constantinople, had rejected the consecrated oil which he had sent thither, he was so provoked, that, calling a council A. D. 866, in which the emperors Michael and Basilius presided, he accused the Pope of many crimes, and pronounced a sentence of deposition against him. Among the crimes of the Pope he enumerates the difference of their custom from those of the Greek church, but lays the greatest stress on the addition of the words *Filioque* (and from the Son) to the creed.

Basilius having murdered the emperor Michael, who was the friend of Photius, he was deposed, and Ignatius replaced in the patriarchate ; when in resentment of the conduct of his rival, he not only pronounced a sentence of deposition against Photius, but against all who had been ordained by him, or who communicated with him. He, moreover, requested the emperor to call a general council to remedy the scandal ; in consequence of which, ambassadors were immediately sent to Rome for the purpose ; and writing to the Pope (who then was Adrian II.) on the occasion, he acknowledged his supremacy, and his authority to rectify all the disorders of the church. This was sufficient to gain his judges, and consequently, in a council held at Rome A. D. 868, the council held by Photius was condemned, and the decrees of it ordered to be burned, and loaded with perpetual anathema. In this council, however, the temerity of Photius in condemning pope Nicolas being mentioned, the justice of his condemnation of pope Honorius for heresy, was expressly allowed. That in the following council for which the emperor and Ignatius had applied, every thing was as much prejudged as in all the preceding general councils, was evident from the Pope requiring, by the legates he sent to Constantinople on this occasion, the absolute condemnation of the council held by Photius, and the confirmation of that which he had held in opposition to it at Rome.

After this preparation, the *eighth general council*, as it is

called, was held in the church of St. Sophia, on the fifth of October, A. D. 869, the legates of the Pope taking the chief seat. There were also persons who represented the sees of Jerusalem and Antioch, but not that of Alexandria. Eleven of the principal officers of the court attended on the part of the emperor. These being assembled, orders were first given to admit all those bishops who had suffered persecution under Photius, who were twelve in number, so that this first session consisted of no more than eighteen persons. In this session, however, a form of union between the Latin and Greek churches, presented by the Pope, was read, and the anathema against Photius, as an usurper of the see of Constantinople, and also of the council held by him, was pronounced ; and to these they all assented.

In the second session, held two days after, they who had acted in concert with Photius were admitted to the council, on acknowledging their offence. They were ten in all, and on their subscribing the instrument from Rome, were permitted to take their seats.

In the third session there were in all twenty-four bishops present, and some of the friends of Photius demanding to be heard, the legates from Rome said that, if they came to hear the letter of pope Nicolas, they should be admitted, but not to dispute. After much wrangling, however, and on the remonstrance of the emperor's deputies, they were admitted ; but refusing to subscribe the instrument from Rome, they were expelled the council.

Photius himself being compelled to attend, he behaved with great dignity, refusing to make any answer to their interrogatories. On their calling him a prevaricator and adulterer, (meaning an usurper of the see,) he said, " God hears me without my speaking ;" intimating that his appeal was to him, and not to them. On their saying that his silence should not deliver him from their condemnation, he said, " Neither did the silence of Jesus deliver him." Being urged to say that he submitted to the sentence of the Pope, and acknowledged Ignatius for the patriarch, he still kept silence ; and being pressed to say what was his justification, he replied, " My justification is not of this world. If it was of this world, you would see it." Being admonished to take time, and consider his situation, he said he did not require any time ; but that, being in their power, they might do with him what they pleased. After this he was dismissed. In the same session, the deputies from the

sees of Jerusalem and Antioch said that Photius had never been acknowledged by them as patriarch.

At the sixth session the emperor attended in person, when many of the bishops of Photius's ordination, making their submission, were received; others, alleging their promises, and the oaths they had taken never to do it, the legates from Rome said they would absolve them by the grace of Jesus Christ, who had given them power to bind and to loose, since they had done it by compulsion. Being urged by the emperor to speak on their own behalf, they said they would do it if they were at liberty, and easily shew that what had been advanced against them was nothing to the purpose. One of them said that the canons were above pope Nicolas, and all the patriarchs, and mentioned several instances of bishops being condemned, but not those ordained by them. After much altercation, the legates asked whether they would subscribe the instrument from Rome; and on their refusing, they were sent to another part of the room. Metrophanes of Smyrna having replied to what they had said, one of them was going to reply again, but the legates would not suffer it. After this, an exhortation to the schismatics was pronounced in the name of the emperor, who said he would allow them seven days in which to make their submission, but that after this they would be judged by the council.

In the seventh session the emperor attended, and Photius being introduced, leaning on a staff, the Pope's legates ordered it to be taken from him, as being an emblem of the pastoral office, from which he was deposed; saying that he was a wolf, and no shepherd. They then asked him if he would sign the instrument of his resignation, but he replied, that he was willing to give an account of his conduct to the emperor, but not to the Pope's legates. Being asked whether he had any thing more to say, he replied, "If you had heard what I said before, you would not have asked me that question. If they repent of the sentence they have passed upon me, let them shew it by their works." Being asked in what manner, he said, "Let them do penance for the sin they have committed." Being farther insulted, he replied that he had nothing to answer to mere abuse.

The bishops of his party being then introduced, and required to submit to the decision of the Roman pontiff, they all answered with great firmness. John, bishop of Heraclea, said, pointing to Photius, "Whoever shall ana-

thematize that bishop, let him be anathema." Zacharias of Chalcedon, said, "We will not obey what is contrary to reason. We see how things have been conducted." Euschemon of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, said, "With respect to what is contrary to reason, and the canons, let it come from Rome, from Jerusalem, or any angel from heaven, I will not obey it." Being asked what they could say against the decision of all the patriarchal sees, they said, "The authority of the apostles and the councils. We have demanded liberty to explain our conduct, but have not obtained it." Refusing to submit to the judgment of the council, an anathema was pronounced against Photius and all his adherents.

In the eighth session they publicly burned all the subscriptions in favour of Photius, by bishops or other persons, together with all his writings against pope Nicolas, and the acts of his council against Ignatius. After this they who had been sent by Photius to Rome, as legates from the other patriarchal sees, being introduced, denied that they had any power to assume the character of legates, and pronounced an anathema against those who had any concern in that embassy, or who had opposed pope Nicolas. The metropolitans also, denied their subscription to the writing that was then sent to Rome.

In the ninth session a legate from the patriarch of Alexandria attended; but, professing his ignorance of the merits of the question between the two patriarchs, he referred the decision to those who were better qualified to judge. Being asked whether he had been informed of what had been done in the eight preceding sessions, he said that he had, and that he was satisfied with it. After this, some persons were examined who confessed that they had been forced to acknowledge Photius, and condemn Ignatius.

In the last session, held February 12th, A. D. 870, the emperor being present, ambassadors from the Pope and the emperor of the West, intreated the succour of Basilius, against the Saracens in Italy. A hundred bishops were then present, and they recited and confirmed all that had been done in the preceding sessions. Among other things, they decreed that they who had been anathematized in this council should be forbidden to practise *painting*, or to teach the sciences. The former respected Gregory of Syracuse, who was a *painter*, and the second, Photius himself, who had taught with great reputation, and whose disciples were much attached to him. They also decreed, that for the

future no person should publish any writings against the Pope, as Photius had done.

After the canons of the council, they recited a confession of faith, with anathemas against heretics, particularly the Monothelites, among whom pope Honorius was not forgotten, and also against the *Iconoclasts*. They declared their approbation of the seven general councils, and called this the *eighth*. A speech was then made in the name of the emperor, exhorting to peace and submission. In it he said, "As to the laity, whatever be their dignity, they must not dispute about ecclesiastical matters, since that belongs to the bishops. Whatever science or virtue a layman be possessed of, he is but one of the sheep, and how little soever be the merit of a bishop, he is always the shepherd, while he teaches the truth. Take care then how you judge your judges, and live in subjection to them."

The emperor then signed the decrees of the council, after the legates from Rome, who did it with a reservation for the ratification of the Pope. The bishops who attended never exceeded one hundred and two, the smallness of which number is accounted for by the many depositions made by Photius, and the sees not having been supplied. It is said that the decrees of this council were signed with ink mixed with wine from the eucharist. *

Among the letters written in the name of this council, was one, in which was implied the subjection of the church of Constantinople to that of Rome. This the Greeks wished to have withdrawn, and with the consent of the emperor it was taken from the copies that were in the custody of the legates. But the trick being discovered, and the emperor not choosing to have an open quarrel with them, all the papers were restored.

Photius was far from being depressed by the decrees of this council, though in his confinement he was denied the use of books, and the attendance of a physician when he was sick; on which he expostulated with the emperor, in a letter that he wrote to him. In his letters to his friends he represented himself as a person oppressed by power, as Jesus Christ was before him, and exhorted them to submit to the mysterious dispensations of Providence. All his letters on this occasion are written with peculiar spirit and

* "869. iv. Concile Général de Constantinople où se trouverent 300 Evêques. —Le culte des Images de la sainte Vierge, et des saints y fut encore maintenu." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. cxlii. "Les Evêques sousscrivirent au décret avec le sang de J. C. qu'on venoit de consacrer." *Ibid.* IV. p. 1027.

dignity. In that to the emperor, in which he complains of his harsh treatment, unprecedented on such occasions, he asked either relief from his misery, or a speedy death. In many of his letters he boasts of the number and firmness of his friends, and that, in so great a storm, not a single bishop, even of the most obscure village, neither the learned nor the ignorant, had deserted him. And in fact they were only a hundred bishops, all of whom had been ordained by Methodius or Ignatius, who had subscribed to this council. All who had been ordained by Photius, and they were more than three hundred, still adhered to him.

Notwithstanding this seeming cordiality between the two churches, there remained a bone of contention between them, in Bulgaria, the jurisdiction of which was claimed by them both. Pope John VIII. even threatened Ignatius, though replaced in the see of Constantinople with the concurrence and assistance of his predecessors, that if he did not withdraw his bishops and clergy from Bulgaria, and renounce all jurisdiction over it within two months, he would excommunicate and depose him. He also wrote to the king of Bulgaria, in A. D. 879, exhorting him to return to the obedience of the see of Rome, and to receive a legate that he would send to him. At the same time he wrote to the clergy of Salonæ, that church being then vacant, and to the bishops of Dalmatia, ordering them, on pain of excommunication, to send the person whom they should choose for archbishop, to receive consecration and the *pallium* from him, without regard to the opinion of the Greeks.

Photius, after being deposed eight years, contrived, as it is said by means of forged books, containing a flattering genealogy of the emperor, * to get into his favour, and attend his person. He was even permitted to resume his episcopal functions, and ordained some persons in the life-time of Ignatius; and on his death, in A. D. 879, he was reinstated in the dignity of patriarch; when he immediately employed his power in advancing his friends and depressing his enemies, restoring the bishops who had been deposed by Ignatius, and deposing, or re-ordaining, those who had been ordained by him. He even prevailed upon the legates, who had been sent by the Pope on the business of the Bulgarians, to communicate with him.

* “ Un Histoire chimérique, dans laquelle il le faisoit descendre en droite ligne du célèbre Tiréda, Roi d'Arménie.—L'Empereur Basile, né dans l'obscurité, vouloit faire accroire qu'il étoit d'un sang illustre.” *Novv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 1027.

The situation of the Pope himself was now such as disposed him to gratify the emperor, and consequently Photius. He wanted the aid of the powers of the East for the relief of Italy, Rome itself being threatened by the Saracens. He therefore received in the most favourable manner the letters of Photius, and, as *Fleury* says, against all the rules of discipline, and the example of his predecessors, consented to acknowledge him as lawful patriarch of Constantinople, excusing himself on the plea of necessity, and of his being received by the patriarchs of the other oriental sees on condition that he should ask pardon in council, and resign his pretensions to the province of Bulgaria. On these terms he said that, by the authority of the apostolic see, he would absolve him from all ecclesiastical censures. In his instructions to the legates that he sent to Constantinople, he bade them deliver his letters to "the most holy Photius," saying, "Pope John our master salutes you, and wishes to have you for a brother and a colleague." He also expressed his wish that the councils held against Photius, under pope Adrian, as well that in Rome as that in Constantinople, should be declared null, and not be reckoned among the councils. This letter was likewise subscribed by the bishops who assisted at the council in Rome.

After these preliminaries, Photius, being reinstated in his dignity, summoned a council at Constantinople to meet in November, A. D. 879, and it was attended by three hundred and eighty bishops, the legate from the see of Jerusalem, the two legates from Rome who had been sent in the time of Ignatius, and cardinal Peter, who had brought the letters of the Pope to Photius. After some others had spoken, this cardinal rose, and said, "Pope John is willing to consider Photius as a brother, and as his own soul;" and then delivered the presents which the Pope had sent, consisting of pontifical habits, a *pallium*, and sandals, which the legates displayed before the council; and nothing was said of the terms on which the Pope had said that he consented to the reconciliation, viz. his asking pardon before the council; which, says *Fleury*, was apparently done with the consent of the legates, as they made no complaint on the subject. The Pope's letters being read with this suppression, the cardinal said, "Do you receive these letters?" They answered, "We receive all that relates to the union with Photius, and the interest of the church, but not that which relates to the emperor and his provinces;" meaning the

claim of the Pope to the superintendence of Bulgaria. The Pope's letter to Photius being then read with the same suppression, he acknowledged that he was satisfied with it.

When the cardinal said that their instructions required them to demand the jurisdiction of Bulgaria, Photius replied, that he had always been a lover of peace, and that he had made no ordination in Bulgaria since his restoration. He added other things, but they were only general expressions, which did not bind him to any thing. In giving an account of his conduct with respect to the patriarchate, he declared that, from the beginning, it had been forced upon him; that when he was expelled he had yielded to the violence, without making any attempt to raise a sedition; that after his restoration to the favour of the emperor, he had lived on the best terms with Ignatius, had visited him in his sickness, and taken into his protection the persons he had recommended to him; and that after this it was at the pressing request of the emperor, and all the clergy, that he had resumed his see. To all this the bishops assembled in council unanimously declared that it was true.

In this session, which was the second, letters from the patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch, were read, all of them expressing their satisfaction in the restoration of Photius; and the persons who had appeared as legates from those sees, at the preceding council, were said to have been persons sent by the Saracens, or with their consent, to treat of the redemption of captives, and only pretended that they were legates. After reading the Pope's letters, abrogating the council against Photius, they said, "We have already abrogated, rejected and anathematized that pretended council, and we anathematize all who do not reject it." "And how," said Elias, the metropolitan of Martyropolis, and also Elias the legate from the see of Jerusalem, "can that be called a council, which has filled the church with so many schisms, where deputies from the Saracens sat as judges, the decrees of which are contrary to those of all other councils, which has condemned the innocent without examination, and overturned all laws, ecclesiastical and civil?"

In the fourth session, a legate from the patriarch of Antioch attended, with letters from him, and also from the new patriarch of Jerusalem, the preceding having been dead, declaring that neither of them had had any thing to do with the proceedings against Photius. "We know," they said,

that the sees of the East have always acknowledged him." "This unanimity," said Elias of Jerusalem, "comes from heaven."

In this session, the different articles of the Pope's demands being considered, they referred the business of Bulgaria to the emperor, and would not consent to any obligation to raise none but of the clergy to the patriarchate; saying that this had never been a rule with the churches in the East. "We ought to be at liberty," they said, "to follow our own peculiar customs, as the people of Rome are to follow theirs." But they heartily concurred in condemning all that had been done or written against Photius, and in excommunicating all who would not acknowledge him. At the close of this session, at the proposal of cardinal Peter, and as a token of their perfect harmony, the time for divine service being near, they all received the eucharist at the hands of Photius.

At the fifth session, held in January, A. D. 880, they voted the second Council of Nice to be the seventh œcumenical one, and pronounced an anathema upon those who did not acknowledge it to be such. They also voted that all who were excommunicated by the Pope should be held excommunicated by Photius, and that all who were excommunicated by Photius should be so by the Pope.

Among the canons of this council, there was one to anathematize those laymen who should strike or imprison a bishop.

In the sixth session the emperor himself presided, and proposed that they should all agree in a confession of faith; and they all consented, even the legates from Rome, though it was made with a view to censure the addition of the words *Filioque* to the creed. It was accordingly declared that they received the seven general councils, without taking from them, adding to them, or making any alterations in them; saying, "If any person is so bold as to compose another confession of faith, or alter this by strange words, additions or subtractions, we depose him, if he be of the clergy, and we anathematize him, if he be a layman." When they had done this, the emperor and his three sons signed the decrees of the council.

The last session of this council was held in the church of St. Sophia, on the 13th of March, when, after reciting every thing that had been agreed upon, the Pope's legates said, "If any person do not receive Photius as patriarch, and

communicate with him, let his lot be with Judas, and let him not be acknowledged as a Christian." They broke up with the usual acclamations, the last of which were, "long life to the patriarch Photius, and to John."

After this the Pope, writing to Photius on the subject of the addition to the creed, said that he considered it in the same light that he did, viz. as a corruption of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, but he wished not to compel any person to abandon that addition if they had been used to make it, but to use mildness and address, exhorting them by degrees to renounce that blasphemy. Indeed, this addition, as has been observed, had not its origin at Rome, but in the churches of Spain.

As to the facility with which the bishops of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, took their part for or against Photius, *Fleury* says it may be easily accounted for from their poverty and abject condition; being ready to join with any who, having the most power, had the most to give. But certainly the history of these two councils proves the same with respect to the bishops in general, and all the councils which were composed of them.

The Pope, on receiving the decrees of this council, approved of them; and writing to the emperor, thanked him for the succour which he had given him against the Saracens, and his surrender of the jurisdiction of Bulgaria; hoping, as may be supposed, that he would make no difficulty of it. He added, "We receive the Council of Constantinople for the restoration of Photius to the patriarchate; but if our legates have done any thing contrary to our orders, we do not receive it."

The history of this affair is certainly no argument for the infallibility of the Roman pontiffs, and much less is what presently followed what I have recited. For pope Martin and Adrian III. finding that the emperor and Photius did not intend to give up the jurisdiction of Bulgaria, not thinking themselves obliged to confirm what had been done by their predecessors, condemned Photius as an intruder; and in return he wrote a violent letter against the Latins, on the subject of the procession of the Holy Spirit; saying, that both pope Leo the Great and Leo III. held this procession to be from the Father only. The emperor, offended at the conduct of those popes, wrote a provoking letter, addressed to Adrian, but received by Stephen, who had succeeded him. He replied to it, and said that the city of Constantinople was without a patriarch; considering Photius

as an usurper, notwithstanding his solemn restoration, with the hearty concurrence of his predecessors.

There was not, however, any more uniformity of conduct in the East than in the West. For Leo VI., surnamed *the Philosopher*, succeeding his father Basilus, in the first year of his reign banished Photius, and sent him to a monastery in Armenia, where he soon after died. The cause of this was, that the emperor suspected him of a design to raise a relation of his own to the empire. Though, however, he concurred with the Pope in his condemnation of Photius, he wrote to him to request that he would restore those of the clergy who had been ordained by Photius. In answer to this, pope Formosus said he would pardon them on their repentance, but that they should only be considered as laymen. It does not appear that any thing was done, in consequence of this; and from this time the two churches had but little intercourse; though at a council held at Constantinople, in A. D. 920, in which fourth marriages were condemned, the emperor Constantine *Porphyroganita* sent to the Pope to request the concurrence of the Latin church, and renew the intercourse that had formerly subsisted between them, and which, he said, had been unhappily interrupted.

It may not be improper, before I close this subject, to mention all the points of difference between the Greek and Latin churches, as they are enumerated by Photius, and shew the stress that he laid upon them. In the first place, he says, "they fast on Saturdays, though the least contempt of the traditions tends to overturn all religion. Moreover, they take from Lent the first week, permitting to eat milk, meat, and cheese in it. Following the errors of Manes, they have an aversion to priests engaged in lawful marriage. They repeat the unction of chrism when it has been administered by priests; saying, that bishops only are empowered to administer it. But the height of their impiety is their daring to add new words to the sacred symbol, authorized by all the councils, saying that the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Father only, but also from the Son. After this," he says, "it is in vain to pretend to be Christians. This is admitting *two principles* in the Trinity, and confounding the properties of the Divine persons."*

Pope Nicolas having received a letter from Photius, con-

* *Fleury*, II. p. 133. (*P.*) *Fleury* says of Photius, "C'étoit le plus grand esprit, et les plus savant homme de son siècle, mais c'étoit un parfait hypocrite, agissant en scélérat, et parlant en saint." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 1027.

taining these accusations of the Latin church, communicated it to Hincmar, the learned archbishop of Rheims; and he required the bishops who were under him to write their thoughts on the subjects, and there are now extant two of those treatises, one written by Eneas, bishop of Paris, and the other by Ratram, a monk of Corbie.* In this work Ratram says, "If by the Holy Spirit being sent by the Son, a *procession* be not meant, it must be a *service*, and then the Holy Spirit will be inferior to the Son, which is Arianism. What," says he, "is it that the Holy Spirit can take from the Son, if it be not his substance?"

This, however, was not the first time that this curious question was considered in the Latin church. In A. D. 809, in a council held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the presence of Charlemagne, this question about the procession of the Holy Spirit was formally discussed; and in order to have it decided, this emperor sent an embassy to pope Leo,† with a treatise written by Smaragdus, abbot of St. Michael, to prove the procession of the Holy Spirit to be from the Son, as well as from the Father. To this doctrine the Pope gave his assent. But when he was farther urged to say, whether a man who did not believe it could be saved, he seemed unwilling to go so far; but acknowledged, that if a man could understand it, and would not believe it, he could not be saved. He would not, however, allow any new clause to be added to the creed. Notwithstanding this, in France and Spain, the creed was read with this addition, and in Rome without it.

SECTION II.

The Sequel of the History of Image-worship.

THERE is hardly any thing in the whole compass of church history, that demonstrates more clearly the decisive influence of the imperial authority in ecclesiastical matters, than the whole of this controversy relating to the worship of images; the decrees of the church constantly changing with the disposition of the court. In the time of Irene, the worship of images was most solemnly established. But

* "Contra opposita Græcorum Imperatorum Romanam ecclesiam infamantium libri quatuor Rathramni Monachi," 868. See "Bertram, or Ratram, concerning the Body and Blood of the Lord," 1688, p. 19. Also, Vol. V. p. 252.

† "Les Pères du Concile envoyèrent à Léon III. trois légats, pour lui demander la permission de chanter à la Messe le Symbole de Nicée, avec cette addition qui regarde la procession du Saint Esprit, *Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.*" *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. cxi.

Nicephorus, who deposed and banished her, was no friend to that superstition, though he did not choose to do any thing with respect to it. His successor, Michael *Curopolates*, favoured the worship of images, and persecuted those who opposed it.

On the contrary, Leo, the Armenian, was a violent *Iconoclast*, and considered the subjection of the Christians to the Saracens as owing to their superstition, and the idolatry of image-worship, and said that all the preceding emperors, who were of that sect, had died violent deaths, but the rest peaceably in their beds. He had, however, much opposition from the patriarch Nicephorus, and the monks; and though he had a conference with them on the subject, it was to no purpose. Nicephorus, not yielding to the emperor, found himself obliged to abdicate the patriarchate, and he was conducted to a monastery. Theodorus, who succeeded him, was an *Iconoclast*, like the emperor, and consequently the images were every where demolished. In opposition to this, Theodorus *Studites*, at the head of his monks, carried them in a solemn procession on a Whitsunday, singing hymns in honour of them. Being invited to attend a council which the emperor called, he refused to go, knowing the design of it, and remonstrated against it.

The first thing that was done in this council was to confirm that which had been held by Constantine *Copronymus* against the worship of images, and to anathematize the subsequent one of Nice. This was done with perfect unanimity by all who attended; but some bishops and abbots being introduced, and refusing to consent to what had been done, they were insulted, and sent to prison; and the council was closed with acclamations in the usual manner.

Agreeable to the orders of this council, images were again removed from the churches, and among the many abbots and others who were banished for adhering to the late doctrine, Theodorus *Studites* was not forgotten. He was sent to the castle of Metopus, near Apollonia, where he continued to write, and encourage his friends.

In this persecution of the worshippers of images, Nicetas and Theodorus *Studites* were not to be moved by the harshest treatment, nor could they be prevailed upon to communicate with the *Iconoclasts*. Theodorus applied to the Pope, imploring his assistance. He also wrote very moving letters to the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, begging their prayers and their compassion. The patriarch of Jerusalem sent two monks to Constantinople; but on

their remonstrating with too much freedom to the emperor, they were banished to the mouth of the Danube. Pope Pascal sent letters and a legate to Constantinople, but without any effect. However, he provided a monastery for the Greek refugees at Rome.

The stress which these rigid adherents to the worship of images laid on their doctrine and practice appears, at this distance of time, not a little extraordinary; but our surprise is lessened by the consideration that they wrote in a time of persecution, and consequently of great irritation. Theodorus *Studites*, writing about the reception of penitents, says, "they were to be received not as those who had fallen into a heresy, but as those who had denied Christ; for, as Basil says, the renouncing of the images goes to the original. It is not lawful," he says, "to eat with the heretics, not even in case of necessity, nor with the Catholics themselves who communicate with them, except once or twice, and that through necessity. It is not lawful," he says, "to salute heretics, or receive their gifts."

This persecution ended with the life of the emperor Leo, and the accession of Michael the *Stammerer*, in A. D. 820. Michael recalled the exiles, and though no worshipper of images himself, he allowed other persons to do as they thought proper in that respect. This emperor, pressed by his enemies, and fearing lest the worshippers of images should turn against him, proposed a conference between the two parties. But Theodorus and his brethren absolutely refused it; saying, it belonged to the bishops of the apostolic sees, the chief of which was that of Rome, to decide concerning the faith.

After the civil war, in which Michael was engaged, was over, this emperor sent ambassadors to Lewis, the Western emperor, giving him an account of the worship of images in the East, particularly complaining of some gross and ridiculous superstitions, which, he said, had induced him and other emperors to remove the images from a lower to a higher situation in the churches, where they might serve for the instruction of the people, without being the objects of such abuse. "They removed the crosses," he says, "from the churches, and put images in their places; and before these images they lighted lamps, and burned incense, paying them honour as to the crosses. They also sing hymns before these images, adore them, and implore their assistance. Several persons put clothes upon them, and make them godfathers and godmothers to their children; they put upon them the

first hair they cut from their heads, or offer their hair to them when they take the monastic habit. Some priests scrape colours from the pictures, and mix them with the elements of the eucharist, or first put the elements into the hands of the images, and then give them into the hands of the communicants; and others take boards on which are the pictures of some saints, and make use of them for altars in private houses." This letter shews the good sense of the emperor, as well as the ridiculous folly of the times, which, without historical evidence, would indeed be incredible.

On receiving this letter, Lewis applied to the Pope, requesting that an assembly of bishops might re-examine the business of images; and the Pope, who was then Eugenius, consenting, several bishops were ordered to meet at Paris, in November, A. D. 825, none being absent but the bishop of Autun, who was detained by illness. In this assembly, after reading the letter of pope Adrian to Constantine and Irene, the *Caroline* books, and Adrian's answer to them, which they did not think satisfactory, they came to a resolution, similar to that of the Council of Frankfort, approving of the use of images, but not for the purpose of adoration.

From this council a deputation was sent to the Pope, with the approbation of Lewis, requesting his interference to compose the differences in the East, by bringing the two opposite parties to the medium which themselves observed. Agobard, bishop of Lyons, was the most distinguished of those bishops, and is supposed to have drawn up the letter to the Pope, and others that were written on this occasion. What effect this deputation had, does not appear. But it is certain, *Fleury* says, that the Gallican church continued to think and act as they then did, a long time, and yet were in communion with the church of Rome. Political and interested considerations did not operate so powerfully in the West on this occasion, as they did in the East, and the minds of men had never been so much irritated on the subject.

There was, however, some considerable difference of opinion on this subject even in the West, where the person who distinguished himself the most by his opposition to the worship of images, and other abuses of the times, was Claudius, bishop of Turin, a disciple of Felix of Urgela. He had been a priest in the palace of the emperor Lewis, where he served with great reputation, and was particularly eminent for his knowledge of the Scriptures, on many parts of which he wrote commentaries. The emperor, seeing that

the people of Italy were very ignorant, sent Claudius to instruct them; and he, observing that the people paid a superstitious respect to images, removed them, and also all the crosses that had been erected in his diocese. He said, in defence of his conduct, that "when the Pagans transferred their worship from the images of their gods to those of the saints, they only changed the names of things, but did not abandon the worship of idols, so that they were still *idolaters*; and if men must be adored, it were better to worship living men than dead ones, as they bore a greater resemblance to God." He said that, "if the cross was to be worshipped because Christ hung upon it, every thing also that bore as near a relation to him was to be adored, as the manger in which he had lain, the ass on which he rode, the thorns and the lance which were the instruments of his passion," &c. However, in what he published on this subject he was answered by Dungal of St. Denis, in France, but what effect the controversy had does not appear.

Claudius was not content with reforming the abuse of the adoration of images. In the litany, and other offices of the church, he made no mention of any of the saints, and did not celebrate their festivals. He forbade the lighting of candles in the churches, in the day-time. He also declined attending the usual councils of bishops, saying they were the assemblies of asses. His answerer, however, said that they ought not to be so patient, or to spare such a person. The emperor was not altogether pleased with the writings of Claudius on those subjects, and by his direction, Jonas, bishop of Orleans, was employed in this work, when he heard that Claudius was dead.

This eminent reformer left disciples, and it appeared that, besides his zeal against the worship of images, and other superstitious practices, he is said to have revived the system of Arianism, or Unitarianism, and to have left writings on this subject in the episcopal palace. But it does not appear that they were ever published. The answer of Jonas is confined to the article of images, the worship of which he disclaims, though he said that they who prayed before them, in their honour, ought not to be treated as idolaters.

Theophilus, who succeeded his father Michael in A. D. 829, soon discovered even more zeal against the worshippers of images than his father had done. He not only forbade the worship of images, but even the making, or keeping of them, and the prisons were full of painters, monks and bishops. He had a particular dislike of the monks, and forbade them

going into cities, or even being seen in the open fields. Notwithstanding this, his wife Theodora, and his mother-in-law, continued zealous for the worship of images.

This emperor was particularly desirous of gaining Theodorus of Jerusalem, and his brother Theophanes, who had been ill-used and banished by his father; and for this purpose he sent for them in A. D. 833. But not succeeding, they were grossly insulted, having, it is said, some verses inscribed on their faces, and were remanded to their place of banishment. They were offered their liberty if they would communicate, though but once, with the other party; but they resolutely refused, saying it was as if they should be desired to cut off their heads only once, and that then they might go where they pleased. Methodius had much better treatment, the emperor not only taking him out of prison, but keeping him about his person, and taking him with him in his warlike expeditions; but it was said that he was apprehensive of his promoting a revolt of the common people if he was left behind. This, however, might have been prevented by his being left in prison.

On the death of Theophilus, his son Michael being an infant, the empress Theodora governed in his name, and being a zealous advocate for the worship of images, she signified to the patriarch John, that he must either assist her in restoring them, or be expelled from his see. Not complying with her wishes, he was deposed, and confined to his country-house.

A council being then called, the *Iconoclasts* were again anathematized, the second Council of Nice confirmed, and Methodius was made patriarch of Constantinople. After this, the images were immediately replaced in the church of St. Sophia, and every where else. And to complete the business, the empress made a feast for the clergy, and others who had suffered in the late persecution, and continued it annually as long as she lived, calling it *the feast of orthodoxy*; and it is still celebrated in the Greek church. Thus ended, say the Catholics, the heresy of the *Iconoclasts*, after about one hundred and twenty years from its introduction by the emperor Leo *Isauricus*.

The *Iconoclasts* were not, however, yet wholly silenced; and at the eighth general council, held by Basilus in A. D. 869, after the business of Photius and Ignatius was dispatched, Theodorus *Crithin*, the chief of the *Iconoclasts*, was introduced; and being required to submit to the decrees of the church, expressed by the patriarchs of the five apostolic sees,

he replied with great firmness, after acknowledging his respect for the image of the emperor which was shewn him, that he would not worship the image of Christ, unless they could shew him that Christ required it. Others, however, of that party, confessed their error, as it was called, and were received into the church.

SECTION III.

Of the Controversy occasioned by Godeschalchus concerning Predestination.

THE doctrine of *predestination* was first advanced by Austin, in pursuance of what he had maintained in the Pelagian controversy, on the subjects of *grace* and *original sin*. But though his authority was very great in the Western church, his doctrines had not been generally understood in their greatest rigour, and especially, neither himself nor any of his followers had said much on the subject of *reprobation*; so that, notwithstanding the *election* of some to eternal life, it was still taken for granted, that the destruction of the wicked was from themselves; that it was in their power to prevent it, and that Christ died for all men. In this period, however, we meet with a person, of a speculative and serious turn, (and there were always many such among the monks,) who seems to have pursued the leading principles of Austin pretty nearly to their full extent.

This was Godeschalchus, a Saxon, a person of noble birth, first a monk in the monastery of Fulda, and then in that of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons, in France, and ordained a priest by a suffragan of the church of Rheims, of which Hincmar was archbishop. In A. D. 847 he visited Rome, and on his return he lived with count Eberhard, one of the chief lords in the court of the emperor Lothaire; and discoursing in the presence of Nothingus, bishop of Verona, concerning the doctrine of predestination, is said to have maintained, that the predestination of God imposes upon man a necessity of being virtuous or wicked. The bishop, offended at this, mentioned it to Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, who promised to confute that doctrine in writing; and accordingly wrote a treatise in two letters, one addressed to Nothingus, and the other to count Eberhard, in which he quotes the authority of Austin himself against the doctrine of Godeschalchus, and asserts that God predestinates only in consequence of foreseeing every thing that

will come to pass. This treatise was answered by Godeschalchus, in a work in which, according to Hincmar, from whom only we have any account of it, he maintained that the reprobate are properly destined to damnation, though it was in consequence of God's foreseeing that they would live and die in sin; so that, in this respect, it seems to have been a difference in words only. But he asserted that Christ did not die but for those who were really saved.

Hitherto the universal opinion had been, that the proper effect of the obedience and death of Christ was reversing the consequence of the sin of Adam, or giving men again that immortality which they had lost in him; and that it was by the help of grace, imparted at baptism, that Christians were enabled to do good works.

This controversy excited so much attention, that it having been the universal practice to decide upon all questions in councils, it was brought before one that was held by Rabanus, at Mentz, in October, A. D. 848, in which, though Godeschalchus, in explaining his sentiments, said that the wicked were predestinated to misery on account of their wickedness, he reprov'd Rabanus for saying, that the destruction of the wicked was not properly predestinated, but only foreseen. His opinion was reprobated by the bishops assembled on this occasion, and Hincmar, in whose diocese he had been ordained, was directed not to suffer him to seduce the people, which it was said he had done, making them indifferent to all good works.

Hincmar, having received and examined Godeschalchus, presented him to a council of bishops, which was to meet, together with the parliament of Charles the *Bald*, at Quercy, in A. D. 849. Thirteen bishops were present on this occasion, and after the examination of Godeschalchus, he was judged to be heretical and incorrigible, and deposed from the order of priesthood. He was also, for what was called his obstinacy and insolence, (the evidence of which, however, does not exist,) sentenced to be whipped with rods, and imprisoned. This cruel sentence was executed, and with rigour, in the presence of the king.* He was also obliged to burn his own writings, and was then confined at the abbey of Hautvilliers, in the diocese of Rheims. He continued, however, to write, in his prison, and published two confessions of his faith, expressing his earnest desire to defend

* " St. Remy, archevêque de Lyon, se declara contre le châtement cruel, qu'il avoit essayé. ' Les hérétiques des siècles passés,' disoit-il, ' ont été condamnés du moins par des raisons.' " *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 126.

what appeared to him to be the truth, in the presence of king Charles, of the bishops, and the monks. It is likewise said that he professed his willingness to put the truth of his opinions to the trial of fire or water.*

Notwithstanding the authority of Hincmar, and the other enemies of Godeschalchus, he was not without friends, and some of them in high stations, or eminent for their literature. In particular, Ratram, the learned monk of Corbie, and Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, took his part; thinking his doctrine supported by the authority of Austin; and many others shewed a disposition to join him. These circumstances contributed to draw the farther attention of king Charles; and in this age every prince considered himself as an authorized defender of the faith, and having consulted Ratram, this learned man wrote two books on the subject of predestination, and in them maintained the doctrine of two predestinations.† This treatise, and another of Lupus, abbot of Ferrara, on the same side of the question, the king gave to Hincmar for his examination.

Hincmar, and Pardulus, bishop of Laon, who took the same side, seeing the doctrine of two predestinations supported by the writings of Ratram, Lupus and Prudentius employed the deacon Amulacius, and John, surnamed Erigena,‡ a learned and subtle Irishman, to answer them. The work of the latter is still extant, and in it, he maintains that there is only one predestination, viz. that to eternal life, and that sin and punishment, being only privations, could not properly be predestinated or foreseen. He also quotes St. Austin as favourable to his argument.

Prudentius replied to the work of John Erigena, treating him as a Pelagian; but did not undertake the defence of Godeschalchus, who indeed does not appear to have been any farther concerned in the controversy. Erigena was also answered by Florus, a deacon of Lyons. Amolon, the bishop of this diocese, to whom Godeschalchus had sent his writings, and seems on the whole to have been a well-wisher to him, reproved him for many things that he had advanced,

* “ En passant de suite par quatre tonneaux pleins d'eau, d'huile, ou de poix bouillante, ou même par un grand feu.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 126.

† See the work of Ratram, mentioned *supra* (p. 157), p. 27.

‡ He has been supposed, by *Rapin* and others, after the monkish historians, to have been the scholar whom Alfred invited to England, and who, for his severity to his pupils, was killed by them at Malmesbury with the iron styles, with which they then wrote. But this was probably another *Johannes Scotus*. See “History of the Town and Abbey of Malmesbury, by” my school-fellow and friend, “the late Rev. J. M. Moffatt, of Malmesbury,” 1805, pp. 209—215. Also *Biog. Brit.* V. pp. 599, 600. *Rapin*, I. pp. 318, 378. II. pp. 160, 161.

especially for asserting that they who are redeemed by Christ cannot perish, that the reprobate cannot be saved, and that God and the saints rejoice in their destruction. Remigius, who succeeded Amolon, took the part of Godeschalchus more openly, and in answer to some letters of Hincmar on the subject, complains of the hard fate of Godeschalchus for defending the truth.

After the council of Soissons, in A. D. 853, king Charles coming to Quercy, signed four articles, which had been there composed by Hincmar, against the doctrine of Godeschalchus, in which he acknowledged only one predestination, viz. to eternal life, but allowed that God foresaw, though he did not decree, the destruction of the wicked. "God," says he, "wills all to be saved. Some he actually saves by his mercy, but others perish through their own fault." Prudentius of Troyes was induced to sign these articles, and yet in the same year he declared himself of a different opinion in his writings; and on the whole, the sentiments of Godeschalchus, though in some respects novel, appear to have been very prevalent, and were even sanctioned by the most respectable councils.

The four articles of Hincmar being sent to the church of Lyons, Remigius and his clergy were shocked at them, as, in their opinion, attacking the authority of the Scriptures, the fathers, and especially St. Austin. The bishop, therefore, answered them, maintaining the two-fold predestination. He maintained the same doctrine at the third council of Valence, assembled by the order of the emperor Lothaire, in A. D. 855. There the bishops determined that "the prescience of God does not impose upon man a necessity of being wicked; that there are two predestinations, of the good to eternal life, and of the wicked to death; and that Christ died only for those who believe in him. We reject," they say, "as hurtful, and contrary to truth, the four articles which have been received with little precaution by our brethren. As to the grace without which no reasonable creature ever lived well, and the free-will which was weakened in Adam, and restored by the grace of Christ, we believe what has been taught by the fathers, the councils of Africa and Orange, and what the Popes have held; but we reject with disdain the impertinent fables and questions of the *Scot*, which have been the occasion of so lamentable a division in these unhappy times." By this they meant the writings of John Erigena. The decrees of this council were confirmed in another held at Savonieres, in A. D. 859, and seem to have had the sanction of

the papal see. Hincmar was not silenced by these councils ; but wrote in defence of the four articles of Quercy, though, *Fleury* says, with more erudition than judgment.*

It seems not a little extraordinary that, notwithstanding the prevalence of Godeschalchus's opinions, he himself continued in prison, the sentence passed against him not having been reversed. There was probably something offensive in his manner, though nothing will justify the treatment he met with. Hincmar says, he lived as other monks did, with every convenience of life, but that, ever since he had been confined, he had never washed his hands or face, so that if he should go abroad he would strike persons with horror. He died in this state of confinement, in A. D. 868, and before he died rejected with indignation a formulary of confession which Hincmar sent him.†

SECTION IV.

Of the Propagation of Christianity in this Period.

CONSIDERABLE progress was made in the propagation of Christianity in the course of this period of our history ; and though in most cases the conversions were only nominal, and the Christianity to which Heathens were converted, a miserable superstition, it laid the foundation for something of a better kind in future time. That the conversions made by the arms of Charlemagne were of little value, appeared when, in A. D. 842, Charles, the son of Lewis, gave the Saxons the option of taking what religion they pleased ; for they chose to return to Paganism. In general, the conversions in this period, as those in the preceding, began with the princes, and therefore may be suspected of having a political object ; but some were brought about, in some measure at least, in a better manner.

The Bulgarians having taken Adrianople in A. D. 813, and carried away many captives, and among them the archbishop Manuel, they were the means of converting many of that people. In A. D. 865, the king of Bulgaria, who had married a Christian, was himself converted ; and sent to the emperor of Constantinople for a bishop, who baptized him ; and his subjects in general followed his example. He was afterwards induced to send to Rome for farther instruction

* *Hist. Eccles. X. p. 536. (P.)*

† "Hincmar, son persécuteur, lui fit refuser les sacremens et la sépulture." *Noun. Dict. III. p. 126.*

in the Christian religion; and this was the occasion of legates and bishops being sent from thence; and at length the contest for the jurisdiction of this country contributed more than any other circumstance to the final separation of the two churches.

In A. D. 866, the Chazares sent to the emperor Michael for some persons to instruct them in the Christian faith, and he sent Constantius, who, after having learned their language, translated the Scriptures into it, and taught them the use of letters. In the same year, Bartilas, prince of the Moravians, hearing what the Chazares had done, sent ambassadors to the emperor Michael with the same request; and accordingly he sent two brothers, Constantine and Methodius, who were well received. Pope Nicolas, however, hearing of this, wrote to them, and engaged them to go to Rome, and receive bishops of his ordination.

Methodius, who is called the archbishop of Sclavonia, converted the duke of Bohemia, his wife, and thirty of his nobles, in A. D. 880. Most of the Sclavi were converted in A. D. 950, Otho having conquered Boleslaus, king of Bohemia.

It is disputed between the Greeks and the Latins which of them introduced Christianity into Hungary, but it was probably the former.*

About A. D. 870, the Russians received the Christian faith, the prince, as usual, leading the way; but the circumstances of this conversion have much the air of fable.

In A. D. 825, Heriold, king of Denmark, being driven from his country, had recourse to the emperor Lewis; and, in expectation of assistance from him, professed himself a Christian, and was baptized, together with his children and many other Danes. When he returned to his dominions, he was accompanied by the monks Ansgar or Anscaire, and Aubert. In A. D. 830, Anscaire, accompanied by Witmar, went to Sweden, and with the leave of the king preached with success there; and to facilitate the conversion of those northern nations, a bishopric was established at Hamburgh, and Anscaire was placed in the see; but he had to struggle with great difficulties, and was sometimes obliged to leave the place on account of the ravages of the Normans. He was most zealous and indefatigable in his labours in all the northern parts of Europe, and had for his fellow-labourers or successors, besides Witmar above-mentioned, Ebbo, Rembert, and others.†

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 184. (P.) Cent. x. Pt. i. Ch. i. Sect. vi. Note.

† *Ibid.* II. p. 16. (P.)

As Christianity gained ground in the North, it suffered in the East and the South, in consequence of the power of the Saracens. In the civil wars among them, after the death of Haroun Alraschid, the Christians were exposed to great sufferings, and many of them fled to Constantinople, where they were received with great humanity by the emperor Michael.

About the year A. D. 850, several Christians suffered death at Cordova, either for abandoning, or reviling the Mahometan religion; but the spirit with which they suffered is not to be commended. In general they offered themselves to the judges, who seem to have been unwilling to hurt them. This conduct was much blamed by many of their fellow-christians at the time; and an assembly of the clergy convoked by king Abderame on the occasion, forbade the offering themselves to martyrdom, though they did not choose to pass any censure on those who had done it. As many persons would not consider them as martyrs, Eulogius, a priest of Cordova, wrote a history and defence of them. He himself was afterwards put to death for secreting a young woman who had renounced the Mahometan religion. *Fleury* condemns the conduct of those who offered themselves to martyrdom; but says that the authority of the church, which has received them as martyrs and saints, and among them Eulogius their defender, ought to arrest our judgment.*

It is said that the monks opposed the assessment of the estates that had been given to their order, and that on this the king caused the council above-mentioned to be held; but that it was reprobated, and Eulogius chosen archbishop of Toledo for the zeal he shewed on the occasion, though he was soon after apprehended and executed.†

SECTION V.

Of the State of the Jews, and Christian Sectaries, and of the Rise of peculiar Opinions, within this Period.

In the time of Agobard, bishop of Lyons,‡ the Jews were very numerous in that city, and its neighbourhood, and many Christians adopted their customs. Writing to Nebrodus,

* *Hist. X. p. 510. (P.)*

† *Robinson, p. 234. (P.)*

‡ Who died in 840. His MSS. were rescued from the shop of a bookbinder who was about to cover books with them, in 1606, and republished 1666. According to his *Catholic* biographer, Agobard, though *orthodox*, yet opposed the superstitious notions and absurd customs of his age. "Il écrivit contre *Felix*

bishop of Narbonne, he says, that some Christians observed the sabbath as they did, working on sundays, and paying no regard to the appointed fasts. Many women, he says, were corrupted by them, and said that they were of the race of the patriarchs and prophets. Nay, many of the common people went so far as to say that the Jews were the only true people of God, and who adhered to the true religion. They also said that the Jews preached better than the Christian priests. It appears by the account of a famine in Germany, in the ninth century, that the laws of Moses, so far as they related to the eating of things strangled, were binding upon Christians; it being said that necessity alone made it excusable to eat of a hind that had been killed by wolves. But the prohibition to eat of things strangled, and blood, had the sanction of the apostles, and it is to this day observed in all the East.

The Jews were not, however, without some reason to complain of the treatment they met with in this period. Their slaves were sometimes baptized, and then, to their great prejudice, obtained their liberty. The emperor Lewis, who was disposed to favour them, made the consent of the master, though a Jew, necessary to the baptizing of a slave. Of this, Agobard, who wrote against them, complained, saying that the Jews ought to be indemnified for the loss of their slaves, but that salvation ought not to be denied to any. At a council held at Metz, in A. D. 888, Christians were forbidden to eat with Jews.

It has been observed, that in general, the Saracens were disposed to favour those Christians who were deemed heretical, as less liable to take part with the Greek emperors against them. But Politien, the Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, being a physician, and having cured a concubine of the caliph Haroun Alraschid, he gave him the possession of all the churches which had been usurped by the Jacobites in that city.

It was seen in the former part of this work [VIII. 97, 262] how much the Gnostic doctrines, which arose from the oriental philosophy, spread among Christians, appearing in the time of the apostles, and shewing themselves in different forms to the time of Manes. They were long considered as

d'Urgel, [supra, p. 112] condamna les duels, les épreuves du feu et de l'eau, et prouva que ce n'étoient point les Sorcières, qui excitoient les tempêtes. Toutes ces réflexions," adds this frequently impartial and enlightened Catholic "auroient été inutiles dans un siècle éclairé; mais elles étoient nécessaires dans des siècles d'ignorance et de superstition." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 53.

the only proper heretics in the Christian church, being excluded from other churches and forming separate societies of their own. From one Paul, who is said to have adopted and modified the doctrines of Manes, though it is not known at what time he lived, many of them were called *Paulicians*; and they were so numerous in Phrygia, Lycaonia, and especially Armenia, that at length, urged no doubt by persecution, they formed a separate state, and, like the Donatists in Africa, were frequently at war with the Greek emperors.

The only account that we have of the principles of the Paulicians is given by Peter the Sicilian, who, in A. D. 871, was sent by the emperor Basiliscus to Tibrice, the capital of the Paulicians in Armenia, to treat of an exchange of prisoners. He was with them nine months, and having informed himself concerning their doctrines, he wrote an account of them, dedicating his work to the first archbishop of Bulgaria, where the Paulicians were making many converts; for they were indefatigable in propagating their doctrine, and had great success in that country.

According to this writer, the Paulicians acknowledged two principles, the one good, and the other bad, the latter the author of this world, and the former of the world to come. They received none of the books of the Old Testament, but all those of the new, except the two epistles of Peter. They also made great account of some epistles of one Sergius, a person of note among them. Jesus, they said, brought his body from heaven. They rejected the eucharist, and, according to other accounts, baptism also; and, as Theophanes said, they denied the incarnation; and, as the Albigenses, who were in part derived from them, were not Trinitarians, it is pretty clear that they were not what was called orthodox in that respect.

The Paulicians were much divided among themselves, and a particular account of their different sects may be seen in *Fleury*,* but it is not of much consequence to be acquainted with them. It is said that there are probably Paulicians still in Thrace and Bulgaria.†

The emperor Nicephorus was much attached to the Paulicians, but they were cruelly persecuted by the emperor Michael, in A. D. 811. The patriarch Nicephorus and others remonstrated against his severity, but the abbot Theophanes approved of it. At this time one Constantine is said to have made some alteration in their doctrine, and to have had many

* *Hist. X.* p. 105. (P.) † *Mosheim*, II. p. 175. (P.) Cent. ix. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. v. *Note*.

disciples. But by the order of Michael he was seized, and stoned to death. His own disciples were ordered to throw the stones, but none of them would hurt him, except one Justus, whom he had adopted some years before, and instructed with particular care. He gave him the mortal blow. It is remarkable that one Simeon, who executed the orders of the emperor, was afterwards a convert to the Paulicians, and succeeding Constantine as head of the sect, called himself Titus. By the order of Justin II. he was apprehended, and with some others burned to death.

In A. D. 845, the empress Theodora undertook to extirpate the Paulicians, and it is said that a hundred thousand of them were destroyed. Many of them fled to the Saracens, and joined them against the Romans. Crysocheris, a chief among the Paulicians, had great reputation for his prudence and valour. He was very troublesome to the Romans, making frequent incursions into the territories of the emperor, and taking many prisoners. At length, however, he was defeated and slain.

A schism of some continuance in the Greek church was occasioned by the emperor Constantine *Porphyrogeneta* divorcing his wife and marrying another. The monk Theodore *Studites*, many of whose writings are come down to us, his brother Joseph, bishop of Thessalonica, and Platon, a person of noble family, famous for abandoning considerable employments and becoming a monk, distinguished themselves by their opposition to this marriage, and the last of them actually excommunicated the emperor on account of it. On their refusing to communicate with another Joseph, a priest who had performed the ceremony of marriage, (considering him as one who had authorized adultery,) a council was called, in consequence of which the persons above-mentioned were banished to different places, and Theodore appealed to the Pope. However, the emperor Michael recalled them, and put an end to the schism by the banishment of the priest Joseph.

The emperor Michael the *Stammerer* distinguished himself not a little by the freedom of his thinking in several respects. He did not believe that there was any devil, because, as he observed, Moses said nothing of one. He maintained that Judas Iscariot was saved, and he allowed of no oath but by the supreme God. Having been educated at Amorium, in Phrygia, which abounded with Paulicians, he retained some of their principles, and is said to have denied the resurrection.

In this period was the origin of the afterwards famous doctrine of *transubstantiation*. In A. D. 831, Paschasius Radbert, a monk of Corbie, at the request of one of his disciples, wrote a treatise on the eucharist, in which he maintained that the elements of bread and wine were the real body and blood of Christ, the very same that was born of the Virgin Mary, and that after consecration the substance of bread and wine did not remain in them. From this he drew three consequences, viz. that Christ is truly sacrificed, every day, but in a mystery; that the eucharist is at the same time the truth and a figure; and that the elements are not subject to the process of digestion. By this means he maintained what was called the doctrine of the *real presence*, and he laid so much stress upon it, as to say that they who did not believe it were worse than the openly profane. This doctrine, however, being new, had not at first many adherents, and at the request of Charles the *Bald*, Ratram answered the treatise of Paschasius.*

In A. D. 846, the same Paschasius wrote a treatise to prove that the Virgin Mary, having conceived without concupiscence, was free from the pains of child-birth, and was even delivered without any opening of the womb; Jesus having passed through her flesh, as it is supposed that he did through the door, without opening it, when he appeared to his disciples, *the door*, as we read, *being shut*. Ratram opposed this opinion also, but Paschasius defended it, and charged his adversary with denying the virginity of Mary.†

The doctrine of the *Trinity* was sufficiently established in this period; but the conclusion of an ancient hymn, *Te, trina Deitas unaque, poscimus*, giving offence to Hincmar, he wished to have it left out. The monks, however, joined by Godeschalvus, who, though in prison, wrote in defence of it, opposing him, it continued to be sung as before.‡

* La Croze says, he considers the doctrine of transubstantiation as having originated in Egypt, and to have been a consequence of the doctrine of the Monophysites. It there appeared as an assumption of the bread and wine in the eucharist, into an hypostatical union with the body and blood of Christ; and by their union making but one nature with him. *Christianisme d'Arménie*, p. 865. (P.) On Ratram, see *supra*, p. 157.

† Mosheim, II. p. 162. (P.) Cent. ix. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. xxvi.

‡ *Ibid.* II. p. 160. (P.) *Ibid.* Sect. xxv. Mosheim says, "Hincmar wisely prohibited the singing in the churches under his jurisdiction, the concluding words, which may be thus translated, *O God, who art three, and at the same time but One, we beseech thee*; from a persuasion that they tended to introduce, into the minds of the multitude, notions inconsistent with the unity and simplicity of the Supreme Being, and might lead them to imagine that there were three Gods." What concessions to Unitarians from professed worshippers of a *trine* God, are found in this prohibition of Hincmar, and the wisdom which the chancellor of the orthodox university of Gottingen here ascribes to him!

SECTION VI.

Of the State of the Clergy in this Period.

WE have seen in the preceding periods of this history, how very different a set of men were the Christian clergy, and the original, humble and suffering teachers of the religion of Jesus. In every subsequent period we shall find them advancing in their pretensions, and the laity aiding that advancement, both with respect to spiritual and temporal power. Their supposed power in spirituals, contributed much to overawe an ignorant age, so that their power was hardly thought to have any bounds.

The bishops of France, in their letter to king Lewis, (said to be written by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims,) said he ought "to compel the lords who had seized the goods of the church to make satisfaction, and do penance. Would you augment your kingdom at the expense of your soul? The churches which God has confided to us are not *fiefs*, which the kings can give and take away as they please, but goods consecrated to God, which cannot be alienated without sacrilege. We are not secular persons who can make ourselves vassals, and take oaths contrary to the Scriptures and the canons. It would be an abomination if those hands which have received the unction of the holy chrism, and by prayer and the sign of the cross make bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ, should become slaves to an oath, any more than the tongue of the bishop, who has the key of heaven. If any have exacted such an oath of bishops, both they who have exacted it, and they who have taken it, ought to do penance for it."

The giving of *fiefs* to bishops and monks, which began with Charlemagne, and had never been done by the Lombard princes, was felt as a great evil in this period; and the insecure state of property contributed much to increase the evil, many persons giving their lands to the church for their greater security, reserving only a certain allowance out of them to themselves. When the heirs to such estates failed, they fell wholly to the church. Hence the distinction between *feudum datum* and *feudum oblatum*.* When, afterwards, Arnold of Brescia maintained that fiefs could not be given to the church, he was deemed a heretic.†

* Giannone, I. p. 366. (P.)

† *Ibid.* p. 323. (P.)

The power of administering, and consequently of withholding, the sacraments of the church, was a great instrument of the power of the clergy, and was often used very improperly. The same Hincmar of Rheims, complaining of Hincmar, bishop of Laon, his nephew and suffragan, says, he had laid an interdict on the whole diocese of Laon, forbidding to celebrate mass, to baptize children, appoint penance, give the viaticum to the dying, or bury the dead; and says he was shocked at it. This shews, says *Fleury*, that these general interdicts were not then common, though particular ones were in use.

Dispensations for marrying within the prohibited degrees, was a great source of wealth and power to the clergy; and in this period the idea of *spiritual affinity*, between god-fathers and godmothers, and their sons and daughters, as an impediment to marriage, was introduced.*

Much as the princes had to complain of the usurpation of the bishops, it was derived from their own superstition; in sanctioning the decrees of councils. Charlemagne, a little before his death, appointed councils to be held at five different places in his dominions, the decrees of which were brought to him, and he added the civil authority to those of them that required it. He also ordered that, in any stage of a lawsuit, if either of the parties applied to a bishop, his sentence should be accepted, and that the evidence of a single bishop should always be admitted by judges. This he thought was agreeable to a law of Constantine, which has since been proved to be spurious. Though, as *Fleury* says, it has served much to extend the jurisdiction of the bishops.

The bishops had all the power of civil magistrates. At the Council of Mayence, in A. D. 813, it was ordered that the vagabond and independent clergy, (probably the disciples of Adelbert or Clement, mentioned in the preceding period,) those who were not in the service of any prince, or under any bishop or abbot, should be arrested by the bishop of the diocese without delay; that if they would not submit, they should be excommunicated, and that if this did not correct them, they should be imprisoned, in order to be judged in a council.†

In the Capitulary of Charles the *Bald*, in A. D. 853,

* *Giannone*, I. p. 365. (P.)

† It was Charlemagne who gave the popes and other bishops the privilege of having prisons, which before his time had not been allowed even in Rome. *Ibid.* (P.)

lords were forbidden to hinder the bishops from ordering the *serfs* on their estates to be beaten when their crimes required it. Accordingly the count and his officers were ordered to accompany the bishops in their visitations, to compel those who could not be reduced, by mere excommunication, to do penance. Pope Nicolas, writing to the king of Bulgaria concerning some of his subjects who had apostatized, says, "If they cannot be reclaimed they must be excommunicated, and repressed by the secular power: for the king ought to chastise those who are faithless to God, no less than those who are faithless to himself.*

This interference of the spiritual and temporal powers did not pass without notice or complaint. The emperor Lewis having held an assembly at Aix, in A. D. 828, to inquire into the causes of the disorders of the times, in order to apply a remedy to them, Vala, the abbot of Corbie, said, that the temporal and spiritual powers encroached upon each other, that the emperor quitted his duty to attend to matters of religion, which did not concern him, and that the bishops were occupied in temporal affairs. The same complaint of the interference of the two powers was made at the Council of Paris, in the year following, and in the second Council of Aix la Chapelle, in A. D. 836.

In the contest between the temporal and spiritual powers, we do not wonder to find the latter represented as superior to the former. Pope Gregory having taken the part of Lothaire against his father Lewis, and accompanied him into France, addressed a letter to the bishops who favoured the father, in which he maintained that the ecclesiastical authority was superior to the secular, and that on this occasion they ought to obey him rather than the emperor. Pope Nicolas, writing to the king of Bulgaria, says, "You laymen ought not to judge the priests, or any of the clergy, nor examine their lives. You must leave all to the judgment of the bishops."

The same pope, who approached very near to the character of Gregory VII., made bishops the judges, even of kings. Writing to Adventius, bishop of Metz, he says, "You say you submit to your king as your superior. But first see that those kings and princes be so in reality. See that they conduct themselves well. Otherwise they are to be considered as tyrants, and not kings, and ought to be resisted, and not submitted to." This, as Fleury says, was making them

* *Fleury*, II. p. 108. (P.)

judges whether the princes were tyrants or not, and not only the bishops, but all subjects; for the reason applies to all.* Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, being threatened by king Lewis if he would not ordain Odacre bishop of Beauvais, persisted in his refusal, and said in answer, "It is not you who have chosen me bishop to govern the church, but it is I who, with my colleagues and other Christians, have chosen you to govern the kingdom, on condition that you observe the laws."

Fulk, another archbishop of Rheims, proceeded further than this. For, being informed that Charles the *Simple* intended to make peace with the Normans, he wrote to dissuade him from it, threatening that if he did, he would renounce his allegiance to him, and persuade as many as he could to do the same, and that, joining with his brethren, he would condemn him to an eternal anathema. What is more extraordinary, princes seem to have acknowledged the power of the bishops to depose them. For, at the Council of Savoniers, held in A. D. 859, Charles the *Bald* complained that Vanelon, archbishop of Sens, had broken his promise not to depose him from his royal dignity, at least without the bishops who had joined him in his consecration.

One instrument of the power of the bishops over princes was their making them submit to do penance, which, according to the canons of the Council of Nice, and the decretals of pope Siricius, disqualified them for bearing arms. The emperor Lewis being overpowered by his sons, they and their partisans made him undergo a public penance, that he might be afterwards deemed incapable of reigning. Among other offences, he confessed that he had marched his troops without necessity in Lent, and that he had fixed on Holy Thursday for the meeting of a parliament. This, says *Fleury*, is the second attempt of the ecclesiastical power over the secular, the first being that in the case of Vamba, in Spain, mentioned before. In both these cases, however, the power of the church would have availed nothing without power of a temporal kind. But the laity were not aware of the advantage which they gave the clergy in making this use of their spiritual weapons, to serve their own purposes.

There was great cause of complaint in this period, on account of the appointment of improper persons to bishoprics. Though the emperor Lewis, in the parliament at Attigni, in A. D. 822, restored the election of bishops to the

* Vol. XI. p. 76. (P.)

clergy and people, forbidding the interference of any prince, yet it appears that, in many cases, the bishoprics were considered as the property of the king or the great lords, and disposed of, without any regard to the choice of the people. On the death of Seulp, archbishop of Rheims, in A. D. 925, supposed to have been poisoned by Hebert, count of Vermandois, his son Hughes, a child of five years old, was made bishop, and the election was confirmed by pope John X., Abbon, bishop of Soissons, discharging the episcopal functions for him. Hebert afterwards employed Odalric, archbishop of Aix, to perform the spiritual functions; and while he enjoyed the temporalities, he lived with his wife in the episcopal palace. Afterwards, Rouel, king of France, quarrelling with him, Hughes was expelled from the see, and another was chosen in his place.

Atton of Verceil, in his letters of discipline, complains of patrons for giving bishoprics according to the riches, the relationship, or services, of the candidate, bringing up their children for them; and he humourously notes the ridicule attending the examination of such children, who were taught to repeat their answers by heart, or read in a paper, which, he says, was held with trembling hands, for fear of losing the preferment; those who put the questions to them well knowing that they did not understand what they were saying, and who only put the usual questions in order to observe the canonical forms, thus committing injustice in the guise of truth.*

Those bishops, he adds, who were ordained contrary to the rules, were accused without respect, unjustly oppressed, perfidiously expelled, and sometimes cruelly put to death. We are not surprised, in this state of things, at the ignorance of some bishops. Freculph, bishop of Lisieux, had not an entire bible.

We have an example of another kind of irregularity in the church of Constantinople, where Tryphon was chosen in A. D. 928, till Theophylact, the son of the emperor Romanus, should be of a proper age to be advanced to that dignity. This, says *Fleury*, was the first example of this species of abuse.

We do not, that I remember, read of any *pluralities* till this period, when there is a remarkable example of this abuse in Manasseh, archbishop of Arles, a relation of king Hugo, getting himself made bishop of Verona, Mantua and Trent.

* *Fleury*, XII. p. 112. (P.)

Translations were as yet very rare, though in other respects the ancient customs in the appointments of bishops were violated. On the death of Venilon, archbishop of Sens, the Pope made some difficulty of admitting Egilon, a monk in another diocese, to succeed him; it having been an established rule, that the place of every bishop should be filled by some of the clergy of the same church, or from another, if no person in it should be found capable. But the contrary practice, *Fleury* says, was now become common in France.

When bishoprics and abbacies were chiefly desired and bestowed, as offices of power and profit, we do not wonder that the possessors of them lived in all respects like other great lords, and that many of them still bore arms. At a battle in the south of France, in A. D. 844, Ebroin, bishop of Poitiers, and chaplain* to king Charles, and also Lupus, abbot of Ferriers, were taken prisoners; so that even abbots, though priests and bishops, bore arms like other lords, pretending that they were obliged to do so on account of their fiefs. In fact, little regard was paid to the regulations of Charlemagne on this subject.

Much complaint was made by the priests, of the oppression of their bishops in their visitations at Toulouse in A. D. 360, when, by the order of king Charles, several regulations were made to remedy the evil. At a council at Constantinople, in A. D. 870, archbishops were forbidden, on the pretence of visitations, to live without necessity upon their suffragans, thus consuming the revenues of the churches under them. Metropolitans were also forbidden to get their duty done by their suffragans while they attended to temporal affairs. Here we see, says *Fleury*, why those bishops were called suffragans.†

Greater complaint still, was made in this period of the debauched lives of many of the clergy, who were not allowed to marry. In the *Capitulary* of Hincmar, composed in A. D. 852, there are so many injunctions against the clergy having any communication with women, that *Fleury* says, there is reason to fear there was much irregularity in that respect. At the Council of Mayence, in A. D. 888, priests were forbidden to lodge with any woman whatever, because some had been found to have children by their own sisters. Atton of Verceil, in his letters of discipline, complains that many

* The word *chaplain* was derived from the custom of the kings of France carrying the cap of St. Martin with them to battle, hoping by its means to gain the victory, and a priest had the charge of it. *Fleury*, X. p. 49. (P.)

† *Hist.* XI. p. 261. (P.)

of the clergy maintained two concubines, with whom they lived publicly, that these women governed the house, and after their death inherited what they had amassed of the goods of the church, and the donations of the faithful. This, says he, gave occasion to the officers of justice to enter the houses of the clergy, on pretence of removing those women and their children, the canons having condemned such concubines to servitude. To enrich those women and their families, he says, "the clergy become avaricious, plunderers, usurers and cheats, which cools the devotion of the people, and prevents their paying their tithes; so that the lower clergy are so poor, that they are hardly able to subsist. When the bishops," he says, "reprove them for these disorders, they often revolt against them, seek the protection of powerful lords, and often take part with the enemies of the church, and some would excuse themselves by saying, they could not live without women."

Alvarus Pelagius, in a treatise entitled, *The Complaints of the Church*,* says, "It were to be wished that the clergy had never vowed chastity, especially those in Spain, where the sons of the laity are not more numerous than the sons of the clergy."†

That these irregularities were not confined to the West, we see in the account of Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, who died in A. D. 956, which, in order to give a faithful picture of the age, I think ought not to be omitted. It is, however, a singular case, and in any other than a son of the emperor, would not have been borne. At the age of sixteen he was put in possession of this dignity, and held it twenty-three years. While he was under the care of another, he appeared discreet and moderate; but when his tutors were dismissed, he abandoned himself to the most shameful and criminal actions. He set to sale all ecclesiastical promotions; he had the most violent passion for hunting and horses, of which he had more than two thousand, and he fed them, not with hay and barley, but with almonds, dates, raisins and other delicacies, with figs dipped in the finest wines, &c. As he was celebrating mass on a Holy Thursday, his hostler came to tell him that a mare, of which he was particularly fond, had foaled; when he was so overjoyed, that, after getting through the Litany as fast as he possibly could, he ran to the stable to see the foal, and returned to

* *De Placitis Ecclesie*, 1474. The author, who was bishop of Sylea, and the Pope's Nuncio in Portugal, died in 1352. *Novv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 834.

† *Mosheim*, II. p. 165. (P.) Cent. ix. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. xxx. Note.

the great church to finish the service. He introduced the custom of dancing in churches on the great festivals, with indecent gestures and common songs. His death, after languishing two years, was occasioned by being crushed against a wall as he was riding full speed. When he recovered, after seeming to be at the point of death, he behaved better, but afterwards he appeared not to be at all reformed. He still sold his bishopricks, was fond of horses, and lived an effeminate life, unworthy of his station. At length his disorder turned to a dropsy, of which he died.

Notwithstanding the ignorance, superstition and extreme depravity of this age, it was not destitute of good sense and real piety. In one of the memoirs written by Charlemagne, a little before his death, we find some excellent observations on the manners of the clergy and the monks of his time, and a just preference of good morals to what were usually deemed the greatest virtues of the age. Speaking of the clergy, he says, "I would ask them, what it is to quit the world, and how we are to distinguish those who abandon it from those who remain in it, if it be that they only do not carry arms, and are not married publicly; if he who has abandoned the world cease not to increase his possessions every day, and by all means, promising Paradise or threatening hell, employing the names of the saints to persuade simple people to part with their wealth, and deprive their lawful heirs; who being thus reduced to poverty, think public robbery, and all crimes, permitted to them? Of what use," says he, "is it to the church, that the superior of a community is more desirous to have a great number of subjects, than to have them good, and to have them sing and read well, than to have them live well? For though care ought to be taken about reading and singing, the perfection of morals is of greater importance; and though it is a good thing that churches be built, and ornamented, the ornament of virtue is preferable."*

We are not to conclude from the dissolute lives of some of the clergy, that the whole body was so corrupt. On the contrary, I have no doubt but that the majority of them had such virtues as were held in esteem in that age, and decent good morals were never wholly overlooked in the most superstitious times. They could not otherwise have had any degree of credit with the people; and the religion they taught would have been exploded.

* *Fleury*, X. p. 96. (P.)

As a specimen of the better sort of the clergy of this period, I shall mention some particulars of the life of Udalric, bishop of Augsburgh. After the death of Henry the *Fowler*, he declined going to court, or to lead his troops in person, having devolved that duty on Adalberon, his nephew, and gave himself wholly to his spiritual functions. He recited the office every day, with the clergy of his cathedral, and moreover, the office of the virgin, and of the cross, and also that of all the saints, besides several psalms, and the whole psalter every day, or as much as he could. Every day, he said one mass, and sometimes two or three masses. He observed all the rules of the monastery, lying on a mat, wearing no linen, and eating no flesh, though it was served in abundance to his guests. The greatest part of the first course at his table was distributed to the poor, or invalids of all sorts, who were fed every day in his presence. He cheerfully exercised hospitality to all persons, especially the clergy, the monks and the nuns; and he took great care of the education and instruction of his clergy. He heard with great kindness the complaints of the *serfs* of his estates, both against their lords his vassals, or other *serfs*, and resolutely did them justice. He was never idle, but always employed in regulating his canons or his school, providing for the maintenance of his family, repairing or ornamenting his church, or fortifying his city against the frequent incursions of the Hungarians. He regularly visited his diocese in a carriage drawn by oxen; not that he objected to riding, but that he might have the company of his chaplain, and that they might sing psalms. For he always went with a great company of priests and other clergy, also of laymen from among his vassals, chosen *serfs* of his own family, and poor persons, and defrayed their expenses. On his visitations, he preached, heard complaints, examined the priests, confirmed, and sometimes continued all night in the churches, without even dismissing the people.*

It is to be observed, that an attention to the *serfs* was expected of the clergy. Every bishop, or abbot, was to give liberty to three of them; and at a council held in England in A. D. 817, it was ordered, that when a bishop died, besides giving a tenth of his effects to the poor, all his slaves, or *villeins*, of the English nation, should be set free.

* "Ulric (*Saint*) évêque d'Augsbourg, d'une maison illustre d'Allemagne, mort en 973 à 98 ans, se signala dans son diocèse par un zèle apostolique. Jean XV. le mit dans le catalogue des saints, au Concile de Latran, en 993; et c'est le premier exemple de canonization faite par des Papes." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 684.

SECTION VII.

Of the Popes in this Period.

SOME accession was gained to the temporalities of the Papal see in this period. On the election of Paschal, A. D. 817, the emperor Lewis, besides confirming the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne, added to them the city and duchy of Rome, with the isles of Sardinia and Corsica. Still, however, the emperor retained the sovereignty of all those states, and confirmed the election of the popes, before their consecration. But Charles the Bald, in A. D. 876, granted the sovereignty of Rome to the apostolic see.*

If the emperor claimed the right of confirming the election of the popes, the popes, in return, soon availed themselves of the part they performed in the ceremony of the consecration of princes, to assume a right to dispose of their crowns. Pope Nicolas, writing to the bishops of Charles the *Bald*, says, "Let not the emperor turn against the faithful, the sword which he received from the vicar of St. Peter. Let him govern the kingdom which has fallen to him by succession, confirmed by the authority of the holy see, and by the crown which the sovereign pontiff has put upon his head."

As far as circumstances favoured them, the popes were always ready to carry their pretensions into act. This appeared in the history of Lothaire, king of Lorrain. His wife Thetberge, having confessed that she had been debauched by her own brother before her marriage, was repudiated by order of the bishops in council, and he married Valdrade. Thetberge, however, having interested pope Nicolas in her favour, he compelled Lothaire to take her again, and excommunicated Valdrade. The king even wrote a very submissive letter to the Pope, begging that he would not raise above him any of his equals, to establish themselves in his states; dreading, as the historian says, lest his uncles should take advantage of his situation. This pope, writing to Thetberge, who had desired to be divorced from her husband, and come to live at Rome, dissuaded her from it; saying, that if Lothaire should make any attempt upon her life, of which she was apprehensive, it would be to put

* *Giannone*, I. p. 265. (P.)

himself and his kingdom into peril, as she had not only innocence, but the protection of the church and the people of the holy see.

On the death of this Lothaire, pope Adrian declared that "if any person opposed the just pretensions of the emperor to the succession, let him know that the holy see is for this prince, and that the arms which God has put into our hands are prepared for his defence." Thus, says *Fleury*, did the Pope make himself the arbiter of crowns. When, notwithstanding this threat of the Pope, Charles seized the states of his brother Lothaire, Adrian wrote to him, insisting on his giving them up to his brother, the lawful heir, who was then fighting against the Saracens; saying, that after the third admonition, "we will ourselves come upon the place, and do what belongs to our ministry." He likewise admonished the bishops to refuse him the communion, if he did not obey. However, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, replied with great spirit to the Pope, telling him, that he could not be at the same time king and bishop; that his predecessors regulated the church, but not the state, which belonged to the kings. "If," says he, "the Pope will procure peace, let him not excite quarrels; for he will not persuade us that we cannot arrive at the kingdom of heaven, without receiving the king that he gives us on earth."

In this period we meet with the first mention of the donation of Constantine to the see of Rome, now universally allowed to be a forgery.* *Aeneas*, bishop of Paris, writing on the subject of the differences between the Latin and Greek churches, says, that when the emperor Constantine became a Christian, he left Rome; saying, "it was not convenient for two emperors, one the prince of the earth, and the other of the church, to govern in the same city." He therefore fixed his residence at Constantinople, and gave Rome and a great part of several provinces to the apostolic see; thus investing the Roman pontiff with royal authority, and caused an authentic act of it to be drawn up, and universally dispersed.

The only rival of the Pope in this period was the patriarch of Constantinople; but of his pretensions pope Nicolas made very light. Writing to the king of Bulgaria, who was lately become a Christian, and wished to know to which of the two churches he was to be subject, he says, "The true patriarchs are those who govern the churches

* See *supra*, pp. 124, 125, *Note*.

that were founded by the apostles, viz. those of Rome, Alexandria and Antioch. The bishops of Constantinople, and of Jerusalem, have the name, but not the same authority; for the church of Constantinople was not founded by any of the apostles, and the bishop of Jerusalem was only styled a bishop, and not a metropolitan, by the council of Nice. But next to Rome was the patriarch of Alexandria.* Notwithstanding these high pretensions, and every means that the popes had recourse to for the purpose, they did not succeed in gaining the superintendence of the churches in Bulgaria; for the Bulgarians received their bishops from the Greek church.*

The power of the Pope in ecclesiastical matters, though allowed to be extensive, was never exactly defined, and therefore was sometimes disputed by the bishops, especially when supported by the temporal powers. But sometimes by argument in this ignorant age, and sometimes by policy, the popes generally carried every point, in the end.

Pope Nicolas, in answer to the synodical letter of the Council of Senlis, in A. D. 863, says, "When the laws are contrary to the canons, these ought to prevail, but appeals to the holy see were established by the Council of Sardica.† We will defend till death the privileges of our see, and you yourselves have an interest in it. How do you know but what has happened to Rothade (who had been deposed in a council in France, and whose part was taken by the Pope) to-day, may happen to you to-morrow; and in that case, to whom would you have recourse?" Writing to all the bishops of Gaul, the same Pope says, "Some of you say that the decretals are not among the canons. But if we reject the decrees of the ancient popes, because they are not among the canons, we must reject the writings of Gregory,

* The bishops of Rome had no authority over the Spanish church till the eighth century. The proof of this is taken from forty synods held between A. D. 324 and 694, none of which were assembled by the bishops of Rome, in which he had no representative, and which were not notified to him for his approbation. In some of them he was not so much as mentioned, and though in them many canons were made for the regulation of ecclesiastical hierarchies, there is not the least mention of the papal supremacy in them. *Robinson*, p. 178, from *Geddes's Tracts*, II. pp. 21, 23, 24. (P.) Dr. Geddes adds, "that the ancient Spanish church added *Filioque* to the *Constantinopolitan Creed*, not only without consulting the popes about it, but contrary to their minds." *Dissert.* p. 24.

† The fourth canon of this council, supposing it to be genuine, related only to the particular case of a bishop deposed by the neighbouring prelates; when it was ordered that another should not be appointed till the bishop of Rome had examined the cause, and pronounced sentence. *Mosheim*, I. p. 288. (P.) Cent. iv. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. vi. *Note.* See, Vol. VIII. pp. 343—345, M. Geddes's "Essay on the Canons of the Council of Sardica." *Miscel. Tracts*, II. p. 427.

and the other popes, and even the Holy Scriptures." He then proceeds to prove, by the authority of Leo and Gelasius, that all the decretals of the popes ought to be received without exception. At this time it was universally allowed that the canons of the general councils were of the highest authority, equal to that of the Scriptures; and the authenticity of the decretals was unquestioned.

Notwithstanding the almost impossibility of convicting a priest of any crime, on account of the evidence required for it, he still had a remedy in an appeal to Rome. The clergy of Bretagne having consulted Leo IV. in A. D. 848, about what was to be done with simoniacal priests, he said they ought to be deposed, but only in a council, and by twelve bishops, and on the evidence of seventy persons; and if the person accused demand to be heard at Rome, he must be sent thither.

This period furnishes several instances of the popes dispensing with the obligation of *oaths*; and it seems to have been generally taken for granted, that they had this power, as being included in that of *binding and loosing* given to Peter. The emperor Lewis having been compelled by the duke of Benevento, who had him in his power, never to come in arms upon his lands, he applied to pope Adrian to absolve him from his oath. The request being complied with, he marched against the duke, who being supported by the Greeks, was not easily conquered.

Pope John VIII. being much distressed by the incursions of the Saracens, in consequence of a treaty they had made with Sergius, duke of Naples, urged the Neapolitans to break that treaty; saying that such a peace was a breach of the alliance made with Christ, at their baptism. But the duke, notwithstanding the excommunication of the Pope, kept his faith with the Saracens. When, after this, his brother Athanasius, archbishop of Naples, seized him, put out his eyes, and took possession of the dukedom, the Pope expressed his approbation of his conduct, praising him for loving God more than his brother, and for putting out the eye which scandalized the church. At last this pope, having no assistance from any prince, was himself obliged to make a treaty with the Saracens, engaging to pay them twenty-five thousand marks of silver, a year. Even in these circumstances this pope kept urging the princes of Italy to break their treaties with the Saracens, and in A. D. 879, he excommunicated the people of Amalfi because they would not do it. However, in consequence of the Pope's exhortations,

Docibilis, the governor of Gaeta, did break his truce with them; on which many of the inhabitants were killed, and many taken prisoners. This obliged him to make a new treaty with them, by which they got an establishment on the river Garillan, where they remained forty years, and did incredible mischief.

Athanasius, above-mentioned, whom the Pope had praised for seizing the possessions of his brother, and even putting out his eyes, finding it necessary to adhere to a treaty with the Saracens, the Pope excommunicated him; and after he had continued a year in that state, he submitted, and was absolved, on condition that, after sending some of the prisoners (whose names were given him) to Rome, he should put all the rest to death; a condition of absolution, as *Fleury* observes, not agreeable to the ancient mildness of the church.

As the popes took advantage of circumstances to advance their power, princes and bishops did the same; and sometimes they not only remonstrated against their usurpations with great freedom, but openly opposed them with success. At the request of king Charles, the Pope had got Vulfade, archbishop of Bourges, restored at the Council of Soissons, in A. D. 866, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Hincmar, after he had been degraded at a preceding council. On this occasion, Hincmar expostulated with the Pope by means of the person who carried the decrees of the council to Rome; saying, that "if what they had done before, would not stand, neither would what they had done then; that there would be nothing to depend upon in the decrees of bishops, or of the popes; that excommunications would not be regarded, and that the priests who were deposed would not quit their functions, because our judgments, and those of the holy see, follow the wills of our kings, and the movements of our passions."

In A. D. 863, pope Nicolas, in his council at Rome, condemned a council held at Metz in the year preceding, and deposed Theugand archbishop of Treves, and Gonthier archbishop of Cologne, for having decided against his wishes, in the cause of Lothaire and his wives. All the bishops who joined with them in this business the Pope also deposed. They all, however, continued their functions, without any regard to the sentence of the Pope. The emperor who favoured them was so provoked at his conduct, that he went to Rome with a determination to compel him to restore the bishops. And Gonthier wrote to all the bishops in the

dominion of Lothaire, desiring them "not to be disturbed at the conduct of Nicolas, who was called Pope, and who considered himself as an apostle among the apostles, making himself emperor of all the world. Thanks to God," says he, "we have resisted his folly, and he repents of what he has done." He then complains of the conduct of the Pope for having condemned them unheard, and in an irregular manner, according to his fancy and tyrannical fury. Addressing himself to the Pope, he says, "We will not receive your accursed sentence; we despise it as a calumny. We reject you from our communion as communicating with those who are excommunicated, and content ourselves with communicating with all the churches, and the society of our brethren, whom you despise, and of whom you render yourself unworthy by your haughtiness and arrogance." *

The emperor went to Rome, and the Pope fled to the church of St. Peter, where he passed two days without eating or drinking; but the emperor being seized with a fever, he had a conference with the Pope, and having settled matters with him, he consented to the degradation of the two archbishops. Gonthier, however, sent his protest to the Pope, who not receiving it, his brother Hildwin by his orders went, and though a clergyman, in arms, and laid it on the tomb of St. Peter, in the church dedicated to him. The guards resisting him, he opposed force to force, and killed one of them. The emperor suffered all this, and the persons in his train were guilty of great disorders, plundering and burning several houses and churches, killing some men, and violating women, even nuns. Gonthier still celebrated mass, and consecrated the chrism, notwithstanding the sentence of the Pope; but Theugand abstained from all ecclesiastical functions. Lothaire, however, whose interest it was not to offend the Pope, refused to communicate with Gonthier, and deposed him.

The Council of Douzi, in A. D. 871, having condemned Hinemar, bishop of Laon, he appealed to pope Adrian II. who summoned him to attend at Rome, with his accuser; but king Charles wrote a spirited letter to the Pope, denying his right to such a power, but saying that, if he were at peace, he would himself attend at Rome, as the accuser of

* Theugand and Gonthier, who joined in this address to the Pope, are said to have thus expressed themselves: "Thou bearest the show of a pope, but art a very tyrant; in habit a *pastor*, in heart a *wolf*.—So that thou art become a wasp or hornet unto Christians. For these causes we thy fellows regard not thy commands, care not for thy words, fear not thy bulls, nor value thy thunders." *Hist. of Popery*, l. p. 309.

Hincmar. The bishops of this council, supported by the king, behaved with the same spirit; though, as they informed the Pope, they had read in this council the canons of the Council of Sardica about appeals to the holy see. In these circumstances the Pope wrote a very submissive letter to the emperor, promising that if Hincmar would come to Rome, he would send him back to be judged at home.

On the death of the emperor Lewis, in A. D. 874, pope John VIII. being gained by presents, crowned Charles king of France, emperor, though Lewis of Germany was the elder brother. Lewis, however, paid no regard to the Pope, but endeavoured to maintain his right by force of arms. The death of Lewis soon after put an end to this contest. That which the same Pope had with Lambert, duke of Spoleto, proceeded farther. Having a difference with the Pope, he came to Rome, with arms, and after committing great ravages in the neighbourhood, seized the gates of the city, and making himself master of the Pope's person, he kept him a prisoner, without suffering any person to come to him, or even carry him victuals, but after much entreaty. After he left the city, the Pope excommunicated him, with all his accomplices. This excommunication was repealed at the Council of Troyes, where the Pope was present in A. D. 878. What effect this measure had, does not appear; but so much was said about excommunications at the Council of Ravenna, in A. D. 877, that it is evident, says *Fleury*, they were now much despised. On this journey to France this pope was treated with little ceremony by the thieves of the country; for when he was at Chalons, his horses were stolen from him, and also a silver cup. He revenged himself as before, by excommunicating the thieves, and all their accomplices.

Anspert, archbishop of Milan, without any regard to the excommunication published against him, at a council held by this pope at Rome, continued his functions, and the church of Verceil being vacant, he ordained one Joseph a bishop of it. The Pope, however, declared the ordination null, and appointed another bishop. Anspert having agreed with the Pope about the coronation of Charles *le Gros*, he was received into favour, and the Pope even confirmed his ordination of Joseph, bishop of Verceil, to the bishopric of Asti.

Several persons held doctrines unfavourable to the pretensions of the popes in spiritual as well as temporal matters. In the capitulary of Heyten, bishop of Basle, the pilgrims

who went to Rome were directed to confess, before they set out, because, he says, they ought to be bound or loosed by their own bishops, and not by a stranger; meaning, says *Fleury*, the Pope, as well as other foreign bishops. Claudius of Turin maintained, that the words of our Saviour to Peter had been misunderstood, that the power was only given to him while he was alive, and that the proper successor of the apostle is not he who fills his see, but he who follows his example.

We shall not wonder at the opposition some of the popes met with, but rather that all reverence for the holy see was not wholly thrown off, if we attend to the character and conduct of some of them in this period.* As an historian, I shall mention a few particulars of their violent and indecent behaviour.

Formosus, a man of distinguished abilities, and on that account translated from the bishopric of Porto to the see of Rome, in A. D. 891, (which is the first instance of such translation to that see,) after having been excommunicated by pope John VIII. and absolved by Martin II. had an opponent in Sergius, who took part with Adelbert, duke of Tuscany, against Arnulph, acknowledged to be emperor, by Formosus. After his death, the Tuscan party prevailed, and raised to the papacy Stephen VII. bishop of Anagni. This pope held a council, in which he produced the body of Formosus, dressed in pontifical robes, with an advocate to plead his cause.† Then, after addressing him as if he had been alive, they stripped him of his habit, cut off three of his fingers,‡ and then his head, and lastly threw the body into the Tiber. He then deposed all who had been ordained by Formosus, and ordained them again. This pope was, however, himself driven from the papal see, thrown into prison, and strangled. Romanus, who succeeded him in A. D. 897, having, by means of some fishermen, got the body of Formosus, buried it in the sepulchre

* “Which *Baronius*, himself, calls *tempora ecclesiæ Romanæ infeliciissima et luctuosissima*, the most unfortunate and doleful times of the Church of Rome. For now there were thrust into the chair of *Peter*, men, monstrous and infamous in their lives, dissolute in their manners, and wicked and villainous in all things.” *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 314.

† “On le mit dans le siège pontifical.—Alors *Etienne* parlant au cadavre, comme s’il eût été vivant: ‘Pourquoi,’ lui dit il, ‘Evêque de Porto, as-tu porté ton ambition jusqu’ à usurper le siège de Rome?’ L’Evêque de Porto ne parlant que par la bouche de son avocat, ne put manquer d’être condamné.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 704.

‡ “Two fingers and the thumb of his right hand, with which he used to touch and administer the sacrament, and bless the people.” *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 312.

of the popes, and the bishops who had joined in the scandalous transaction respecting him were pardoned on their acknowledging that they did it by compulsion.*

Leo V. was expelled by Christopher I.; but both of them died in prison. The last was succeeded by Sergius, who had opposed Formosus, having been chosen pope by his party, in A. D. 898, and expelled; but being elected again in A. D. 907, he considered John IX. and the three succeeding popes, as usurpers. He, as might be expected, declared against Formosus, and approved of the conduct of Stephen with respect to him. In his time one Theodora,† an impudent woman, absolutely governed the city of Rome. She had two daughters, Marozia and Theodora, more disorderly than herself. By the former of them pope Sergius had a son, John, who was afterwards pope, and by her husband Albert she had Alberic, who became master of Rome.

By the influence of Theodora, John, a clerk of Ravenna, with whom she had a criminal connexion, and who was afterwards archbishop of Ravenna, was made pope in A. D. 914. This John X. was thrown into prison by Gui, governor of Rome, and he died soon after, being supposed to be strangled. On the death of Stephen in A. D. 931, Marozia, then married to Gui the marquis of Tuscany, got her son by pope Sergius, then only twenty-five years old, to be made pope. He was John XI., but he was without authority, and only performed the ceremonies of religion. Shocked, as we cannot but be by those enormities, we shall see greater in the succeeding periods of this history.

Between the pontificate of Leo IV. who died A. D. 855, and that of Benedict III., it was long believed that a woman of the name of *Joan*, who had concealed her sex, was chosen pope. After the Reformation this was the subject of much dispute, and at this day persons who have taken much pains in the inquiry, entertain doubts with respect to it, notwithstanding Blondel, a learned Protestant, wrote to refute it.‡

* According to *Platina*, the body of Formosus was again disinterred, by Sergius III.; and afterwards, being caught in a fisherman's net, had a *third* funeral. *Hist. of Popery*, l. p. 314.

† "Dame Romaine, moins célèbre par sa beauté, et par son esprit, que par sa lubricité, et par ses crimes, étoit si puissante à Rome, vers 908, par le moyen du Marquis de Toscane, qu'elle occupoit le Château de Sainte-Ange, et faisoit élire les Papes qu'elle vouloit.—Elle étoit mère de *Marosie*, qui ne lui céda rien ni en attrait, ni en débauches." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 533.

‡ David Blondel was born at Chalons in 1591, and admitted minister, at a Protestant synod of the *Isle of France* in 1614. In 1650 he was chosen Professor of History at Amsterdam. Here he lost his sight, owing it was supposed to his intense

This history, if it were admitted, would not be so disgraceful to the church as the conduct of several of the popes in this period.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Monks in this Period.

THE history of the monks is remarkable for periods of great relaxation of discipline, succeeded by periods of great rigour. Notwithstanding the Reformations of the two Benedicts, we find, in this age of general disorder, much neglect and abuse with respect to monasteries, sometimes occasioned by the violence of foreign nations, as the Saracens, Normans and Huns, and sometimes by the depredations of Christian lords.

In consequence of sixty years' civil wars, and the ravages of the Normans, the greater part of the monasteries in France were ruined, many of the monks were killed, and the rest being put to flight, led a vagabond, disorderly life. Some of the houses, thus abandoned by the monks, were seized by the clergy, and others by the lay lords. In some cases even the popes authorized the appropriation of the revenues of monasteries for the use of lay persons. Adrian II. required Lothaire, king of Lorrain, to allow his wife Thetberge, the abbess which he had promised her for her royal maintenance;

application; the air of that country being also unfavourable to his health. He died in 1655, aged 64.

Blondel published, in reply to some *Catholic* writers, "*Modeste declaration de la sincerité et vérité des Eglises réformées de France.*" Also *Pseudo Isidorus*, proving that the *Decretals* were fabricated by Isidorus Mercator, (see *supra*, pp. 126, 127). Yet "some of his party were offended at the book he published, (*L'Histoire de la Papesse Jeanne*,) to shew what is related about Pope Joan to be a ridiculous fable." There were also "some persons who endeavoured to render him suspected of Arminianism, and who inveighed against him for the *Considerations religieuses et politiques*, which he published during the war between Cromwell and the Hollanders." See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. pp. 418, 419, *Gen. Biog. Dict.* 1784, II. pp. 236, 237.

The author of the *History of Popery*, a willing believer of any story which might disparage the *Roman See*, says, "M. Blondel has endeavoured to raise a dust about this matter, able to blind the fairest eye of history; for it is not improbable, but that by as likely arguments, old *Troy* might be proved to have been only a city in the clouds, and Alexander the Great, no more than the fantastic name of a hero in romance." The author then names sixty-five authors from 1008—1610, who have maintained the popedom of Joan, "Italians, Spaniards, French, Germans, Polanders, Scots, English, all sons and friends to the Church of Rome." See *Hist. of Popery*, I. pp. 292—306.

Bishop Burnet disbelieved this story. See his remarks on a statue at Bologna, in his third Letter to Mr. Boyle, 1685. *Travels*, 1737, p. 139.

which, as *Fleury* says, was tacitly approving the abuse of giving abbeys to secular persons.

Before the reign of Alfred in England, the monastic discipline was entirely neglected, owing to the frequent irruptions of the Danes, and the negligence of the English, so that no person of noble birth voluntarily became a monk; and though there were many monasteries in the country, they were only filled with children, who lived without any regard to the rules of the place. On this account Alfred filled his new monastery of Athelney* with foreign monks, especially from France.

The reformation of monastic discipline in France was undertaken by William duke of Aquitaine and Berri. He founded the monastery of Clugni in A. D. 910, and subjected it to the rules of Benedict, making the first abbot, Bernon, a person of a noble family in Burgundy, who was assisted by Hugo from the monastery of Autun. At first Bernon had no more than twelve monks, after the example of Benedict.

Bernon dying in A. D. 926, left the abbey of Clugni to his disciple Odo, the son of Abbon, a nobleman of great piety, who had distinguished himself by his austerities, and his application to learning, in the monastery of St. Martin at Tours. Odo was forty years old when he was made abbot of Clugni, and from that time it began to be distinguished from all other monasteries by the exact observance of the rules, the emulation of virtue among the monks, the study of religion, and charity to the poor. Odo was employed to reform many other monasteries in France and Italy, being himself appointed abbot of them all, and making other persons his vicars. In his time the monastery of Clugni received so many donations, that it had a hundred and eighty-eight charters.

In the time of Odo, the monastic discipline was restored in Belgic Gaul by Gerard of Brogne, descended of a noble family near Namur. He reformed more than eighteen monasteries; but before he died, he appointed abbots in all the other monasteries, and confined himself to that of Brogne.

Another distinguished monk in this period was John, born

* In *Somersetshire*, near Taunton, thus described by *Camden*: "Where the *Thone* mixes with the *Parret*, there is formed a *River-island*, formerly called *Athel-inge*, (an island of Nobles), now *Athelney*, which is no less remarkable to us for king Alfred's absconding there, when the Danes destroyed all before them, than those *Minturnensian* fens to the Italians, for being a hiding-place for *Marius*." *Britan*. See also *Rapin*, L. iv. l. p. 307. *Biog. Brit.* i. p. 72.

at Vendieres, between Metz and Toul, and afterwards abbot of Gorze, which had been ruined by the Normans ; but at first he was only assistant to the abbot Einold in A. D. 933. Besides giving great attention to the secular concerns of the abbey, he was assiduous in his application to literature.

The great restorer of the monkish discipline in England was Dunstan. He was of a noble family, and was educated at Glastonbury, where at that time some Irishmen taught, but there were no monks, the kings having seized the domains. On the death of his parents, Dunstan gave his estate to the monastery, and he reformed five monasteries in other places. He was himself abbot of Glastonbury, which he built in a magnificent manner, and it became so much distinguished for learning and piety, that a great number of bishops and abbots were taken from it. Dunstan was afterwards bishop of Worcester, then archbishop of Canterbury, and legate of the holy see. He was the restorer of letters as well as of monastic discipline.* With his conduct as a politician, I have no occasion to meddle.

In this period, as well as in the preceding, we find some, though not so many examples of persons in high stations retiring to monasteries. Two sisters of William duke of Aquitaine, being determind, according to the language of these times, to devote their virginity to God, begged of him to present them in form in the new church which he was building, as an oblation ; which, says *Fleury*, is the first example of adult persons being presented by others. They formed a little convent themselves.

The same duke William, when in the highest favour with Charlemagne, † and with every thing prosperous about him, devoted himself with peculiar solemnity to a monkish life at Gellone, and submitted to all the austerities of it. It is said that he made a hundred genuflexions every day before the altar, often plunged into the coldest water, by way of purification before prayer ; and to prepare himself for communion he sometimes used flagellation, administered in a private chamber by a confidential friend, in memory of our Saviour's

* See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. pp. 497, 498. " Il se trouve des Historiens modernes, parmi les Protestans mêmes, qui s'étant laissé entraîner par les témoignages des Anciens, ont parlé de ce prétendu Saint avec de très-grands éloges, sans considérer combien l'autorité sur laquelle ils se sont appuyez, devoit leur être suspecte. Il y a beaucoup d'apparence, que ce que Dunstan, a fait en faveur des Moines, lui a procuré les louanges excessives dont on l'a honoré, et dont, peut-être, sans cela, on ne l'auroit pas cru digne." *Rapin, L. iv. ad fin. l. p. 381.*

† Whose troops he had commanded against the Saracens. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 207.

passion. He lived this life seven years, dying in A. D. 812. The monastery of Gellone was from him called *St. William of the Desert*.

The emperor Lothaire took the monastic habit before he died, in A. D. 853, and so did Alphonsus IV. king of Spain in A. D. 933.

It was not uncommon in this period to unite the two characters of bishop and monk. Rembert, who succeeded Anscaire in the bishoprics of Hamburg and Bremen, went after his consecration to the monastery of New Corbie, where he took the habit, and promised to observe the rules of Benedict, as much as his pastoral functions would permit; and for twenty-three years which he lived afterwards, he conformed to that strict discipline, as much as if he had lived in a cloister. This, however, would not have been permitted in the East; for at a council held at Constantinople in A. D. 880, it was ordered that a bishop becoming a monk ceased to be a bishop.

Mention was made in the preceding period of the institution of *canons* in cathedral churches, by Chrodogand, bishop of Metz. In A. D. 816, a council was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, to make regulations for them, and the rules then agreed upon, served for many ages to distinguish canons from the rest of the clergy. Among other things it was then ordered, that the bishop should establish an hospital to receive the poor, with a sufficient revenue out of the funds of the church. To it the canons were to give the tithe of their income, even of the oblations; and one of them was to be the governor of it for the temporalities. At Christmas at least the canons were to wash the feet of the poor, for which reason the hospital was to be so situated, that they might have easy access to it. This, *Fleury* thinks, is the first certain origin of hospitals founded in cathedral churches, and superintended by the canons. At the same time rules were laid down for *canonesses*, which much resembled those of the nuns. They were allowed to have property, and even servants; but they were to eat in the same refectory, and sleep in the same dormitory.

In this period we meet with a new variety in the monkish institutions, viz. that of *recluses*, in monasteries and nunneries. These were persons who shut themselves up in particular cells annexed to monasteries, after making a vow never to go out of them. No person, however, was permitted to take this vow, but after sufficient trial, and with the permission of the bishop, or abbot, to which the monastery belonged. After

obtaining this leave, the candidates passed a year of trial in the monastery ; and in this time did not, on any pretence, go out of it. This term being expired, they took the vow of permanence, in the church, in the presence of the bishop, and after the recluse had entered his cell, the bishop put his seal upon the door.

These recluses had within their cells every thing that was necessary for them. If they were priests, they had oratories consecrated by the bishop. The cells had windows looking into the church, through which the recluse could give his offering for the masses, hear the singing, join in it, and answer to those who spoke to him ; but this window had curtains within and without, so that the *recluse* could neither see, nor be seen. He had, however, a garden in which he could take the air and work. He had also a bath in his cell, which he could make use of whenever he thought proper ; and this was thought to be necessary, before communion. The recluses were allowed to take what was voluntarily offered them, either for their own occasions, or to give to the poor. If they were sick, the door of the cell might be opened for any person to administer to their relief ; but they were not allowed to go out themselves, on any pretence whatever. Adjoining to these cells were others appropriated to the disciples of the recluses, with windows, by means of which they could either minister to them, or receive their instructions. Sometimes there were two or three cells of recluses together, with such windows of communication.

A priest of the name of Grimlaic, probably the person of that name who was favoured by pope Formosus, drew up rules for these recluses. Complaining of the disorders of the times, he laments the languor of these recluses. Their first concern, he says, was to inquire whether they would have every thing necessary for their subsistence. He particularly recommends to them bodily labour.

Nothing of any consequence occurs in this period relating to the monks in the East. But we cannot doubt but that, from similar causes, there were similar complaints. Theodore *Studites*, in an address to the nuns, advises them not to lead the insipid and relaxed lives of the generality of their profession, who were nuns only in appearance.

We still read of *Stylites*, or persons who passed all their time on pillars, in the open air, in this part of the world, though not in the West. A person who was examined on the subject of the patriarch Ignatius, at the council in Constantinople in A. D. 870, mentioned his having made his confession to

one of these *Stylites*. We also read of another, on whom *St. Luke, jun.* attended in the middle of the tenth century.

SECTION IX.

Of the Superstitions of this Period.

As this was an age of great ignorance, we are not surprised that it abounded with *superstition*, to the injury of morality, on which it always encroaches. It appears by the decrees of the Council of Chalons in A. D. 813, that some persons committed sins with a view to efface them by alms.

At the Council of Arles in A. D. 813, it was ordered that the priests should keep the chrism under a seal, and not give it to any person as a medicine, or on any other pretext whatever; for many persons imagined that criminals who were either anointed with it, or who swallowed it, could not be discovered.

By pilgrimages it was thought that persons obtained pardon for sins past, and also to come. The most celebrated pilgrimages at this time were those to Rome, and to St. Martin at Tours.*

A notion still more dangerous to morality, and yet very popular, prevailed at this time, viz. that the precepts of the gospel were only designed for the monks, and the clergy. This was noticed, and condemned, at a council held at Aix-la-Chapelle in A. D. 816.

Many of the first converts to Christianity among the Danes did not choose to be baptized till near the time of their death, that they might go out of the world entirely pure. This has been observed to have obtained very much about the time of Constantine, who was himself influenced by it; but we do not read of it, from that time to the present. In order to die with greater safety, many persons in this age put on the monastic habit before they expired. When the emperor Lewis died in A. D. 840, a piece of the true cross was laid on his breast. Indeed, it was natural to suppose that a relic would have as much virtue as the dress of a monk.

We cannot wonder that, in this age, many persons should be desirous of being buried in churches; but as dead bodies in general were thought to defile consecrated places, it was ordered in a council at Meaux, in A. D. 849, that no person

* See the *miracles* ascribed to this Saint, Vol. VIII. pp. 383—386.

should be buried in churches, but those whom the bishop should think worthy of it, on account of their sanctity.

In A. D. 827, there were several famous translations of relics; and many applications were made to Rome for them. Among others, particular application was made to the Pope in A. D. 827, for the relics of St. Sebastian for a monastery in France. The request was with some difficulty granted; but it was said that at the same time the persons who had the charge of those relics, got possession in a clandestine manner of those of St. Gregory. Notwithstanding this, the people of Rome pretend to have them both; so that, as *Fleury* says, the Romans either deceived the Franks, or gave them only part of the relics. Nothing, says this writer, shews in a stronger light the devotion that was at this time paid to relics, and how eagerly they were desired, than the history of the translation of some relics, by Eginhart, the secretary of Charlemagne, which he gives at full length, with all the miracles that were said to accompany the translation of them. No pains or expense were spared in order to procure them, and some of the most enlightened persons of the age laid the greatest stress upon them. He acknowledges that much artifice was used in getting possession of relics, persons stealing them from one another. With his usual good sense, he adds, "It was perhaps the same spirit which led to the composition of so many histories of martyrs and other saints, either to adorn and amplify old ones, or to invent new ones, in order to have legends for the festivals of saints newly translated."

It appears by the writings of Valafred Strabo, in the middle of the ninth century, that it was the custom to bless a lamb brought near to the altar, in order to eat it on Easter-day, before any other victuals. The form of this benediction is at the end of the Roman missal. It is condemned by this Strabo as a remains of Jewish superstition.

At the coronation of Charles king of Lorrain, on the death of Lothaire in A. D. 869, Hincmar, who consecrated him, mentioned, for the first time that appears, the *holy oil* that was said to have come down from heaven, with which he said that Clovis had been anointed.

The same ideas which among other mortifications led to an entire abstinence from marriage, led to restrictions in the number of marriages. By many, second marriages were condemned, but third and fourth marriages were held in great abhorrence. These ideas, however, were more prevalent in the East than in the West. Leo, surnamed *the Philosopher*,

having married a fourth wife, Zoe, the child he had by her, could not be baptized by the patriarch till he had promised to send her away. Zoe being after this received into the palace, all the people were scandalized at it, and the emperor engaged to have the validity of the marriage examined in a general council. Accordingly, legates were sent to Constantinople in A. D. 905, from all the patriarchal sees, and the marriage was confirmed, but only by dispensation, that this case might not be drawn into a precedent. The patriarch, opposing the whole proceeding, was sent out of the way.*

The West, however, was by no means free from superstition with respect to the commerce of the sexes. Hermetrude, wife of Charles king of Bretagne, having lost some children, and others having become monks, the king requested the bishops assembled in council in A. D. 866, to give her their benediction, that she might have other children, useful to the church and the state. Accordingly, she was crowned by them, and that oration was pronounced over her which is at the end of the mass of marriage.

Ideas of some impurity attending the most lawful commerce of the sexes were universal. Pope Nicolas giving instructions to the king of Bulgaria, who was lately become a Christian, directs that men abstain from any commerce with their wives in Lent, on Sundays, and as long as they gave suck.

In one respect we perceive the decrease of superstition in this period. Charlemagne had ordered that if there should be any difference among his sons about the limits of their kingdoms, it should be decided by the judgment of the cross, without having recourse to arms. But the emperor Lewis forbade the trial by the cross. And Agobard bishop of Lyons wrote against all appeals to God by ordeals or duel.†

SECTION X.

Of the disorderly State of this Period.

THE civil state of the world is no proper part of ecclesiastical history, and therefore I shall not dwell upon it; but the disorders of this period are so prominent a feature of it, that they cannot be passed without notice. Besides, they

* "Le Patriarche Nicolas excommunia l'Empereur, parce qu'il s'étoit marié pour la quatrième fois : ce que la discipline de l'Eglise Grecque défendoit. Il termina cette affaire, en faisant déposer la Patriarche." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 90.

† See *supra*, pp. 169, 170, Note.

had a great connexion with the affairs of the church. In no period whatever does it appear that the inhabitants of the ancient Western Roman empire suffered more, partly from the invasions of foreign nations, and partly from violences committed among themselves. The invasions of the Saracens, the Normans, the Danes, and the Huns, were almost constant, and most dreadful.

The Saracens, besides keeping possession of the greater part of Spain, and being generally at war with the Christian princes of it, frequently invaded other countries, especially the coasts of Italy, on which they had for some time considerable establishments. In A. D. 884, they destroyed the monastery of Mount Cassin, and often threatened Rome itself. In A. D. 846, they plundered the Vatican, which was then contiguous to the city, and is now a part of it, and carried away much wealth. Wherever they came, the churches and monasteries were a constant object of plunder. They were a rich and an easy prey.

The Normans committed still greater ravages, not only in the North of France, where they at length obtained a permanent settlement, but even in the South. They even infested the coasts of Italy, and in A. D. 859, took Pisa and other cities. These ravages, in which the total destruction of churches and monasteries was most dreadful, continued seventy years, when they settled in the province, since called *Normandy*, and their duke Rollo making peace with Charles surnamed *the Simple*, embraced Christianity in A. D. 912. Being baptized himself, he ordered all his counts, knights, and his whole army, to be baptized. Rollo's becoming a Christian was one article in the treaty. In this manner was Christianity propagated in those times.

In A. D. 900, the Huns made an irruption into Italy, and among other ravages destroyed the monasteries of Nonantula, in the territory of Modena. In A. D. 924, being invited by Berenger, they again entered Italy, when they ravaged Lombardy, took Pavia, and burned forty-three churches.

But, upon the whole, it seems probable that France in particular suffered as much from the want of an efficient government, and a due subordination among the different members of the state. For all the great lords or landholders were independent of one another, and almost so upon the king; so that they were frequently at war with one another. Consequently travelling was very hazardous, and all that the kings or the bishops could do to restrain these disorders had little effect. In those times, there being no regular

administration of justice, the lords were obliged to do themselves justice by force of arms. Gerault, count of Aurillac, who, for his piety and application to literature, obtained the title of saint, was obliged to do the same, acting the part of those who were afterwards styled *knights errant*, who sought to redress public wrongs. His historian said, that he used as much moderation as he possibly could, avoiding the shedding of blood, and treating his prisoners with generosity.

In a council, or parliament, held by Charles the *Bald*, in A. D. 862, many directions were given to restrain the disorders of the times; but *Fleury* says they were so little observed, that they rather served to shew the greatness of the evil, than to remedy it. At the Council of Mayence, in A. D. 888, great complaints were made of the distress of the times, of the destruction of churches and monasteries, of the murder of priests and monks, of whole troops of persons who lived by plunder, and of schismatics, who made no account of murder and rapine, and would not submit to any penance.

Hincmar, in an address to king Charles, complains of all kinds of crimes being committed with impunity by the lords; and as they generally went out of the church before the communion, he prepared an address to be read to them, in all the churches of his diocese before that time. Among other complaints, he says that, after getting from the churches all the provisions they could consume, they demanded money, and if it was not granted, they committed great waste. Even the clergy who attended the court suffered their domestics to commit these disorders, to maintain their horses and servants, and to abuse the women they met with. Hubert, brother of queen Thetberge, who had been in holy orders, giving himself up to debauchery, committed many violences. He seized on the monastery of St. Maurice in Valois, and employed the revenues of it in the maintenance of his women, dogs and hawks. He also entered with an armed force into the monastery of Luxieu, and there lived some days with his women. John VIII. having complained of the injuries he had received from Lambert, duke of Spoleto, at the Council of Troyes, in A. D. 878, all the bishops said, "We wish to know how to act ourselves, for all our churches are plundered."

Even the persons of the clergy were not spared in the violence of these times. Fulk, archbishop of Rheims, having a quarrel with Baldwin, count of Flanders, the vassals of the count met the archbishop as he was going to the king, in A. D. 900, and murdered him. Three of the

vassals of Baldwin were solemnly excommunicated on this occasion, and the bishops, in pronouncing the curses, threw lamps from their hands and extinguished them; which *Fleury* says, is the first example that he had met with of such a mode of excommunication.

The election of a new pope was at this time, and has in some degree continued ever since, to be a season of disorder in Rome. When Stephen was elected pope in A. D. 885, the sacristy was plundered, so that there were hardly vessels enow left for the solemn festivals. Every thing else was completely gone, and little left in the treasury of the church. In a council held by John IX. complaint was made that, on the death of a pope, it was grown into a custom to plunder the patriarchal palace, that the plunder extended through the city of Rome, and the suburbs, and that all pontifical houses were treated in the same manner on the death of a bishop.

The great wealth of churches and monasteries, which were of little apparent use in a civil respect, furnished an excuse to the laity for seizing upon them. When an inquiry was made by the emperor Lewis, in an assembly held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in A. D. 828, into the causes of the disorders of the times, and the bishops complained of the seizing of their temporalities, the lords replied, that the state was so much weakened by donations to the church, that without its assistance it could not be supported. However, from a letter of the bishops of France to king Lewis, in A. D. 858, said to be written by Hincmar, it appears that the rich bishoprics were given to freemen to strengthen the militia of the kingdom, and thereby to procure a defence for the church. This, says *Fleury*, was the origin of *fiefs* dependent upon churches.

In the second Council of Aix, in A. D. 836, the clergy strongly remonstrated against the conduct of king Pepin, in usurping the goods of the church, on the pretence that there was no harm in making use of them in case of necessity; that neither God nor the saints wanted them, that every thing is God's, and he has made them for the use of man. They shewed him, however, that God accepts the offerings of men, and that he has given them to his servants the priests. In consequence of this remonstrance, orders were given at this time for the restitution of all usurpations.

The popes themselves were sometimes guilty of these violences. When the emperor Lothaire was at Rome, in A. D. 824, the abbot of Farfa complained to him that, to

the prejudice of his monastery, the Pope had imposed a tribute upon it, and had taken away some lands by violence. The complaint appearing to be just, restitution was ordered to be made.

Such disorders as those mentioned in this Section, were as common in Bretagne as in France, properly so called, and as common in England, as in any other country.

SECTION XI.

Miscellaneous Articles.

I SHALL begin this Section with the notice of such articles as relate to the ordinances of the church and to public worship.

1. It appears from the treatises on baptism, written at the requisition of Charlemagne, that the administration of the Lord's supper immediately followed the baptism of infants. At a council in England, in A. D. 817, it was ordered that baptism should not be administered by affusion, but by dipping the whole body of the child three times.

2. At a council of Mayence, in A. D. 813, it was ordered that no priest should say mass, alone; for that otherwise he could not say *the Lord be with us*. Solitary masses were also forbidden at the Council of Paris in A. D. 829.

3. The recital of the Nicene Creed in the public worship became more common after the condemnation of Felix of Urgel.

4. Pope John VIII. writing to the Moravians, ordered them to recite the mass in Latin or Greek, and not, as he had heard they did, in the Slavonian tongue, though they might preach in that language. "All the world," he says, "recites the mass in Latin or Greek," not knowing, as *Fleury* observes, that the Syrians, Egyptians and Armenians, all recited the office in their own tongues. Afterwards, being probably convinced by the remonstrances of Methodius, who went from thence to Rome, he made no objection to the whole service being performed in Slavonic. Still, however, he recommended the reading of the gospels in Latin first.

5. At the Council of Paris, in A. D. 829, great complaint was made of the priests, who, through ignorance, prescribed penance from books called *Penitentials*, which were of no authority, and which were ordered to be collected and burned. By these means very light penances had been

appointed for great crimes. Halitgarius, bishop of Arras and Cambray, who assisted at this council, was requested to compose a treatise from the fathers, and the canons of the church, to serve instead of those Penitentials. He undertook it, and called his book *A Remedy for Sins*. Before this period there was no penance but what was in public, for offences known to the world; but now another kind of penance was introduced for secret sins.*

6. It was not till the Council of Lateran, under Innocent III., that *auricular confession* was made necessary; but in the ninth century, private penance enjoined by the priest was pretty common.†

7. About A. D. 890, the Council of Nantes ordered the presbyters to keep some part of the oblations of the people till after the service, that such as were not prepared to communicate might, on every festival, and on the Lord's-day, receive some of this bread (called *eulogia*) when blessed in a proper manner.‡

8. In A. D. 835, Gregory IV. dedicated the Pantheon (which had before been dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the martyrs) to all the saints. He also instituted the festival of *All Saints*. He wrote to the emperor Lewis on the occasion, and he, with the consent of the bishops of France, ordered it to be celebrated the first of November, through all his dominions, according to the direction of the Pope.§

9. Hereditary sepulchres in churches were not allowed in the ninth century, but were introduced by the papal decretals: for a decree of Leo III. was inserted in his decretals by Gregory IX. giving a sort of hereditary right to all persons to be buried in the sepulchres of their ancestors.¶

10. In the acts of the Council of Meaux, in A. D. 845, we find a distinction made between simple excommunication and an *anathema*.

11. Early in the ninth century there was a dispute between the French and Roman singers; and an appeal being made to Charlemagne, he decided in favour of the Roman, and got the Pope to send him singers to teach the Roman method in France.¶¶

In the tenth century Dunstan was the patron of science and the arts in England, and among the rest, of music, in which he was a proficient. It is said that he presented the abbey of Malmesbury with an organ, perhaps the first that

* Sueur, A. D. 813. (P.)

† Bingham, I. p. 770. (P.)

¶ Williams, p. 36. (P.)

‡ Bingham, II. p. 22. (P.)

§ Sueur. (P.)

¶ Bingham, II. p. 426. (P.)

was seen in England, and that he cast two of the bells of Abingdon abbey with his own hands.*

12. The general state of literature is intimately connected with ecclesiastical history, and therefore I shall not fail to note whatever I find of importance relating to it.

It is said that Charlemagne requested his bishops to write treatises on the subject of baptism, not for his own information so much as theirs; for he was continually exciting the prelates to the study of the Scriptures, the clergy in general to the observance of their discipline, the monks to regularity, the grandees to give good council, the judges to do justice, the superiors to humility, the inferiors to obedience, and all, to virtue and concord. This is in the style of panegyric; but it was probably in a great measure true of that extraordinary man. But the effects of all that he did for the advancement of learning were but temporary. For, at a council held in Rome, in A. D. 826, thirty-eight canons were made, the object of most of which was the reformation of the clergy, whose ignorance is said to have been very great, and, therefore, schools were directed to be established in cathedral churches and parishes. In the reign of Charles the *Bald*, at the Council of Langres, in A. D. 859, there was great complaint made of the want of public schools, and that, in consequence of this, there hardly remained a trace of the knowledge of the Scriptures. This prince, however, is praised for having in some measure restored letters, having procured learned men from all countries, and among others, from Ireland. He had a school in his palace.

In England, Alfred distinguished himself not only by his excellent civil institutions, but also by his zeal to promote literature. He is considered as the founder of the university of Oxford.†

Literature had also been much neglected at Constantinople in several reigns preceding that of Michael, in A. D. 858, when his uncle Bardas promoted the revival of it, in which he was assisted by Leo, surnamed the *Philosopher*,‡ who had been archbishop of Thessalonica, and had been

* *Williams*, p. 36. (P.)

† *Mosheim*, II. p. 113. (P.) Cent. ix. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Sect. iv. Alfred rather restored and reformed the university, procuring for this purpose, in 882, a diploma from pope Martin, in which Oxford (according to *Ayloff's Hist. Univ. Oxon.* p. 12,) is styled an *ancient academy*. "History of the University," 8vo. p. 26.

‡ "Il fut appelé le *Sage* et le *Philosophe*, non pour ses mœurs, très-corruptes, mais pour la protection qu'il accorda aux lettres. Il les cultiva avec succès." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 90.

deposed as an *Iconoclast*, and by Photius, the learned patriarch of Constantinople.

13. In this period we find the first mention of *coloured glass* in the windows of churches. Pope Leo III. ornamented a church in Rome with glass of this kind.

14. As a specimen of the fabulous legends which abounded in this age of ignorance and superstition, I shall relate what Hildwin, abbot of St. Denis, at the request of the emperor Lewis, collected concerning St. Dionysius, from whom the monastery had its name. In this history he says, the first bishop of Paris was Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted by St. Paul, and was the author of the writings then usually ascribed to him. After having for some years governed the church of Athens, he put another person in his place, and travelled to Rome, in order to see Peter and Paul; but did not arrive there till after their martyrdom, under the pontificate of St. Clement, who sent him as an apostle into Gaul, with several persons to accompany him. After arriving at Arles, Dionysius went to Paris, then a royal city, and famous for the assemblies of Gauls and Germans. There he built a church, and ordained clergy, converted a number of infidels, and wrought many miracles. The emperor Domitius, hearing of this, sent into Gaul a governor called Fescennius Sisinius, who arriving at Paris, caused bishop Dionysius to be apprehended, together with the archpriest Rusticus, and the archdeacon Eleutherus, and made them suffer many torments. Dionysius was scourged, laid on a gridiron, thrown to the wild beasts, after that into a furnace,* fastened to a cross, and then sent back to prison, together with many other Christians; where, as he was celebrating mass, Jesus Christ himself appeared with several angels, and gave them the eucharist with his own hands. At length these three saints were conducted to Montmartre, where their heads were cut off, before the idol Mercury. Many others suffered martyrdom along with them, but the body of Dionysius got up, and took his head in his hands, being conducted by angels. Lastly, a lady named Catula, had the three bodies taken out of the Seine, into which the Pagans had thrown them, and buried them in a field where the church and monastery now stand. After this my readers will excuse me if I pass over a thousand other legends, similar to this, in silence.

* "Into a hot oven, from which he was delivered by miracle." See *St. Denis du Pas*. "A new Description of Paris," 1687, Pt. II. p. 163.

PERIOD XVII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF OTHO, IN A. D. 936, TO THE
CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM BY THE CRUSADERS IN
A. D. 1099.



SECTION I.

Of the State of the Papacy in this Period.

IN order to give a just idea of the wretched state to which the papacy was sunk in the greatest part of this period, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the history of several of the popes, and of the principal transactions of the times; but this shall be as succinct as I can well make it.

Otho, king of Germany, being invited to Italy by pope John XII.,* to relieve him from the tyranny of Berenger, king of Italy, was by him crowned emperor in A. D. 960; and in return he restored to the Pope all that had been taken from the see of Rome in every part of Italy. He also promised him Sicily, if he should be able to conquer it from the Saracens; reserving, however, the sovereignty of all the states to himself and his heirs. Afterwards, the Pope joined Adelbert the son of Berenger; but flying from Rome on the approach of Otho, and being accused of many crimes

* Octavian, the son of Alberic, being made pope after the death of Agapit II., in A. D. 956, changed his name to that of John XII., and was the first that did so. (*P.*) *Onuphrius* says, "because he thought *Octavian* too majestic and warlike a name for a vicar of Christ." *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 318. But according to *Platina*, this custom arose in 844 with *Sergius II.*, whose name was *Boeca di Porco*, Hog's Mouth. *Ibid.* p. 289.

"Of the popes altering their names, *Polydore Virgil*, (collector of Peter-pence for the Pope, in England,) in his fourth book *De Inventione Rerum*, C. x. thus writes: 'The bishop of Rome hath one peculiar prerogative or privilege, which is, that when once he is created bishop of that see, he may alter and change his name at his pleasure. As for example, if, perchance, he hath been heretofore a malefactor, he may call his name, *Bonifacius*; if he have been a coward, he may call himself *Leo*; if he be a clown, he may call himself *Urbanus*. Instead of lewd or wicked, he may call himself *Pius* or *Innocent*. If he hath been scandalous, he may assume the appellation of *Benedictus*.' " *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 290.

in a council held in A. D. 963, he was deposed, and Leo VIII. chosen in his place.

John's party prevailing again, he deposed Leo, who fled to the emperor; and to satiate his revenge, John ordered the right hand of another John, a cardinal deacon and a partisan of Leo, to be cut off, and also the tongue, nose and two fingers of Azon, his chief secretary. Then, in a council held in Rome, Leo was declared to be an usurper, and John, after deposing all who had been ordained by him,* re-ordained them. John survived this council only three months. For being in company with a common prostitute without the gates of Rome, he received so violent a blow on the temple, that he died in eight days,† and, as the historian says, without receiving the viaticum.‡ He was succeeded by Benedict V.; but the people of Rome, who opposed the entrance of Otho, being pressed by famine, gave up the Pope; and Leo VIII., who had been deposed by John, was reinstated;§ and in another council Benedict was degraded and banished.

On the death of John XIII., in A. D. 972, Benedict VI. was made pope, but becoming odious to the Romans, he was seized by Crescentius, the son of John X. by Theodora, (p. 191,) and confined in the castle of St. Angelo. Francon, called Boniface VII., was made pope in his place, and some time after, Benedict was strangled in prison. After his death, Boniface was expelled, and fled to Constantinople; but returning after the death of Benedict, in A. D. 984, and his party gaining the ascendancy, they seized his successor, John XIV., and confined him in the castle of St. Angelo, where he died of hunger and vermin. When he was dead, his own friends disliked him so much, that they pierced his body with lances, dragged it by the feet, and left it exposed in the open street. ||

* They were commanded to make this declaration, "Pater (Leo) nil habuit et nihil mihi dedit." *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 320.

† According to *Luitprandus* and *Fasciculus Temporum*, the blow was from an injured husband; or "he was struck and mortally bruised by the Devil." *Ibid.*

‡ "Sa mort fut aussi funeste et malheureuse, que sa vie avoit été honteuse et détestable." *Maimburg*, "Histoire de la Décadence de l'Empire." Paris, 1681, p. 40.

§ "Ceux la mêmes qui venoient d'élire, fort librement, le pape Benoit, l'amenerent en plein concile, revêtu de ses ornemens pontificaux, pour l'en dépouiller avec ignominie, et pour le dégrader." *Ibid.* p. 53.

|| Some inaccuracies in this paragraph, as to dates and names, may be thus corrected, on the authority of *Maimburg*:

In 973, on the death of Otho, there was a party in Rome who wished to throw off their subjection to the empire. *Cincius*, who was at their head, (*Crescentius* appears later) aspired to the consulate, and his associate, *Bonifacius Franconius*, to

Such is the complexion of the papal history, in this period, mentioned with horror and disgust by all the Catholic historians; and in the same light it was viewed by pious and intelligent persons at the time. Arnold, bishop of Orleans, at a council in which the archbishop of Rheims was tried for high treason, and it was proposed to appeal to the Pope, after reciting the history of the late popes, said, "Is it then determined that so many bishops, distinguished by their learning and their virtue in all parts of the world, should be subject to such monsters, full of infamy, and void of knowledge of things divine or human? Whom are we to blame, that the principal church, formerly crowned with honour and glory, is now so debased, and loaded with infamy? The fault is ours. It is because we seek our own interests, and not those of Jesus Christ." He then said they were to blame in not making a proper choice of popes. "What," said he, "can we think of a man sitting on a high throne, clothed in gold and purple, if he be destitute of charity, and only puffed up with knowledge? It is *antichrist* sitting in the temple of God, and shewing himself as God: but if he have neither charity nor science, he is in the temple of God as an idol, and to consult him, is to consult the marble." He therefore recommends an appeal to the bishops of the neighbouring provinces, rather than to Rome, where, he says, every thing is venal, and all judgments sold by the weight of gold. He clearly proved, says *Fleury*, that, according to ancient custom, appeals should not have been made to Rome, but he was embarrassed by the spurious decretals, which he could not distinguish. But to proceed with my sketch of the history.

John XIX. was a mere layman, who got himself made pope by the force of money.* At the solicitation of the emperor Basilius, he would, for a bribe, have consented that the patriarch of Constantinople should have the title of

the Papacy. After the deaths of John XXII. and Donus II. in 974, these men, followed by their partisans, entered the Pope's palace, from which they dragged him to a neighbouring castle, and strangled him. Franconius was then elected by his party, and became Boniface VII. He was, however, presently driven from Rome, with Cincius, by the count of Tuscany, and retired to Constantinople. Benedict, bishop of Sutri, was elected in his room, and became Benedict VII. On his death, in 984, Boniface VII. returned, and imprisoned the Pope, John XIV., on whose miserable death he exposed his body at the bridge of St. Angelo. A few months after, Boniface VII. died suddenly, when *his* body (not that of Benedict) was treated as described in the text. "Ceux mêmes qui l'avoient porté sur le Trône en eurent tant d'horreur, pour sa vie abominable, que l'ayant veu mort, ils lui donnerent encore cent coups de poignard, et trainerent par les pieds son miserable cadavre tout nud." *Histoire de la Décadence de l'Empire*, pp. 71, 72, 81, 82.

* "Par la faction, par la puissance, et par les largesses." *Ibid.* p. 138.

universal bishop of the East, as he had that of the whole church, but the alarm it gave prevented his doing it.

On the death of this John, a son of Alberic, count of Tusculum, who was only twelve years of age,* was made pope by the name of Benedict IX., [A. D. 1033,] and he continued eleven years, dishonouring the see by his infamous life. Simony then reigned at Rome, *Fleury* says, for twenty-five years. This pope making himself infamous by his rapines and murders, the Roman people were unable to bear him any longer, and expelled him from Rome, A. D. 1044, making John, bishop of Sabine, pope, by the name of Silvester III.† Benedict, however, by the help of his relations, forced his way into the city;‡ but continuing his scandalous life, and seeing himself despised by the clergy and people, he agreed to withdraw for a sum of money.§ He, however, assumed the Papacy the third time, in A. D. 1047, and held it more than eight months,|| when, *Fleury* says, being touched with repentance, he finally abdicated.

Alexander II. being chosen pope [A. D. 1061] without waiting for the consent of the court of Henry IV., then a child, they made Henry, bishop of Parma, pope, by the name of Honorius II.¶ He marched towards Rome with

* "Le comte Alberic qui, par son crédit, et par ses intrigues, avoit déjà fait papes, ses deux frères Benoit VIII. et Jean XIX., fit élire par force et par argent, son fils, nommé Theophylacte, qui n'avoit alors qu'environ douze ans, et dont les mœurs étoient déjà très-corrompues." *Maimburg*, pp. 141, 142.

† "Gagnez par l'argent, que Jean leur distribua." *Ibid.* p. 144. There was, however, another John, to whom Benedict sold the Papacy. "Il vendit son pontificat à un prêtre de Rome, nommé Jean, lequel il consacra lui-même; après quoi, il se retira dans sa maison de son père, pour y continuer ses débauches avec plus de liberté." *Ibid.* p. 145.

‡ "S'ennuya bientôt de la vie privée—il reprit les armes, rentra, de vive force, dans le palais pontifical de Latran, et en chassa celui qu'il y avoit sacrilègement établi souverain Pontife en sa place. De sorte que l'on vit, en même tems, trois de plus méchans hommes du monde portant la Tiare, dans le trois principales églises de Rome, Benoit à Saint Jean de Latran, Silvestre, dans Saint Pierre, et Jean à Saint Marie Majeure." *Ibid.*

§ The promise of the annual *Rome-scot*, or *Peter-pence*, paid by England. (See Vol. V. p. 476, Note.) "Un saint prêtre nommé Gratien [afterwards Gregory VI.] connoissant très-bien le foible de ces antipapes, qui ne se soucioient que d'avoir de quoi fournir à leurs débauches, il fit tant qu'à force d'argent, il leur persuada de se déposer eux-mêmes, et promit sur-tout à Benoit qu'on le laisseroit jouir librement de toutes les grandes sommes que le Saint Siège tiroit en ce tems-là de l'Angleterre." *Ibid.* p. 146.

|| When he gave place to *Damasus II.*, who had been elected by the influence of the emperor. *Damasus* dying in twenty-three days, Benedict assumed the Papacy a fourth time, by the intrigues of his relations, *par la faction de ses parens*, but was presently displaced by *Leo IX.* *Ibid.* p. 151.

¶ *Cadalous*, for he has no place in the catalogue of popes. Father *Maimburg* has a curious remark on this election. He says it was especially applauded by the bishops of Lombardy, who being very abandoned, expected from a pope, even worse than themselves, the sanction of all their vices, not only by his example, but

an army, but was repulsed, and was afterwards deposed by all the bishops of Germany and Italy, A. D. 1062. He was, however, supported by Godfrey, duke of Lorrain and Tuscany, who had at first opposed him; but notwithstanding this, at the Council of Mantua, Alexander satisfied the people of Lombardy with respect to the validity of his election, and Honorius was condemned as a simoniac. Not discouraged with this, Honorius entered Rome by surprise, and seized the church of St. Peter; but being overpowered, he took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, where he continued two years. Escaping thence, he retired to Mount Bardon, near Baretti, where he continued to act as pope as long as he lived, and when excommunicated himself, he excommunicated his opponents.*

But by far the most interesting part of the papal history in this period is that of Gregory VII., and his contest with the emperor Henry IV., which I shall therefore relate at some length.

This famous pope, under the name of Hildebrand, had, with great ability, activity and integrity, directed the most important affairs of the Papacy under several of the preceding popes, and as far as appears, was a man of an irreproachable moral character. He was a great enemy of simony, the prevailing complaint of the times, but he had unfortunately entertained the most extravagant ideas of the papal power, as superior to any other in the world; and acting upon them, he involved himself in inextricable difficulties, and was the occasion of much mischief, by being the occasion of a civil war in Germany and Italy.

Henry IV. too much resembled other princes of this time, being equally dissolute and rapacious; and though he was induced to make some mean submissions, he was a prince of great courage and resolution, and in more favourable circumstances might have appeared to considerable advantage.

The first occasion of this prince's unfortunate contest with the church, was his desire to get rid of his queen Bertha. Alleging for an excuse, that he had not been able

by his decrees. The learned Jesuit particularly instances simony and the marriage of the clergy; *que la simonie et le mariage des ecclésiastiques étoient permis. Histoire, p. 178.* It is to be regretted that the bishops of Lombardy have not had an historian.

* He died, according to *Maimburg*, immediately after his deposition by the Council of Mantua. "Ce décret fut un coup de foudre, dont ce malheureux Intrus se sentit si rudement frappé, qu'il en mourut, peu de jours après, d'une morte funeste." *Histoire, p. 190.*

to consummate his marriage with her, he applied to the bishops for a divorce, and they applying to the Pope, he sent St. Damien * with his orders, expressing his strong disapprobation of the proposal, and declaring that he would not give him the imperial crown, if he betrayed the cause of religion in so shameful a manner. The lords approving of the Pope's sentence, the king was obliged to comply, and keep his wife, though he never lived with her as such.

Another offence of this king was his sale of church livings. He encouraged the archbishop of Mayence in exacting the tithes of Thuringia, promising him his assistance, on condition that he should share them with him.† The archbishop consented, and at the Council of Erfort, all the bishops had been gained to give their consent; and by the king's management no appeal was made to the Pope on the subject. Being, however, accused of selling his church livings, the Pope excommunicated him, and, moreover, sent legates into Germany to preside at a council which was to be held on the subject. This the bishops opposed; saying, that their own metropolitan should preside, unless the Pope was present in person. And *Fleury* says, the presiding of the Pope's legates in councils was then a novelty. They, therefore, returned without holding the council, but they carried letters from the king, in which he expressed his entire submission to the Pope, acknowledging his offences, and especially that of selling his church livings. This, however, did not satisfy the haughty prelate. For, when Henry was celebrating the festival of Christmas, at Goslar, in A. D. 1075, he sent a legate to order him to attend at Rome, the second week in Lent, to defend himself against several things that were laid to his charge; threatening that, otherwise, he would again excommunicate him. This was more than a young and high-spirited prince could bear. Being exceedingly provoked at this conduct, he appointed a meeting of the bishops and abbots of his kingdom, at Worms, the 23d of January, with a view to consult about deposing the Pope.

To this, Henry might be encouraged by the appearance of other enemies to the Pope. Cencius, the prefect of Rome,

* "Petrus Damianus, a cardinal, who, in his *Epist. L. i.* had represented the Pope, when archdeacon of Rome, as *sanctum Satanam*, a holy Devil." *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 330.

† A zealous Protestant, who had certainly no mercy for popes, and could hardly do them justice, says of Gregory, that "there was never any that made a more public sale of church livings and dignities, than he himself did." *Ibid.* p. 331.

a man abandoned to all wickedness, having been often reformed by Gregory without any effect, was at length excommunicated. On this he went to consult with Robert Guiscard, and others, in the same state of excommunication, to concert measures for seizing the Pope; and at Christmas, in A. D. 1075, Cencius did seize the Pope as he was performing mass. He was even dragged by the hair, and received a dangerous wound in the forehead, from a man who intended to have killed him. The people, however, rising in favour of the Pope, Cencius retired to a castle which he had built in the city; and asking the Pope's pardon, was admitted to penance, but lest he should be taken, he fled.

About the same time, Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, concerted with the archbishop of Milan, and other bishops of Lombardy, which was subject to the king, and in a state of revolt, and they employed cardinal Hugh, surnamed *the White*, who had been deposed by the Pope for his disorderly conduct, to excite Robert Guiscard and king Henry against the Pope, both sufficiently disposed to it.

Surrounded by so many enemies, the Pope seems to have been desirous of accommodating matters with the king. He wrote to him to expostulate with him on his conduct, and without any acrimony. It was, however, without effect; for Henry persisting in his purpose, did not fail to go to Worms at the time appointed, and there he was met by a great number of bishops and abbots, together with cardinal Hugh. There the king recited an account which he had drawn up, of the life, education and behaviour of the Pope, calculated to excite the indignation of his audience. To encourage them in their opposition to him, he informed them, that he had made himself many enemies, the Normans, the neighbouring counts, and many of the people of Rome. After some opposition from Adalberon, bishop of Wurzburg, and Herman, bishop of Metz, on account of the person accused being absent, it was unanimously determined that Hildebrand was no proper pope, and that he had not the power of binding or loosing.

The bishops of Lombardy also, and those in the March of Ancona, assembled at Pavia, and all signed the condemnation of the Pope, swearing on the evangelists that they would no more acknowledge him as such, and they sent deputies, who took the same oath of others. It does not appear, however, that either at Worms or Pavia, any specific charge was brought against the Pope. Henry's speech was

only a general invective, except that he said that there was some irregularity in his election; but whatever it was, it had been confirmed and sanctioned by himself.

Henry also wrote to the clergy and people of Rome, advising them of what had been done, charging Gregory with enmity to himself, and as having declared that he would either die or deprive him of his kingdom, and even of his life, and desiring them to choose another pope. He likewise wrote to the Pope himself, reproaching him with the contempt with which he had treated the bishops, and saying that he held his kingdom not of the Pope, but of God only, and that he could not be deposed unless he abandoned the faith; so, at least, says *Fleury*, the bishops who composed the letter, said for him.

Roland, a clergyman of Parma, was the bearer of this letter, and of another from the council, and they were delivered at the opening of Gregory's council in Rome, the first week in Lent. Such, however, was the indignation of those who attended that council, that it was not without difficulty, and by means of the interposition of Gregory himself, that Roland escaped with his life. Had this pope always spoken and acted as he did on this occasion, he would have been great indeed. When Roland was safe, he addressed the council with moderation and dignity, becoming a Christian bishop. "These," said he, "are the *perilous times*, which the Scriptures say should come. Offences will come, and we must be as sheep among wolves. Let us then, without hating any person, bear with these madmen who violate the laws of God. I have in my hand a sign of the victory which God will give to his church;" and with this he exhibited an egg, or something in the form of an egg, which had been found in the church of St. Peter, round which he said a serpent, armed with a sword and helmet, was seen endeavouring to get to the top, but was not able to do it. "We must now," he said, "employ the sword of the word, to bruise the head of the serpent, and avenge the church." All present applauded the speech of the Pope,

declared that they were ready to die in so good a cause, and concluded with saying, that Henry should be deprived of his

de. enmity, and anathematized, together with his abettors. conc. following, the Pope pronounced against the king royal dis. sentence of deposition, in the form of an address to

The day, a solemn sen. ter, as head of the church.* "I forbid," he the apostle Pe.

in the name of God Almighty, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and by the authority of St. Peter, chief of the apostles. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* iii. p. 164.

said, "Henry, son of the emperor Henry, who by unheard-of pride has raised himself against your church, to govern the kingdoms of Germany and Italy. I absolve the Christians from the oath they have taken, or shall take to him, and I forbid any person to serve him as king. For he who will attack the authority of your church, deserves to lose the dignity with which he is invested." He also pronounced excommunications against the bishops of Germany in general, and those who had distinguished themselves the most in this opposition to him, by name. He treated in the same manner the bishops of Lombardy. After this, Gregory addressed a letter to all the faithful, imploring their assistance in the defence of the church. "If," says he, "you believe that St. Peter has received from Christ the keys of the kingdom of heaven, you are not worthy to partake of his glory in heaven, if you do not take part of his sufferings below."

In the mean time Guibert archbishop of Ravenna, some time after Easter, assembled the bishops of Lombardy; when they again excommunicated the Pope. But the lords were divided on the subject, thinking that the Pope could not be judged by any person. Many persons in Germany and Italy said the same, with respect to the king. But, in answer to this, Gregory, in a letter to Herman, bishop of Metz, who had returned to his obedience after having taken part with Henry, said, "Perhaps it will be said that when Christ bade Peter feed his sheep, he excepted kings; but in giving him the power of binding and loosing, it is plain that he excepted no person; and if the holy see has received from God the power of judging in spiritual things, why shall she not also judge in things temporal? Perhaps it will be said that the royal dignity is above the episcopal, but the difference may be seen in the origin of both. The former was the invention of human pride, whereas the latter is an institution of divine goodness; and therefore St. Ambrose says, that the episcopacy is superior to royalty, as much as gold is superior to lead, and the emperor Constantine took the last place among the bishops."

This letter is dated August 24, A. D. 1076. In it, says *Fleury*, we see the foundation of a doctrine unheard of before, viz. that the Pope has a right to depose sovereigns. At the same time he addressed a long letter to the bishops and the people of Germany, vindicating his conduct towards the king, from his total disregard of his repeated admonitions; taking it for granted that what he had done in consequence of it

was right. In another letter he urges them to choose another king, if Henry did not submit to the authority of the church ; but in this case he said that he must be consulted, as well as Agnes the king's mother.

In this state of things many deserted the part of the king, even some of those who joined in the excommunication of the Pope ; and confessing their fault they were received into favour ; while others urged the king to take his revenge for the insult. But at this juncture, the formidable state of the king's enemies made this, very hazardous. At the head of them were Rudolph, duke of Suabia, Guelf, duke of Bavaria, Adalberon, bishop of Wurzburg, Adalbert, bishop of Worms, and many others ; who having met at Ulm, appointed another meeting at Tribur near Mayence, when all who wished well to the state, should consider of the remedies to be applied for the disorders of it. Accordingly, the lords of Suabia and Saxony met there in great numbers, when they determined to depose Henry and elect another king. There were also two legates from the Pope, at this meeting ; one of whom, Altman of Passau, having been expelled by the king, went to the Pope, and having formally renounced his bishopric, on a pretended scruple for having received the investiture at the hands of a layman, had been reinstated by the Pope.

Henry, who was not far from the place of this meeting, being greatly alarmed at their proceedings, sent to them, to make many concessions, even to abandon the government, and to retain only the outward badge of royalty ; but even this was not deemed sufficient. They proposed to refer his sentence to the Pope, who was to be at Augsburg, at the festival of the purification of the Virgin Mary ; and declared that, if he was not absolved from his excommunication within a year and a day, they should consider themselves as no longer bound by the allegiance they had sworn to him. To these hard conditions, the king, seeing no remedy, consented.

Alarmed at this opposition, and determined if possible, to get the excommunication taken off before the time fixed for it was expired, Henry undertook a journey to Italy, though it was in the midst of winter, accompanied by his wife and his son, yet an infant. Being arrived in Lombardy, where the people were irritated against the Pope, he was soon surrounded by a considerable army, hoping that he would depose the Pope. He himself, however, saw the necessity he was under, on account of the state of things in Germany, to persist in his purpose, and therefore proceeded to meet the Pope,

who was then on his way to Augsburgh, accompanied by Matilda, countess of Tuscany, a widow of great power and wealth, and much attached to his interests.* Gregory, surprised to find that the king was in Italy, went to the castle of Canossa in Lombardy, which belonged to Matilda. There he was met by many bishops and other persons, from Germany, who made their submission to him, and doing penance, were received into favour.

By the intervention of the countess, and other persons to whom the king applied, he promised, that if the Pope would absolve him from his excommunication, he would afterwards justify his conduct before him at Augsburgh. After some difficulty the Pope consented, but not without exacting the most humiliating terms, and treating him with the greatest indignity: for the king on coming to Canossa left all his suite behind him, and without any marks of his dignity waited three days barefooted,† and the first without eating any thing. Being admitted on the fourth day to the presence of this haughty prelate, he was absolved, on condition that he should justify his conduct, at the general diet of Germany, when the Pope was to be his judge; till that time he should wear no badge of royalty, and if he should be acquitted of the crimes laid to his charge, he should ever after live in obedience to the Pope.

This passed the 28th of January, A. D. 1077. After this, the Pope administered the communion, and declaring his own innocence of the things of which he had been accused, he took a part of the consecrated wafer, and presenting the other part to the king, he desired him to take it, if he also was conscious of his innocence. The king, not prepared for this, hesitated; but recollecting himself, he said that no justification would be of any avail to him, except in the presence of his friends and his accusers; and the Pope gave him the communion in the common form.

* She was the widow of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine. "Les partisans de l'Empereur, et les ennemis de Grégoire, et sur-tout les ecclésiastiques d'Allemagne, auxquels il vouloit absolument que l'on ôtât les femmes, qu'ils avoient impudemment épousées contre les plus saintes loix de l'église, prirent de cela même occasion de se déchaîner contre lui, d'une étrange manière, de l'accuser d'une trop grande privauté avec cette comtesse." From this imputation the historian thus defends Gregory: "Certes, il ne faut que lire les lettres que Grégoire écrivoit à Matilde, pour voir qu'il n'y avoit rien dans leur commerce, qui ne respirât la vertu et la piété, et qu'il la dirigeoit très bien, en lui recommandant, sur-tout, la fréquent communion, et la tendre et affectueuse dévotion envers la Sainte Vierge, comme les moyens, le plus efficaces, pour arriver à la perfection Chrétienne." *Maimburg*, pp. 244, 245.

† "Sur la fin du troisième jour d'une si rude pénitence *Henri* étoit sur le point de tout rompre." *Ibid.* p. 260.

The king's friends in Lombardy hearing of this transaction, were exceedingly provoked both at him and the Pope, and were determined to reject them both. In order to pacify them, after in vain pleading the necessity of his affairs, he within a fortnight, openly broke the agreement he had made with the Pope, and was soon able to raise a considerable army.

In the mean time the king's enemies met at Forsheim, and on the 15th of March, A.D. 1077, elected Rodolf, duke of Suabia, king; but on his declaring himself an enemy to simony, such a tumult was raised against him on the very day of his coronation, that a hundred persons were killed in the fray. Though the Pope's legates were present at this election, and concurred in it, he, no doubt considering the power of Henry, did not think proper to declare his approbation of it; but said that, if the archbishops and bishops who had consecrated him did not give a good account of their conduct, they should be deposed from their dignities, and Rodolf from the kingdom. In another letter he said that obedience should be rendered to him, of the two, who should obey the orders of his legates.

The friends of Rodolf, quite dispirited at this unexpected timid conduct of the Pope, wrote him an expostulatory letter on the subject. In it, they say, they believed his intentions to have been good, but that they could not penetrate into his views. They saw, however, the fatal effects of what he had done, in the civil war that must be the consequence of it, in innumerable homicides, plundering and burnings; for that, in these circumstances, they could only live by rapine, and no property, civil or ecclesiastical, would be spared; in short there would be an abolition of all laws, human and divine. These evils, they add, would not have existed, if he had acted steadily, neither turning to the right hand nor to the left; that his zeal had drawn them into a difficulty, in which it was hazardous to advance, and shameful to recede.

Henry, taking advantage of the consternation of his enemies, endeavoured to seize both the Pope and Matilda. But they escaped to one of her fortresses in a mountain, and in this recess she made to the see of Rome a donation in writing of all her estates, comprehending Tuscany and a great part of Lombardy.* In May the Pope returned to Rome, where he was received with great joy, and at a council held there

* This donation of Matilda was disputed by the emperors; but the popes still enjoy a part of it. *Mosheim*, II. p. 281. (P.) Cent. xi. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xi.

in A. D. 1078, it was determined to send legates to Germany, to decide between the two competitors to the throne, threatening excommunication to any person, king, bishop or others, who should oppose this commission. The Pope added these remarkable words, "We bind him by the apostolical authority, not only as to the spirit, but as to the body. We take from him all prosperity in this life, and victory from his arms." At another council held at Rome in November, deputies from both the kings attended, each swearing for his master, that they would not hinder the conferences which the legates of the holy see should hold in Germany. At the same council the receiving investiture of church livings from the king, or any layman, was prohibited.

In A. D. 1080, Henry was defeated by Rodolf; and Gregory hearing of it, held a council at Rome, in which he excommunicated Henry and all his abettors; taking from him, he said, the kingdom of Germany and Italy, so that he shall have no force in battle, and never gain any victory. He then gave the kingdom of Germany to Rodolf* and absolution to all his adherents, with the benediction of the apostles, both in this life and the other. All this was done, as before, in the form of an address to the apostles Peter and Paul, to whom he says, "Let all the world know, that if you have power to bind and loose in heaven, you can now on earth give or take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms, marquisates and counties, and the goods of all men, according to their merits. For you have often taken from unworthy persons and given to the good, patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics and bishoprics. For if you judge things spiritual, who can believe that you do not judge things temporal? Let the kings and princes of the age, then, learn what is your greatness and power, that they may dread to despise the orders of your church; and let your justice be so speedily exercised upon Henry, that all may know it does not come by chance, but by your power." This act is dated March 7, A. D. 1080.

When Henry heard of this excommunication, nineteen bishops of his party assembled at Mayence, on the last of May, and in consequence of their letters, thirty bishops and

* Sending him a crown "with this verse inscribed—

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodolpho.

The Rock to Peter gave this crown and pow'r,
And with it Peter crowns thee emperor."

Hist. of Popery, l. p. 335.

many lords of Italy and Germany met at Brixen, in Tyrol, where they pronounced the deposition of Gregory, and elected Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who took the name of Clement III. though there was no person present to represent the proper Church of Rome, but cardinal Hugh.

To strengthen himself against Henry, Gregory applied to the Norman princes, William, king of England, and Robert, duke of Calabria; to the former of whom he wrote in a style very different from that which he used in the days of his prosperity; expressing the confidence he had in his friendship, and promising him not only an eternal recompence, but victory and power in this world. Notwithstanding his having formerly excommunicated the Norman princes of Italy, he now had a conference with them, and received them into favour, on their promising him their assistance. Thus aided, Gregory sent forth the most violent invectives against the new pope, and proposed to march against him with an army.

In October, A. D. 1080, Henry was again defeated by Rodolf, but the latter was slain in the battle; and on the same day the troops of Matilda were defeated in Lombardy; so that the affairs of Henry were rather advanced than otherwise. In these circumstances, Gregory, writing to his partisans in Germany, exhorted them to be very cautious in their choice of another king; and in the form of the oath which he sent them to administer to him, he was to declare himself a vassal of St. Peter, and to promise obedience and fidelity to the Pope.

In March, A. D. 1081, Henry having no more fear of the Saxons, came into Italy, and was at Verona, in Easter, and about the same time Gregory held a council at Rome, in which he again excommunicated Henry and all his adherents. This however did not prevent Henry's marching to Rome, which he did the following May; but the people opposing him, and Matilda sending assistance to Gregory, he retired to Lombardy. In the mean time the Saxons, and other enemies of Henry in Germany, made choice of Herman, lord of Luxembourgh, to succeed Rodolf.

This, however, did not induce Henry to go to Germany, and in A. D. 1082 he went to Rome, which he besieged the whole year, but was again obliged to retreat to Lombardy. The next year Herman would have come to the relief of Gregory; but the state of his affairs would not admit of it, and Henry once more advanced to Rome. But finding that Hugh, the abbot of Clugni, who was then in Italy,

and many other respectable persons, did not approve of his conduct, but considered him as an excommunicated person, he was desirous of justifying his conduct to them, and expressed his willingness to receive the imperial crown at the hands of the Pope. But Gregory, though much urged to it by those who were weary of the war, refused to do this till he had given satisfaction to God, and the church; and this the king would not do.

In these circumstances the Pope held another council, the king giving safe conduct to those who attended it; and on this occasion the Pope was persuaded to use some moderation: for he did not repeat his excommunication of Henry himself, but was content with excommunicating those who had obstructed the communication with Rome, which Henry had frequently done. Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the people of Rome to make peace, the war continued seven years, and in all the states belonging to the king there remained but few bishops faithful to the Pope; being either expelled from their sees, or having retired to monasteries.

At length, in March, A.D. 1084, Henry forced his way into Rome, and there received the imperial crown from his pope Clement, Gregory retiring to the castle of St. Angelo, which Henry besieged. Both parties, however, kept their ground in the city, till Robert Guiscard compelled Henry to abandon it, and retire to Lombardy, which he did in May; but a great part of the city was plundered in this contest.

Gregory, being now at liberty, held another council, in which he excommunicated the new pope, and Henry, who now went to Germany, leaving his pope in Lombardy, where his party were defeated by the forces of Matilda, by which it was considerably weakened. While Henry was in Germany, councils were held both by his partisans and those of Herman, in which they excommunicated one another.

In the mean time, Gregory retired to Salerno, where he fell sick, and died the 25th of May, A.D. 1085. Being urged, on his death-bed, to shew some indulgence to those whom he had excommunicated, he said, that, excepting Henry himself, and the anti-pope, he absolved and blessed all those who believed that he had the power of doing it. His last words were, "I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile."* Thus died this extraordinary man, respectable for his personal qualities,

* "Ils ajoutent aussi qu'il a fait plusieurs grands miracles, et avant, et après sa mort." *Maimburg*, p. 290.

but who, misled by his passions, and carrying the false maxims concerning the papal power, which had begun to prevail before his time, to their proper extent, not only involved himself in inextricable difficulties, and a great part of the Christian world in a destructive civil war, but laid the foundation for various mischiefs, which continued many centuries. For, violent as his conduct was, and inconsistent as the maxims of it were with the temporal power of princes, they were never reprobated by any of his successors, but were resumed by them whenever the circumstances of the times were favourable to them.

In all this time Clement kept possession of the church of St. Peter, in Rome; but on the accession of Victor II., who was Desiderius, abbot of Mount Cassin, (and who did not consent to his election, till he was in a manner compelled to it,) he was driven out of it. Still, however, he kept possession of a great part of the city.

On the death of Herman, in A. D. 1089, the Saxons, weary of their opposition, received Henry, as king; and thus ended this long civil war. In the same year the people of Rome expelled Clement, after making him take an oath that he would no longer usurp the holy see. But by this he did not appear to have thought himself bound, and he had a considerable party, even in Rome, two years after his expulsion, the friends of Henry being very powerful in Italy. In A. D. 1091, pope Urban II. held a council at Benevento, in which he excommunicated Clement, and all his adherents.*

In A. D. 1093, Conrad, the son of Henry, revolted against his father, and in A. D. 1094 Urban had so far got the better of Clement, that he held a council at Placentia, in the very midst of the schismatics, and was met by two hundred bishops, more than four thousand ecclesiastics, and thirty thousand laymen; so that no church being able to contain so great a number, they met in the open air. In this council, Proxide, the wife of Henry, made her complaints against him, in consequence of which many of his adherents abandoned him. After this council, Conrad met the Pope at Cremona, and waited upon him; and on his swearing allegiance to him, and renouncing the right of investiture, the Pope received

† This pope contrived a marriage between Matilda, at the age of 43, and the young duke of Bavaria, that by their joint power he might overcome the anti-popes and the schismatics of Italy. Matilda died in 1115, aged 69. Five hundred years after her death, her bones were removed by Urban VIII. from the abbey of St. Benedict, on the Po, to the church of St. Peter. See *Maimburg*, pp. 292, 367, 368.

him as a true son of the church, and promised him his assistance to maintain him in the kingdom, and acquire the imperial dignity.*

After this, the Pope made a progress into France, where he held the famous Council of Clermont [A. D. 1095], of which an account will be given in the article of the Crusades; and on his return, being assisted by the Crusaders, the friends of Clement were driven out of the city of Rome, and held only the castle of St. Angelo. Henry was also driven out of Lombardy, and was obliged to retire into Germany.

The party of Clement was not, however, extinct. For, in A. D. 1098, they held a council in Rome, he himself being then in Lombardy; and at the head of it were eight cardinals, the principal of whom was Hugh, above-mentioned, bishop of Preneste. They invited the opposite party to a conference, promising to aim at nothing but the unity of the church. But the friends of Urban paid no attention to the proposal, despising the efforts of a dying party; and, indeed, after this we hear nothing more of it.

SECTION II.

Various Instances of the Claims of the Popes in this Period, to Ecclesiastical and Civil Power, and of the Opposition that was sometimes made to them.

HAVING been unwilling to interrupt the account, given in the preceding Section, of the general state of the Papacy, and especially the history of Gregory VII., I have reserved for this separate Section other less connected instances of the claims of the popes, to power civil and ecclesiastical, and of the opposition that the more intelligent and more spirited of the clergy or laity had the courage to make to them. I would observe, however, in this place, that the papal claims were favoured by the established opinions and maxims of the times, without which they would never have been allowed and acquiesced in so tamely as they generally were.

On the occasion of the coronation of the emperor Henry, in A. D. 1014,† Glaber, in a history addressed to Odilon,

* Conrad was excited against his father by Matilda and the young duke, her husband. He died in 1099, six years after he had been crowned king of Italy; "dans la fleur de son âge," says the historian, "pour verifier l'oracle divin, qui ordonne aux enfans, d'honorer leur père et leur mère, s'ils veulent jouir d'une longue vie." *Maimburg*, pp. 293, 294.

† By Benedict VIII. "Avec l'impératrice Cunegonde, sa femme, aussi sainte que son mari. Benoit fit une chose très-particulière et toute nouvelle, en présentant à

abbot of Clugni,* says, "It seems reasonable, and well established, that no prince should take the title of emperor, but he whom the Pope shall choose for his merit, and to whom he shall give the badges of that dignity."

The giving of kingdoms, as well as titles, did not begin with Gregory VII. Leo IX., who was a person of an exemplary life, seeing the rising power of the Normans, in Italy, persuaded the emperors to endeavour to put a stop to their progress, and put himself at the head of an army for that purpose, which was the first time that any pope headed an army against Christians, the emperor having before this granted to him his right to the city of Benevento, in exchange for an annual payment of a hundred marks of silver; a white horse, which had been part of the annual allowance, being still reserved. The Pope, being now at the head of an army, marched against the Normans; but, though he was defeated by them, he was treated with much respect.† Afterwards, both parties finding it to be their interest, the Normans consented to swear fealty to the popes for their possessions in Italy, and also those in Sicily, when they should conquer it. This was done to Nicolas II. in A. D. 1059.‡ This investiture was renewed by Gregory VII.§

Afterwards, Roger, count of Sicily, complaining of the appointment of the bishop of Trani as the pope's legate in Sicily, pope Urban II. finding it to be his interest to oblige him, appointed him and his heirs to the power of legates of the see of Rome, promising that whatever he should have to do by legates, should be done by himself and his successors,|| and that whenever he called a council, they might send what clergy they pleased to it. In virtue of this bull, the Sicilians say that their princes are born legates of the holy see; and this they call *the monarchy of Sicily*, no other country having that privilege. But the court of Rome says, that if the bull be genuine, it has been revoked since. Clement XI., when the kingdom of Naples came to the duke of Savoy, in A. D. 1715, abolished this monarchy of Sicily, and established a new ecclesiastical hierarchy in that kingdom; but the bull

ce saint prince un globe d'or, enrichi de pierres précieuses, avec une élevée au dessus du globe, pour lui monter que l'empereur doit gouverner le monde en le soumettant à croix de Jesus-Christ." *Maimburg*, pp. 132, 133.

* "Une Chronique ou *Histoire de France*, sans ordre, et sans suite, pleine de fables ridicules." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 98.

† "Pris dans une petite ville près de Benevent, en 1053, après un an de prison, il fut conduit à Rome par ses vainqueurs, et mourut le 19 Avril, 1504." *Ibid.* IV. p. 86.

‡ *Giannone*, I. p. 433. (P.) § *Ibid.* p. 463. (P.) || *Ibid.* p. 475. (P.)

had no effect. No change was made in consequence of it, and much less when the kingdom returned to the family of Austria.*

Though the principle on which Gregory VII. acted was avowed, and in some degree acted upon before his time, no other pope had recourse to it so often, or carried it so far. Of his conduct in this respect I shall give several instances, which have no relation to his contest with the emperor Henry.

Philip, king of France, not being willing that Landri, chosen bishop of Autun by the clergy and people, should have the investiture *gratis*, Gregory wrote to Rodon, bishop of Chalons, charging him to endeavour to dissuade the king from his purpose; saying, "The king shall either renounce simony, or, being anathematized, the French will refuse to obey him, unless they will renounce Christianity;" a threatening which, *Fleury* says, was never before given out against any sovereign.

Great disorders prevailing in the kingdom of France, in the reign of this Philip, no merchants or pilgrims being able to travel in safety, Gregory wrote to the bishops,† urging them to press the king to exert his power to put a stop to the evil; saying that, if he proved refractory, they should not only excommunicate him, and lay the kingdom under an interdict, but oppose him by force, as, he says, they were very well able to do; and in this case he promised them the assistance of the holy see. He also wrote to William, count of Poitiers, to desire him to join the bishops on this occasion. But the letters had no effect.

Gregory also threatened Alphonsus, king of Leon and Castile, that if he did not yield to his will with respect to the adoption of the Roman ritual, and some other things, he would himself go into Spain, and give him much trouble, as an enemy of the Christian religion.

Ebles, count of Rouci, in Champagne, treated with Alexander II. for all the conquests that he should be able to make from the Saracens in Spain. For at Rome it was, says *Fleury*, taken for granted, that the kingdom of Spain be-

* *Giannone*, I. p. 174. (P.)

† "Qu'il l'excommuniât, s'il ne donnoit aux legats qu'il envoyoit pleine et entière satisfaction, sur ce qu'on l'accusoit d'avoir vendu des bénéfices, et d'avoir fait arrêter et saisir les effets de certains marchands Italiens, qui négocioient en Gascogne, et de plus s'il ne l'assuroit qu'il changeroit ses mœurs, qui étoient assez déréglées." *Maimburg*, p. 230.

longed to St. Peter, or the church of Rome, though there is no trace of such an idea before that time.

In A. D. 1075, Gregory wrote to Sueno, king of Denmark, to know whether he might depend upon him in case the holy see should want his assistance; saying, "There is near us a rich province occupied by cowardly heretics; in which we desire one of your sons to be established, as its prince, and the defender of religion."

The emperor Henry was not the only prince of that age that shewed a disposition to resist the unreasonable claims of Gregory. When he wrote to William the Conqueror, requiring him to take an oath of fealty to him and his successors, he absolutely refused, as he said it was what neither himself nor any of his predecessors had ever done; but he granted him his claim of *Peter-pence*.^{*} At this the Pope was much offended, saying that he preferred honour to money. He also complained of this king for preventing his bishops from going to Rome; saying, that if he did not behave with more moderation, he would draw upon himself the indignation of St. Peter.

Writing to Herman, bishop of Metz, in A. D. 1081, he says, "More power is given to every exorcist, than to a lay lord. For kings and princes who do not live like Christians, are the slaves of demons. If, then, the exorcist has received empire over demons, how much more over the slaves and members of demons; and if the exorcist has this power, how much more the bishop!"

This pontiff, besides being persuaded that temporal power ought always to be subject to the spiritual, advanced particular claims to all the kingdoms of Europe, and even to Russia.† He wrote to the judges of Sardinia, that several

^{*} William thus answered Gregory: "Hubertus, legatus tuus, admonuit me, quatenus tibi et successoribus tuis *fidelitatem* facerem, et de pecunia, quam antecessores mei ad ecclesiam mittere solebant, melius cogitarem. Unum admisi, alterum non admisi. *Fidelitatem* fecere nolui nec volo." *Miscellanea* of Baluzius, VII. p. 127. Collier's *Ecc. Hist.* I. 713—apud Mosheim, Cent. xi. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. x. Note [f].

"Cette fermeté ayant fait comprendre au Pontife, que Guillaume n'étoit pas un prince à se conduire par de vains scrupules, et moins encore à se laisser épouvanter par des menaces, il se désista de ses prétentions." Rapin, An. 1073, II. p. 39.

† Mosheim, on the authority of Harduin's *Concilia*, (L. ii. Ep. lxxiv.) says that "the son of Demetrius, king of the *Russians*, set out for Rome in consequence of the pontiff's letter, to obtain as a gift from St. Peter, by the hands of Gregory, the kingdom which was to devolve to him upon the death of his father." Cent. xi. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. x. But there was no *Demetrius* in *Russia* till the 13th century. Wolodimer II. reigned in 1043. He threatened Constantinople and was bribed to retire. Dying in 1116, he was succeeded by his son, Wsewolde II. See Mottley's "Short History of the Russian Empire," prefixed to "the Reign of the Empress Catharine," 1744. I. p. 7.

princes had asked their country of him, promising half the revenues of it, but that he had refused till he could learn what they would do. "But," says he, "since you are devoted to St. Peter, if you persevere as you ought, we shall allow no person to have your country; and if any person attempt the conquest of it, we will obstruct his designs by methods spiritual and temporal." He also assumed a right to decide all differences among Christian princes, and threatened, in the case of a dispute between two sons of count Raimond Berenger, that if they disobeyed him, and continued their differences, he would take the grace of St. Peter from him who should be in fault; so that he should no more gain any victory in war, or prosperity in this world.

But, perhaps, the most extraordinary of all the wild pretensions of this pope was, his maintaining that all popes canonically elected, became saints of course. *Fleury*, however, expresses his wonder that the scandalous lives of the popes in the tenth century had not convinced him of his error.

More instances occur in this period, of opposition to the usurpation of the popes in spirituals by the bishops, than in temporals by the princes; the bishops having the advantage of a knowledge of the ancient canons, and these were universally considered as of equal authority with the Scriptures. Had it not been for the forged decretals, it would not have been in the power of the popes to exceed the bounds of other patriarchs.

John XVII. having sent a legate to dedicate a church at Loches, in the diocese of Tours, in France, a tempest which came on at the time was said to be a judgment of God for the violation of the canons, the Pope himself having no power to do any thing in the diocese of another bishop. This was said by Glaber, an historian of the time, though he was a monk of Clugni, which owned no superior besides its own abbot and the Pope. The proper diocese of Rome, *Fleury* says, did not extend beyond the bounds of the city, as appeared by Leo IX. in A. D. 1049, confirming to the bishop of Porto the right of performing clerical functions beyond the Tiber.

At the Council of Selingstadt, in A. D. 1022, it was declared that the absolution of the Pope without that of the bishop of the diocese where the pilgrim lived, would signify nothing. Many persons charged with great crimes, having refused to confess at home, had gone to Rome to get absolved there.

At the Council of Limoges, in A. D. 1031,* a similar complaint was made, viz. of excommunicated persons getting absolution of the Pope, unknown to their own bishops, which it was said would be the ruin of churches, and set aside the decrees of councils; when one who attended the council said that, when Ponticus, count of Auvergne, had been excommunicated some time before, by Stephen, bishop of Clermont, and had got absolved at Rome, the Pope being informed of it, declared that he did not know that he was in a state of excommunication. "I declare," said he, "to all my brethren, the bishops, that far from contradicting, I only pretend to aid and comfort them. God forbid that I should make a schism with them," and he annulled the absolution.

At the Council of Anse, in A. D. 1025, Gauslin, bishop of Maçon, complained of Bouchard, archbishop of Vienna, that, without his permission, he had ordained monks within his diocese, viz. at the monastery of Clugni. And though the express permission of the Pope was pleaded for the privilege of the abbot of Clugni employing what bishop he pleased, it was said that the canons, which ordered it to be done by the bishop of the diocese, was superior to any other authority, and the archbishop being convinced, asked pardon. This example, says *Fleury*, and that of the dedication of the monastery at Loches, shews that the bishops of this age did not think the popes above the canons.

The Pope's legate, the archbishop of Laon, insisting on the archbishop of Sens swearing allegiance to him as his primate, the clergy refused to obey, and Ivo of Chartres, wrote to expostulate with him on the subject, saying that they could not act contrary to the authority of the fathers, and the established customs, and he cited the authority of several popes, who declared that they would make no innovation against tradition, and the authority of the canons. He also wrote to the Pope himself, on the subject.

The canonization of saints began to be appropriated to the popes in this period; and the first instance of it† was that of Udalric, twenty years after his death, by John XV. in A. D. 993. The act expressed, that the memory of saints should be honoured, that the honour done to the saints, and to their

* A council had been held at this place in 1029 to settle the following important question: "Pour savoir si Saint *Martial*, disciple de Jesus-Christ, doit être appelé Apôtre, ou Confesseur." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. cxiv.

† "Le première exemple de canonization faite par les papes." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 634, article *Ulric*, évêque d'Augsbourg.

relics, returns to the Lord, who said, *he that receiveth you receiveth me*; and that the object of this honour was, that men might be aided by their prayers and merits. When saints were canonized at this time, altars were erected over their bodies. This was done to Romuald five years after his death, in A. D. 1027.*

The dispensing with vows was universally allowed to the popes of this time. When Casimir, a monk of Clugni, became heir to the kingdom of Poland, pope Benedict IX. gave him leave to secularize. He had been referred to the Pope by Odilon the abbot, who said that he had not the power to dispense with his vows.†

Before I conclude this article relating to the popes, I shall observe, that, at a council in Rome, in A. D. 1059, it was decreed that for the future the cardinal bishops should first consider of a proper person to be pope, then the cardinal clergy, and that then the rest of the clergy, and the people, should give their consent. This rule was made in consequence of there having been much confusion in the election of Nicolas II. This law was not, however, immediately acquiesced in; and to quiet the clamours of the principal of the clergy, some of them were afterwards admitted to the rank of cardinal presbyters; and to pacify the inferior clergy, some of them were made cardinal deacons. The cardinal bishops were those of the territory of Rome.‡

Here I would observe that the dignity of *cardinal* was much advanced in this period; and especially as they were not only the electors of the popes, but the popes were

* This saint was the founder and first abbot of the order of *Camaldules*. Born of a noble family at Ravenna, about 952, after a dissipated youth, he retired to a monastery. There the monks were too licentious to endure his austere virtue, and attempted his destruction, by throwing him from an eminence. He now took refuge with a hermit named *Marin*, who lived in the neighbourhood of Venice. This solitary would daily recite the whole psalter. As Romuald read with difficulty, Marin would strike him with a wand on the *left* side of his head. The young solitary having long endured this discipline, at length softened the monk by requesting him to strike on the *right* side, as he could no longer hear on the *left*. “De le frapper du côté droit, parcequ’il n’entendoit presque plus de l’oreille gauche. Le viellard admira sa patience, et le traita avec plus de douceur.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 210.

† Casimir, on the death of his father, Miecslaus, in 1034, had been debarred from the succession till 1040, by the Polish lords. In the interval he retired to France and thence to Italy, where Romuald persuaded him to become a monk. On which, he returned to France, and took the cowl in the abbey of Clugni. The Pope’s dispensation was by no means gratuitous. The Poles were engaged to pay *St. Peter’s pence*, by a general capitation. “The holy father likewise insisted on their promise to shave their heads and beards, like the rest of the *Roman Catholics*, and to wear a white linen stole about their necks, at all the principal festivals in the year.” *Revolutions of Poland*, by M. *Abbé Des Fontaines*, 1736, pp. 42, 48, 49.

‡ *Mosheim*, II. p. 265. (P.) Cent. xi. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. vi.

generally chosen out of their body. It was not, however, till A. D. 1468, that Paul II. gave them the distinction of a red hat, and it was Urban VIII. who gave them the title of *eminence*. Still, however, there remain traces of their former condition. For though the Pope calls all bishops his *brethren*, he calls the cardinals his *beloved children*.*

By much address, the popes got rid of their confirmation by the emperors. When Leo IX. at the request of the people, was made pope by the emperor Henry III., he was persuaded by Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII., to strip himself of his pontifical robes, and entering Rome as a pilgrim, get himself elected by the people and clergy, in order to set aside the election by a layman. By the management of the same Hildebrand, Alexander II. was elected pope without the consent of the emperor Henry IV., who in vain opposed the election by setting up another pope.† In former times, not only was the election of the popes confirmed by the emperors, but they received for it twenty pounds of gold for their confirmation.‡

Mention was made in a preceding period of a pope who was a foreigner, changing his name. The first pope who was a native of Rome that did this, was Bocco di Porco, in English, *hog's snout*,§ who called himself Sergius IV. in A. D. 1009.

SECTION III.

Of the Character of the Clergy in this Period.

COMPLAINTS of the disorderly lives of the clergy were as frequent in this period as in any of the former; the superior clergy being as dissolute as the laity of the same fortunes, and they lived in the same manner.

Ratherius, bishop of Verona, in A. D. 974, makes loud complaint of the licentiousness of the clergy in his time. "When," says he, "I was translated to Liege, one bishop objected to me the canon against translations, when he himself was addicted to wine and gaming, had hounds and hawks,|| and did not keep his residence. I have heard two of them reproach one another, that the one carried arms, and the other kept a concubine, that one had committed adultery before his ordination, and the other had married after

* *Sueur*, A. D. 964. *Pictet*, Continuation, A. D. 1059. (P.)

† *Giannone*, p. 452. (P.)

‡ *Sueur*, A. D. 964. (P.)

§ See *supra*, p. 207.

|| See *supra*, p. 72.

ordination. Can we wonder," he adds, "after this, that laymen are not struck with the menaces which we draw from the Scriptures and the canons, when they see that we laugh as we are reading them, and ourselves persist in despising them? This is the reason why they make so little account of our excommunications and absolutions, because they see that we ourselves stand excommunicated by the canons." There was not one of his clergy at Verona but, he says, kept a concubine, either publicly or privately.*

Indeed the clergy of Lombardy seem to have been the most disorderly of any, in this respect. At a council held at Pavia, in A. D. 1020, Benedict VIII. complained of the licentious lives of the clergy, that they dissipated the wealth of their churches in the open maintenance of their concubines, and the children they had by them. To put a stop to this practice in some measure, it was decreed that the children of clergymen, even by free women, should rank with *serfs*. The emperor Henry confirmed this regulation. At a council in Rome, in A. D. 1051,† it was ordered that those women who prostituted themselves to priests, should be slaves to the palace of the Lateran. At another council in the same city, in A. D. 1059, it was decreed that a clergyman who had kept a concubine should not perform mass, or receive his share of the revenues of the church; and that those who kept their continence should eat and sleep together, near to the church in which they were ordained, and have in common what they received from the church. This, *Fleury* says, was the origin of the *regular canons*.

In A. D. 1067, Alexander II. sent legates to Milan, (which was a scene of the greatest disorder, the clergy keeping women in the most public manner, and the children they had by them; and where all benefices were openly sold,) with constitutions expressly provided for that diocese. They conclude with observing that, because many persons paid more regard to temporal punishments than to those that are eternal, they who did not observe the constitutions should pay fines according to their ranks, (which are particularly specified,) and that till the fines were paid, they were to be in a state of interdict.

So common was concubinage with the clergy of Germany,

* It is not surprising that this Reformer "se brouilla avec son clergé et fut obligé de se retirer." See *Nouv. Dict. Hist. V.* p. 129.

† "Contre les évêques simoniaques, et les clercs incontinent." *Ibid.* I. p. cxlv.

that when two councils were held in A. D. 1074,* by the legates of Gregory VII. for the purpose of repressing it, they absolutely refused to comply. This vice, and simony, being almost universal in this country, this pope wrote in the most earnest manner to several of the bishops, on the subject, urging them to use every means in their power, even that of force, to compel their clergy to conform to the ancient canons. At a council at Mayence in A. D. 1075, he sent a legate with orders to oblige all the clergy of that province to dismiss their wives, or relinquish the service of the altar; but when the archbishop of the place would have executed the order, all the clergy who were present expressed so much indignation, that he was in danger of his life, and the scheme was obliged to be given up.

In England some of the priests had two wives, or even more, and this abuse, it is said, was common. A council called by king Ethelred at Engsham, [A. D. 1006,] made thirty-two canons for the reformation of the morals of the clergy. They were ordered to dismiss their wives, and they who kept their continence were promised to be treated as the nobles. Unfortunately the marriage of priests was considered in the same light as concubinage.†

Simony was another great complaint of this period, and so common that few persons thought it to be any sin. As ordination by a simoniac was deemed to be invalid, much difficulty was necessarily occasioned by the commonness of this vice, and the councils were obliged to remit of the strictness of discipline in this respect. At a council in Rome, in A. D. 1047,‡ it was agreed that a person who knew that he had been ordained by a simoniac should continue his functions after forty days' penance; and at another council in the same city, in A. D. 1059, they were allowed to continue their functions, as an indulgence on account of the state of the times, but that for the future if any one was ordained by one whom he knew to be a simoniac, they should both be deposed.

When church livings were bought, the clergy would naturally endeavour to make the most of them, and get all the money they could in other ways; and as the interest of the more eminent of the clergy, in councils, was considerable,

* One, at Rome "pour obliger les ecclésiastiques à vivre selon la saintété de leur caractère." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. cxlvii.

† "Le second canon enjoint le célibat aux prêtres." *Rapin*, I. p. 467.

‡ "Pour bannir la simonie, alors très-commune parmi le clergé." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. cxlv. "En ce siècle la simonie faisoit bien du ravage dans l'église." *Maimburg*, p. 211.

this also was an article which had its price. Damiani * says, that he knew one of his brethren who rejoiced at the approach of a council, as of a harvest or vintage, and had emissaries to draw to him money from all quarters, on such occasions.

Ratherius, bishop of Verona, in A. D. 974, complains that the priests and deacons divided among them all the revenues of the church, while the subdeacons, acolyths, and the rest of the inferior clergy, had not enough to live on. By this means, says *Fleury*, the functions of the inferior clergy came to be discontinued.

I shall conclude this general account of the simony with which the clergy of this period are charged, with a particular account of an instance of it, as this will give us a clearer idea of the spirit and manners of these wretched times.

At the council of Thoulouse, in A. D. 1059, the viscount of Narbonne complained that Geoffrey had been made bishop of that city at the age of ten years, for a hundred thousand *sous*; promising to be a friend to his family, of which it was purchased, and that the see should not be a sufferer; but that when he became of age, instead of being in friendship with him, he had made a cruel war upon him, in which almost a thousand persons had been killed on both sides; that he had seized the castles and lands of the church, and given them to his friends; that he had seized the bishopric of Urgel, and given it to his brother for a hundred thousand *sous*; that to raise this sum, the latter had sold the treasure of his church, and the valuable utensils belonging to it; and to secure himself, had put himself under the protection of the countess of Urgel. He further accused him of violating the truce of God after having sworn to observe it; that though he had proposed to refer their differences to the Pope, he had paid no regard to the proposal, but had excommunicated himself and his wife and children, and laid all his estates under an interdict. "If," says he, "it was not for the fear of God, I would make no account of the excommunication of a man loaded with so many crimes, and anathematized by pope Victor" (supposed to have been at the council of Florence in the year before). "We know," he added, "that he has sold all the holy orders that he has conferred. He refused to consecrate the churches in my estates unless he received the

* Cardinal and bishop of Ostia. "Il consacra tous ses soins à faire revivre la discipline. Il mourut saintement comme il avoit vécu à Faenza. 1073, à 66, ans. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 1051, article *Pierre Damien*.

salaries of them. Wherefore, I make my complaint to God and you, and demand justice. If I do not obtain it, I shall pay no regard to his excommunication, and shall not keep the truce in my estates." He then renewed his proposal to go to Rome, saying, the bishop would not go except in bonds. What was done in consequence of this, does not appear.

The history of Peter, bishop of Florence, A. D. 1063, is still more extraordinary. He was made bishop by his father, who was a nobleman of Pavia, purchasing that dignity for him. In consequence of this, the monks, with John Gualbert, founder of the celebrated monastery of Valambrosa, near Florence, at their head, supported by one Theuson, a *recluse*, refused to communicate with him, considering him as a simoniac, and consequently a heretic.* However, Damiani, though a great reformer, opposed them in this, because he had not been judicially condemned. The monks, not at all conciliated by the advice of Damiani,† continued their opposition; and by the advice of Theuson, Gualbert made proclamation in the public square of the city, that the bishop was a simoniac, and by this means excited the people in general against him.

The bishop, seeing a great part of the clergy and the body of the people animated against him, sent a number of armed men in the night to destroy the monastery of St. Salvi, which was near the city, and under the conduct of Gualbert. Him they did not find, but they fell sword in hand on the monks they found there, wounding some of them very dangerously, and stripping the rest. They then overturned the altar, plundered every thing they met with, and set fire to the lodges. The people, inflamed with this violent proceeding, took the part of the monks, and with Gualbert brought an accusation against the bishop at a council held at Rome, A. D. 1063, under Alexander II., attended by more than a hundred bishops, offering to prove the charge of simony by the ordeal of fire.‡ But the majority of the bishops favouring their brother, the Pope would not depose him, or even

* Incompetent to any spiritual functions. "Toutes les bénédictions qu'il donnoit, et tous les sacremens qu'il conféroit, étoient autant de malédictions, et de sacrilèges." *Maimburg*, p. 183.

† His language on this occasion was by no means conciliatory. He is said on addressing the Pope, to have compared the monks to locusts, which should be drowned in the Red Sea. "Pater sancte, isti sunt locustæ quæ depascuntur viriditatem ecclesiæ. Veniat Auster, et perferat eas in Mare Rubrum." *Ibid.* p. 186.

‡ "Ils étoient toutes prêts d'entrer dans un grand feu; et que s'ils n'en sortoient sans se bruler, ils vouloient qu'on les tint pour des imposteurs." *Ibid.* p. 185.

allow of the trial by fire, though Hildebrand, then arch-deacon, and afterwards pope Gregory VII. took the part of the monks.*

The bishop being acquitted at Rome, persecuted the monks with great violence, and also those of the clergy who refused to communicate with him; so that the archpriest, and many others, took refuge in the monastery of Septima, where Gualbert received them. But the party of the bishop was supported by Godfrey, duke of Tuscany, who threatened his opposers with death.

The Pope hoping to allay this disturbance, went himself to Florence, but returned without any success. He found the monks clamorous for the trial by fire, and saw the wood they had prepared for the purpose; but he would not see the experiment. After this, the clergy and the people in general, persisting in their purpose, assembled, and complained violently of the bishop, urging him to see the proof of his guilt by the fire. But, like the Pope, he would not consent to this, and imprisoned or banished those who would not submit to him.

This measure increased the ferment, and preparation having been made for their favourite mode of trial by fire at the monastery of Septima, by making two piles of wood, ten feet long, five feet broad, and four feet high, separated by a space of six feet, which was also covered with hot embers; on the day fixed for it, a vast crowd of people, with many women and children, not less than three thousand, went to the place, which was seven miles from the city. All things being ready, after much solemn religious ceremony, and the recital of a prayer suited to the occasion, † a monk of the name of Peter dressed in a clerical habit, which was loose and flowing, and holding a crucifix in his hand, ‡ very deliberately walked through a quantity of hot embers, up, it was said, to his ancles, without receiving the least hurt. Neither his garments, which were of linen, nor the hairs of his legs, were so much as singed. §

* "Qu'il défendit contre l'avis de tous les autres; non commandant avec cet air d'autorité qui lui étoit si naturel." *Maimburg*, p. 186.

† "Une collectefaitte exprès, pour demander à Dieu qu'il lui plut le conserver au milieu des flâmes, comme il avoit préservé du feu les trois jeunes hommes dans la fournaise de Babylone, s'il étoit vrai, que *Pierre de Pavia* eut obtenu, à prix d'argent, son évêché." *Ibid.* p. 189.

‡ "Tenant d'une main la sacrée croix, et de l'autre son mouchoir pour essayer la sueur, qui assurément ne lui pouvoit manquer, en une occasion où il faisoit extrêmement chaud." *Ibid.* pp. 188, 189. The learned Jesuit is here scarcely grave enough for a good Catholic.

§ "Nam flammæ undique concurrentes, et circumquaque exurgentes, *Albam* quasi *byssinam* intrabant, et intrando inflabant, sed naturæ suæ immemores. *Mani-*

An account of this transaction was immediately sent to the Pope, by the clergy and people, desiring him to deliver them from their bishop, thus clearly proved to be a simoniac, and he thought proper to depose him. He not only submitted to the sentence, but became a monk in the monastery of Septima. The monk Peter, who went through the fire, was of the family of the *Aldebrandini*, and was made abbot of Ficicle. He was afterwards made a cardinal, and bishop of Albania, and always went by the name of *Peter Igneus*.* By what means he went through the fire without receiving any hurt, it is impossible at this distance of time to discover. It is evident that the whole was under the management of the monks, and they made it answer their purpose. Some farther observations on this supposed miracle will be found in the miscellaneous Section of this period.

In both the instances we see with what readiness the clergy had recourse to arms; but the most violent thing of this kind that occurs in the course of this period, was, a fray that happened in the cathedral of Goslar, in A. D. 1063, then the residence of the court; Henry IV. then very young, being present. The two parties were those of Hecilon, bishop of Hildesheim, and Viclerad, abbot of Fulda, and the occasion of it was nothing more than a dispute about placing the seats, at vespers. Slight, however, as was the original cause, these great prelates interesting themselves in it, provided men with arms, determined each of them to carry their respective points; and not only did they fight in the church, but many were killed on the altar itself; the bishop from an elevated situation encouraging his men to fight without regard to the place, or the presence of the young king, who was with great difficulty got out. The bishop's men had the advantage, and drove the others out of the church. The

pulum, denique et stolam, eorumque fimbrias, more ventorum sustollendo, huc, illucque, variè ferebant: sed calore perduto. Inter capillos, nempe, flammæ circumurgentes, intrabant, eosque flando levabant et relevabant." (Epist. Flor. ad Alex.) *Maimburg*, p. 190.

According to *Maimburg*, or rather according to the letter from Florence to pope Alexander, this *Peter Igneus*, when he had nearly completed his perilous journey, went back to recover his handkerchief, which he found in the midst of the flames, perfectly white and entire. He then returned, and leisurely fulfilled his engagement. So outrageous was the confidence of *Peter Igneus*, that he could be prevented from immediately repeating his experiment only by the pressure of the populace, who sought to kiss his hand, or at least to touch some part of his garments, and had nearly stifled him, by their fond importunity, before he could take refuge in his monastery. See *Maimburg*, pp. 190, 191.

* "On les tira, pour le faire abbé, d'entre les vaches et les ânes du convent, qu'il avoit gardez par humilité. Et quand le cardinal Hildebrand fut pape, il ne manqua pas de le faire cardinal et évêque d'Albano, pour se servir avantageusement d'un homme qui passoit par-tout pour miraculeux." *Ibid.* pp. 193, 194.

citizens, however, took the part of the abbot, and were prepared to attack the bishop's men when they came out, but night put an end to the combat, and favoured their escape. The abbot was most blamed, as he came attended with so many armed men, and it is thought that he would have been deprived of his abbey, but that he saved himself by money.

We shall the less wonder at the bishops and abbots of this period having recourse to arms, when it is considered that their great estates enabled them to live in the style of princes, and to make use either of the spiritual or the temporal sword as they saw occasion. Adalberon II. bishop of Metz, about A. D. 995, prosecuted with vigour those who plundered the possessions of the church, or of the poor; and when they despised his ecclesiastical censures, he employed, as the historian says, the arm of flesh, ravaging the lands, and demolishing the castles of his opposers.*

Robert, archbishop of Rheims, lived altogether like a prince, occupied with his temporal affairs and his pleasures. He even married a wife, with whom he lived in public, and had three children. He is much praised for his liberality, especially with respect to churches. He rebuilt his own cathedral from the foundation. He was archbishop forty-eight years, and died A. D. 1037. Towards the close of his life, he did penance for his uncanonical mode of living.

Otho the Great was particularly distinguished for his liberality to the church, influenced, it is said, by the superstition of his wife Adelais.† But it was not till the reign of Otho III. that the principal bishops of Germany made great advances in their style and mode of living, in which they imitated, and equalled, the great lay lords. Like them, they had professed cooks, magnificent hotels, and buffoons, and obtained of the emperor leave to hunt all kinds of wild beasts.‡

When bishops resembled secular princes so much in their manner of life, it is not extraordinary that many of them should have been illiterate. The canons of the church of

* The empire being full of disorder in the reign of Henry IV., Annon, archbishop of Cologne, was desired by the king and the nobles to take upon him the government of the state, and he soon put a stop to the violences. (P.)

† *Mosheim*, II. pp. 188, 189. (P.) Cent. x. Pt. i. Ch. i. Sect. ix. Adelais, the widow of Lothaire, king of Italy, had been besieged in Pavia, in 950, by Berenger, because she refused to marry his son. She was taken prisoner, but escaped, by the contrivance of her chaplain, after wandering miserably in the woods. Taking refuge in a castle belonging to her uncle, she implored the succour of Otho, who defeated her enemies, acquired the possession of Lombardy, and married the queen. See *Maimburg*, pp. 31, 32, 35.

‡ *Sueur*. (P.) See *supra*, pp. 72, 230.

Bamberg having been expelled by the bishop, who put monks in their place, and was excommunicated for that and other offences by the Pope in A. D. 1075, one of the canons produced a verse in one of the psalms; and said that if he could explain it, not in any mystical or allegorical sense, but word for word, he would acknowledge him to be innocent, and worthy of the bishopric; but it did not appear that he could do it. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1058, who on this promotion did not quit the bishopric of Winchester, and several abbeys which he held, was illiterate; as it is said almost all the bishops of England at that time were. He thought of nothing but satisfying his ambition and avarice, trafficking in the most public manner for bishoprics and abbeys. He was archbishop of Canterbury seventeen years.*

Pluralities were very common in this period. The famous Dunstan was bishop of Worcester and London at the same time.† As an excuse for it, it was alleged that St. John was bishop of Ephesus, and of seven other churches.

We are not, however, to conclude that all the bishops of this period were equally licentious and illiterate. There were many great exceptions of bishops, equally eminent for virtue and literature, especially in Germany, in the reign of Henry II., who promoted many excellent men, as *Meingaud* and *Poppon* of Treves, *Herebert* and *Pelegrim* of Cologne, *Villegise*, *Archambauld* and *Aribon* of Mayence, *Burchard*‡ of Worms, *Ansfred* and *Athalbold* of Utrecht, and many others enumerated by *Fleury*.

The civil and ecclesiastical power in those times contributed in their turns to advance each other. At a council held in Rome, in A. D. 964, pope Leo VIII., with all the clergy and the people of Rome, granted to the emperor Otho and his successors, the power of choosing a successor for the kingdom of Italy, to confirm the Pope,§ and to give investitures to bishops; so that no patrician, pope or bishop, could

* Falling under the displeasure of *William*, for his opposition to him at the head of the *Kentish-men*, he was deposed and imprisoned at Winchester, where he died in 1069. To make him discover his riches, he was in vain kept on short allowance. "When he was dead, there was a little key found about his neck, which, opening his desk, discovered his treasures; which the king having found, by a great deal of pains, carried to his treasury." *Mag. Brit.* II. p. 1205. See also *Rapin*, L. vi. II. p. 164.

† He appears to have been only administrator of the bishopric of London, during a vacancy of the see. This was, no doubt, a lucrative appointment. See *Rapin*, L. iv. I. p. 356.

‡ Preceptor to *Conrad Salique*. His Canons, in twenty books, have been published, and are said to contain false decretals. See *Now. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 535.

§ Thus on the death of Leo VIII. in 965, "Les Romaines envoyèrent des ambassadeurs à l'Empereur, pour apprendre sa volonté touchant l'élection d'un nouveau pape." *Maimburg*, p. 60.

be chosen without his consent, under pain of excommunication, perpetual exile, or death. On the other hand, the temporal princes, especially those of Germany, set no bounds to their liberality to the church: hence the great principalities they are still possessed of in that country. In A. D. 999, Otho III. gave the city of Verceil, in Italy, to every future bishop of that city; which, Fleury says, is the first instance of civil power given so expressly to a church.

The power of giving, implies that of withholding, and of taking away and controuling; and this both the civil and ecclesiastical powers availed themselves of, as circumstances favoured them. A happy use was made of the ecclesiastical power, in the case of the emperor Henry II. Having declared his resolution to be a monk, to Richard, abbot of St. Vanes of Verdun, and taken the oath of obedience, the abbot said, "I command you to return, and take upon you the government of the empire that God has put into your hands, and that by your firmness in doing justice you procure, as far as shall be in your power, the good of the state."

But the power of the clergy was shamefully abused in the business of excommunication, and their making themselves the judges of the laws of marriage. Of this, we have two remarkable instances in the history of the kings of France within this period, Robert and Philip. The former of those princes refusing to divorce his wife, whom he had been ordered to dismiss* by pope Gregory, in a council held at Rome in A. D. 998, was excommunicated by him; and the consequence was, that no person would have any intercourse with him, except two domestics, who however, threw into the fire all the vessels in which he ate or drank. This, at least, is related by Damiani, who wrote sixty years after.† In A. D. 1001, the king found it necessary to dismiss his queen.

In the case of Robert, the excommunication was laid on by the Pope, but in that of Philip, the bishops of the country took upon themselves to controul the king. This prince having put away his wife Bertha, and married Bertrade, who had been married four years to the count of Anjou, Ivo, bishop of Chartres, remonstrated with him on the subject, but the king persisted and concluded the marriage; and to express his resentment against the bishop he made war upon

* Because she was his cousin. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 185.

† He adds the following marvellous tale: "La reine accoucha d'un monstre, qui avoit la tête et la cou d'un canard." *Ibid.* p. 186, article, Robert le Sage.

him, plundering his lands and seizing his person. On this, pope Urban wrote to the archbishop of Rheims and his suffragans, reproving them for suffering such a crime, insisting on their going to the king and remonstrating with him, and their threatening him with the spiritual sword if he did not repent. The king still persisting, at a council held at Autun, in A. D. 1094, the clergy excommunicated him, though his former wife Bertha being then dead, he had hoped that the second marriage would have been allowed.

Philip, being thus excommunicated by the council, * sent deputies to the Pope, assuring him that he had no criminal commerce with Bertrade, and threatening that, if he did not take off the excommunication, and restore to him his crown, he would withdraw from his obedience, and go over to Guibert the antipope. On this the Pope, though apprized that what the king said was not true, thought proper to give him a respite till All Saints, in A. D. 1095, taking off the excommunication, and permitting him to wear his crown as before; for it was then the custom on great festivals for the king to appear in his royal apparel, and to have the crown put on his head by a bishop. The king not being reclaimed by this indulgence, was excommunicated at the Council of Poitiers, A. D. 1100, but without any prejudice to his royal dignity. This brought the king to submit to the church; and having made satisfaction, and promised to dismiss his wife, he was absolved from his excommunication at the Council of Nismes, in the year following. †

Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, proceeded in a more violent manner with king Edwy. He not only took from him his favourite concubine, ‡ but abused her in a shocking manner, and sent her to Ireland. On her return he caught her again, and even put her to death in a miserable manner.

The clergy derived great advantage from their arbitrary constructions of the degrees of affinity within which it was lawful to contract marriage. In A. D. 1065, pope Alexander

* "Craignant que les anathèmes du Pontife Romain n'excitassent ses sujets à lever l'étendard de la rebellion." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 989.

† "Il obtint, à la fin, la levée des foudres du Vatican." *Ibid.* p. 990.

‡ Elgiva was probably the wife of Edwy, and also his cousin. Mr. Hume, who has given a very affecting account of Odo's cruelties, says truly, that "if Edwy had only kept a mistress, there are methods of accommodation with the church, which would have prevented the clergy from proceeding to such extremities against him; but his marriage, contrary to the canons, was an insult on their authority, and called for their highest resentment." *History*, An. 955. Rapin had said before, "quand même Edwy auroit eu une ou plusieurs maitresses, on peut comme assurer qu'on n'en auroit pas fait grand bruit, s'il avoit été partisan des moines." *Histoire*, L. iv. l. p. 351.

II. held a Council at Rome to settle this business, in consequence of a dispute on the subject, in which Damiani had taken a considerable part; and it was settled, that the canon law for regulating marriage was essentially different from the civil law, which regulated the succession to estates. For, whereas two brothers according to the civil law are in the first degree of relationship, according to the canon law they are in the second; and cousins-german, who are in the second according to the civil law, are in the fourth according to the canon law; the one beginning with the common ancestor, and the other ascending to him, and then descending again.

The degrees of relationship, as was observed before, were extended beyond the bounds of nature, by godfathers and godmothers at baptism being considered as real relations, and by this means the limits in contracting marriage, were much abridged; and this was no less so in the East, than in the West. The emperor Nicephorus Phocas being said to have been godfather to a child of Theophania, whom he had married for his second wife, the marriage was thought to be unlawful on account of this spiritual relationship, and the patriarch Polyuctes would not receive him into communion.

The great contest between the civil and ecclesiastical powers which arose in this period, was about the right of *investiture*, or the disposal of bishoprics, and other church preferments. When the clergy became possessed of estates in land, given them by princes and great lords, it was natural that they should swear fealty to them, and even perform the same duties that were exacted of other holders of land, such as serving in the wars, or furnishing a number of men for the purpose. By degrees, these services were remitted to churchmen as unsuitable to their character; but still, as the lands were a gift, and the heirs of the grantor had an interest in the possession of the land, the new occupant, as in civil cases, was not admitted without his consent. This was evidently the case with respect to the Pope himself. But at this time both the popes and other bishops of great power, feeling their importance, began to be impatient of their dependence on the temporal princes; and as church preferments had been generally given for money, by needy princes and lords, which was called simony, and universally condemned, though universally practised, it was now thought to be wrong to suffer their interference in this business in any respect; on the principle that laymen, having no spiritual character, could not convey spiritual things; as if the appointment of a bishop had been the same thing with

the giving of holy orders. The universal custom, though now objected to, was against this maxim. In Germany in particular, where the dispute arose, when any bishop died, the prince had been regularly informed of it, and the clergy and people always waited for his consent before they proceeded to the election of another; and he confirmed their election by the delivery of a ring and pastoral staff, as badges of their office, and then the new bishop took the oath of allegiance to the prince, before he took possession of the bishopric.

As a custom universally established could not easily be broken, artful methods were at first used to evade it. After the death of Alexander II., who, while he was pope retained the bishopric of Lucca, Anselm, whom Alexander himself had recommended, was chosen in his place, and had been sent before-hand to the emperor Henry IV. to obtain the *investiture*, which shews that then he did not condemn the practice. But Anselm, who thought that the secular power ought not to give ecclesiastical dignities, managed in such a manner as to return, and take possession of the bishopric, without the ceremony of receiving *investiture*, and in A. D. 1073, he went to Rome to be ordained. The emperor, however, sent to the Pope to require that he would not ordain either him, or Hugh, bishop of Die, because they had not received *investiture*. With respect to Anselm, the Pope complied, but not with respect to Hugh, who had been chosen suddenly by the clergy and people, in the place of one who was a simoniac, himself being then a layman, the Pope's legate being then at the place and approving of the choice. As he was then on a pilgrimage to Rome, he received his holy orders there.

Anselm was afterwards seized with a scruple, and went to Clugni, in order to become a member of that community; but being commanded by the Pope, he left the monastery, and having given the ring and the pastoral staff which he received from the emperor into the hands of the Pope, the latter restored to him his functions, allowing him to retain the monastic habit.

After this, in the progress of the differences between Gregory and Henry, the clergy took more courage, and openly asserted their independence of the civil power. At a council at Poitiers, in A. D. 1078, the bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, were forbidden to receive *investiture* from kings or other laymen. Victor III. in a council at Beneventum, decreed that, if any person received a bishopric or abbey from any layman, he should be considered as no bishop

or abbot: But Urban II. at the council in Rome, in A. D. 1099, proceeded farther than this; for then an excommunication was pronounced against all laymen who should grant *investitures* of churches, and also against all the clergy who should receive them at their hands, or consecrate those who received them, and against all those who should do homage to laymen for any ecclesiastical dignity. "For," said the Pope, "one cannot see without horror, hands raised to the supreme honour of creating the creator, and offering him to his father for the salvation of the world, reduced to this infamy of submitting to hands continually stained with the touch of infamous things, rapine and the effusion of blood." All the assembly cried, *Be it so.*

Notwithstanding the great power of the clergy in this period, there were still loud and just complaints of the seizing of their temporalities, by lawless violence. This appears by the council of Leon in Spain, in A. D. 1012, to have been as much the case in that country as in Germany, France and Italy, of which Ditmar makes so much complaint. Abbon,* the abbot of Fleury, complained that, even the advocates of the church, or those who held *fiefs* of it, in order to defend it, were themselves the greatest plunderers of it. "Whence," he says, "we see so many churches destroyed, and so many monasteries in ruins; because men present themselves as the protectors of them, and on that pretence seize the greatest part of the revenues." At the accession of pope Gregory VI. the temporalities of the see were so much diminished, that, excepting a few cities near Rome, and the oblations of the faithful, little remained for his subsistence; all the distant patrimony being occupied by usurpers. Rome itself was full of assassins and plunderers. They fought even at the altars, and on the tombs of the apostles, to carry off the oblations, and use them in feasts with their prostitutes. At Rome, there was a singular kind of abuse, to which Gregory VII. put a stop. There were sixty persons called *Mansionaries*, habited like priests, at the church of St. Peter, who made the pilgrims believe that they were priests, received their offerings, and gave them absolution; and at night, on the

* He was slain in 1004, in a quarrel between the *French* and *Gascons*. This ecclesiastic was highly accomplished, at least, according to the report of one of his countrymen: "Abbon, *de Fleury*, né dans le territoire d'Orléans, se livra, avec une égale ardeur à tous les arts, et à toutes les sciences, *grammaire, arithmétique, poésie, rhétorique, musique, dialectique, géométrie, astronomie, théologie*, dans les écoles de Paris et de Rheims." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* l. p. 8.

pretence of guarding the church, they went out, and committed all kinds of crimes.

We find a complaint similar to this, in the East. It had been the custom in the beginning of the eleventh century, to give a decayed monastery to a rich and powerful person, for the purpose of restoring it, that they might be its benefactors and protectors. But this was grown into such abuse, that they were considered as their absolute property, so that they received and enjoyed the revenues of them. By this means women sometimes became possessed of the monasteries of men, and men of those of women; and as many secular persons were received into the monasteries as monks, so that the discipline was wholly relaxed. This abuse was rectified by the constitution of Alexis in A. D. 1027.

One principal cause of the great disorders and violences of these times, by which the clergy, as the most defenceless part of the community, suffered the most, was, the independence of the *feudal* lords, and the weakness of the kings. For near two hundred years from the reign of Louis le *Debonnaire*, the sovereign authority was little respected in France, Germany or Italy. Every lord thought he had a right to do himself justice by force of arms; and as causes of complaint were infinitely multiplied, there was nothing but violence, and it was not considered as any crime. They who were the most exposed were the merchants, artisans and labourers, and the rest of the common people, but especially the monks and the clergy, who were forbidden the use of arms.

Great evils, however, require, and always find, some remedy; because it comes to be the general interest that some should be applied, and in this case we find recourse had to various expedients. At a council of Poitiers, in A. D. 1004, the lords promised, and gave hostages to observe one of its orders, which was, that whoever injured a church, plundered the poor, or struck a disarmed clergyman, should be anathematized; and that for all usurpations that had been made in the preceding five years, or should be made for the future, they should demand justice of the prince, or particular lord, who should cause justice to be done; that if he was unable to procure justice, he should assemble the lords and bishops who assisted at that council, and they should march against him as against a rebel, and lay waste his estates, till he submitted to reason.

At the Council of Limoges, in A. D. 1031, Odalric, abbot of St. Martial, in order to procure peace among the lords,

who were continually at war with one another, proposed to lay the whole country under an interdict, till the lords should consent to it. To alarm them the more, the bishop of Castres said that a certain knight who had been excommunicated, and refused to be absolved, had been buried by his relations without any funeral rites, in the church, but that the next morning the body was found thrown out of the grave; that the same thing took place repeatedly, after five attempts to bury him, and that at length they buried him out of the church-yard. This story answered the purpose in that superstitious age. The lords were terrified, and swore peace among themselves.

In the time of king Robert, they began to apply more effectual remedies to this great evil. At a council held at Elne, in Roussillon, in A. D. 1027, it was ordered that no person should attack his enemy from three o'clock in the afternoon on Saturday, till day-break on Monday; that no person should attack a monk or clergyman travelling without arms, or any person going to church, or returning from it, or travelling in company with women; and that no person should attack a church, or a house within thirty paces of it, under pain of excommunication.

After a dreadful famine of three years' continuance, about A. D. 1030, several councils were held, in which these abuses were reformed. The principal object was to procure peace, so that all persons might travel without arms, whatever differences they might have; that churches should be sanctuaries for all crimes, but that of breaking this peace.

At length, in A. D. 1041, the lords not being able to make a settled peace, agreed to a truce, called the *Truce of God*, which was, that from Wednesday evening to Monday morning, no person should take any thing by force. It came to be called the truce of God, because it was thought that several persons who had violated it were punished in a miraculous manner.

This truce of God was confirmed and extended to other seasons, at the Council of Narbonne, in A. D. 1054, under the penalty of anathema and perpetual banishment. At the same time, it was forbidden to cut down olive trees, because they furnished matter for the chrism and the lighting of churches. Also, shepherds and their flocks were not to be molested, churches and their revenues were to be held sacred, all clergymen and monks without arms, and merchants and pilgrims. The truce of God was decreed in Normandy, under William the Conqueror, in A. D. 1080, and farther

confirmed at a council in Rouen, in A. D. 1096, when all persons above the age of twelve years were obliged to swear to it.

Thus, by the efforts of the bishops, the public tranquillity was in some measure restored. Before this, bishops and even popes were obliged to have recourse to arms. Gregory VI. finding excommunications useless, applied this remedy, and by this means made travelling, in some measure, safe. But the Romans having been long accustomed to plunder, said the Pope was a blood-thirsty man, unworthy of offering sacrifices to God. The cardinals themselves used the same language.

When those times of violence began to abate, there was a great emulation in France in rebuilding churches and monasteries. At this time the cathedral of St. Martin at Tours, was built in a magnificent manner, by Hervé, the treasurer,

SECTION IV.

Of the Monks in this Period.

Two very considerable new orders of monks had their rise in this period; the Carthusians and the Cistercians, though both of them on the general principles of the Benedictines.

Bruno, the founder of the former of these orders, was a canon of the church of Rheims, and a difference which he had with Manasses, the archbishop, whose irregularities gave him great offence, was the cause of his retreat. Discoursing with Roul le Vert, the provost of that church, and another person of the name of Fulcius, of the vanity of the riches and pleasures of this world, and of the joys of eternity, they all made a vow to quit the world as soon as possible, and take the monastic habit; but the execution being deferred till the return of Fulcius from a journey which he made to Rome, where he stayed a long time, the zeal of Roul grew cool, and he continued at Rheims, of which he was afterwards archbishop, but Bruno kept firm to his purpose.

Without waiting for the return of Fulcius, he went to consult Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, who had quitted his bishopric, and retired to the monastery of *Chaise Dieu*, where he passed a year, but by order of the Pope had resumed the duties of his office. It was three years after this that Bruno, with six companions, visited him. He received

them with great kindness, approved of their resolution, and advised them to fix themselves at *Carthusium*,* a solitary place, surrounded with frightful mountains of difficult access, near Grenoble.†

In this place they made an establishment, in A. D. 1084, and by their charter, the bishop forbade any women to pass through the lands belonging to the brothers; nor was any person allowed to fish, to hunt, or lead any cattle to pasture there. They had a church, and each brother had a small cell round the inclosure of the monastery, where they worked, ate, and slept. On Sundays, they received from the steward their provision for the week, which consisted of bread and pulse, which each of them cooked for himself, drinking only water. They received neither silver nor gold, nor any ornaments for their church. They heard mass at certain hours, they seldom ever spake, they wore hair cloth next their skin, and their clothing was very mean. They lived under the direction of a prior, the bishop of Grenoble serving for an abbot. This is the account that Guibert‡ gives of their manners when these monks were only thirteen in number, though more than twenty laymen lived under their conduct at the foot of their mountain. Rigorous as this institution was, it was adopted in all parts of Europe, and the rules of it were reduced to a more regular system. What they are still chiefly distinguished by, is their silence, and not eating at a common table.

According to the institute of the Carthusians,§ published by the prior Guigues, about forty-five years after the foundation, the prior was to be a priest, who had a steward for the management of temporal affairs, and also for the conduct of the lay-brothers; who, being illiterate, needed instruction. All the proper monks had parchment provided for them, as the transcribing of books was their common occupation.

With respect to strangers, they received persons, but not their horses, as they could not afford the expense of it; they

* "Hugues avoit cru voir sept étoiles brillantes sur le désert de Chartreuse." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 519.

† "Des rochers presque inaccessibles et entourés des précipices affreux, furent le berceau de l'Ordre des Chartreux, qui delà se répandit dans toute l'Europe." *Ibid.*

‡ Abbot of *Nogent-sous-Coucy*, where he died in 1124. Among his works published in 1651, is a much-valued history of the first crusade, under the title of *Gesta Dei per Francos*. This abbot wrote against the authenticity of a tooth of Christ, kept at *St. Medard de Soissons*, and wisely contended, that every pretended relic of our Lord's body was opposed to the doctrine of his resurrection. See *Des Reliques des Saints*, in *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 198.

§ "Statuta Ordinis Cartusiensis, Basil, 1510, ouvrage rare et curieux; the copies having been destroyed by the monks." *Ibid.* p. 202.

gave alms to the poor, but did not lodge them, lest it should interrupt their solitude, and they never sent any person to beg. Novices were not received to *profession* under twenty years of age. They never went out of their cells except to church. If they had occasion to speak, it was in few words, and not by signs, as at Clugni.

From the middle of September to Easter, they ate only once a day; the rest of the year, twice on Sundays, Thursdays and Saturdays. They drank no pure wine, and ate no white bread. They had fish only for the sick, and seldom had recourse to medicine; but they were let blood five times in the year. They were shaved only six times. They had neither gold nor silver in their churches, except a chalice for the eucharist. They had no possessions beyond the bounds of their desert. They buried only their brethren, and had no anniversary festival. They did not approve of the custom of saying masses for other persons, which made prayers venal, or having magnificent feasts, lest it should hurt their abstinence. Their lay-brothers were not obliged to such rigorous abstinence, or silence. The number of monks was fixed at thirteen, and that of the lay-brothers at sixteen.

After Bruno had governed at Carthusium six years, he was sent for to Rome by pope Urban, who had been his disciple at Rheims, to assist him with his advice, leaving his charge of the monastery to Seguin, the abbot of *Chaise Dieu*, to whom the place originally belonged. His monks followed him to Italy, but he persuaded them to return, and gave them Landuin for a prior, and he governed them ten years. Bruno himself, unable to bear the tumult of Rome, retired with Landuin, and some others, to the diocese of Squillace, in Calabria, where count Roger gave them a forest of a league in extent. There he lived eleven years, and there he died. [A. D. 1101.]

The founder of the Cistercians was Robert, abbot of Molesme. He and several of his monks, reflecting that the rules of Benedict, to which they had sworn, were by no means conformed to in that monastery, and not being able to prevail upon the rest to submit to them, with the leave of pope Urban they left the place, and fixed themselves at *Cistercium*, (in French, *Cîteaux*;) five miles from Dijon, in the diocese of Chalons. It was then a desert place, covered with wood and briars, which they began to clear, and where they lodged themselves in wooden cells, with the consent of Gautier, the bishop of the diocese, and Renaud, viscount

of Beaune, to whom the land belonged. Here they established themselves the first of March, A. D. 1098.

The archbishop of Lyons, seeing their extreme poverty, wrote to Eudes, duke of Burgundy, to recommend them to him; and he, at his own expense, finished the wooden buildings they had begun, and for a long time supplied them with all necessities; and the bishop of Chalons gave Robert the pastoral staff in quality of abbot. By application to the Pope, Robert was afterwards induced to return to the monastery of Molesme; but they who remained at Citeaux chose another abbot, Alberic, who had been prior of Molesme, and was then prior of Citeaux.

There were three other great reformers of monastic discipline in France within this period, Richard, abbot of Verdun, in the beginning of the eleventh century, Odilon, abbot of Clugni,* and William of Dijon.

Considering the varieties there are in men's dispositions and situations, we cannot wonder at the variety of forms in which men devoted themselves to what they considered as *religion*, in opposition to the licentious manners of those times. I shall mention two which took place in this period.

In A. D. 1091, many laymen in Germany renounced the world, giving themselves and their property to the service of particular communities, regular clergy, or monks, to live under their conduct. This being blamed by many, pope Urban wrote in approbation of it, as an image of the primitive church. There were also many young women who, renouncing marriage, put themselves under the conduct of some priest, or of a married woman, living in obedience and great piety. Whole villages adopted this mode of devotion, and endeavoured to surpass one another in sanctity.

In the eleventh century we find the institution of *lay-brothers*. These were illiterate persons, who therefore could not be clergy, and devoted themselves wholly to labour. The first monastery that had these lay-brothers was that of Valambrose. After this was that of Hersuage, and the abbot William is said to be the first institutor of this class of *religious*. The Carthusians also had them, and called them *bearded brothers*. They made solemn vows, and were real monks. For some time before this, reading had been almost confined to the clergy, and almost all the monks were become so, whereas originally they were all laymen.

* Who died in 1049, aged 87. "Auprès avoir répandue son Ordre en Italie, en Espagne, et en Angleterre." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 764.

There were also in all monasteries a second class of persons called *donati*, or *oblati*, who, without making the profession, or wearing a habit different from that of other persons, gave themselves and their property to the monasteries, obeying the superior, and living in celibacy, in which respect they differed from *serfs*, who were married. For, there were also *serfs of devotion*, or freemen who devoted themselves to the service of particular monasteries; and, as a mark of it, put the cord of the church bell about their necks, laid their head upon the altar, or put pieces of money on their heads.

In this period too, the order of *canons regular* was made more perfect, all private property being excluded; so that they were nearly in the same situation with monks. This regulation was made at a council held in Rome, in A. D. 1063, under Alexander II.

Every thing that was thought to look like religion being in this age confined to monasteries, there was a great resort to them on a variety of occasions. Pope Alexander II. having promised an indulgence for sins that were confessed, to those who should assist at the dedication of the monastery of Mount Cassin, when it was repaired in A. D. 1071, it drew together a prodigious number of persons. Not only the monastery itself, and the town, but the neighbouring fields were filled. Such, however, were the revenues of the place, and the liberality of the abbot, that they were all supplied by him with bread and wine and fish, three days before the dedication, and as many after it. This solemn dedication so much increased the reputation of the monastery, and of the abbot Desiderius, that all princes sent presents to it, and in two years the monks increased to the number of nearly two hundred.

Monasteries were far, however, from being free from abuse in this age. Ulric, in his account of the customs of Clugni, written in A. D. 1091, says, that one chief cause of it was, parents who had many children, relieving themselves of those who were lame, maimed, or who had any other bodily defect, by putting them into monasteries. Houses filled with those invalids, he says, could not observe any regularity; and that the observance of the rules was exact only in those monasteries in which the greater number of monks consisted of persons who entered them at mature age, and of their own free choice.

In this period, as well as in the former, we find examples of persons in the higher ranks devoting themselves to the monastic life. Cunegonde, the wife of the emperor Henry II.,

took the vows in a peculiarly solemn manner after the death of her husband, in a monastery near Hesse-Cassel, living under the orders of her superior, and employing herself in curious needle-works, &c. After her death she was canonized. Being accused of incontinence in the life-time of her husband, it is said that she cleared herself by walking unhurt over a number of red hot ploughshares.* Hugo, duke of Burgundy, became a monk of Clugni, in A. D. 1078. And William, duke of Aquitaine, died in the monastic habit, in A. D. 1030; † as did the emperor Michael the Paphlagonian, in A. D. 1041. The emperor Isaac Comnenus became a monk, in A. D. 1059, resigning the empire to Constantine Ducas.

Though the monks were higher in estimation than the secular clergy, in all this period, they did not gain many essential privileges. However, at the Council of Nismes, in A. D. 1096, pope Urban asserted the right of the monks to the exercise of sacerdotal functions, not only within their own monasteries, but with respect to laymen, which, *Fleury* says, was entirely contrary to the ancient customs.

In England, the estimation of monks was perhaps higher than in any other part of the world. Before the time of William the Conqueror, monks were settled in all the cathedral churches; but this king was an encourager of the secular clergy, and Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, [A. D. 1069,] taking advantage of this disposition, would have expelled all the monks, but he could not get the consent of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury.

A great change took place gradually in the exercises and discipline of monks, which at this time was very striking. From the time of Lewis le *Debonnaire*, bodily labour came to be considered as unworthy of monks, on account of most

* Such is the story respecting "Emma, the virtuous Saxon queen," in 1052. See the "History of remarkable Tryals," 1715, p. 4; where follow the forms of *ordeal*. Cunegonde is reported to have held in her hand a red-hot bar of iron, without any injury. "Elle prouva son innocence, si l'on en croit quelques historiens, en tenant dans ses mains une barre de fer ardente, sans se brûler." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 364. This writer sufficiently discovers *historic doubts*.

† There was exhibited in England, during this period, a *foppery* in death, of an opposite description; thus described by *Milton*: "An. 1054. Siward, Earl of Northumberland, of a rough and meer souldierly mind, much disdainng to die in bed by a disease, not in the field, fighting with his enemies, caused himself, completely armed and weaponed with battle-axe and shield, to be set in a chair; whether to fight with death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him, when far other weapons and preparations were necessary, in a martial bravery. But true fortitude glories not in feats of war, as they are such, but as they serve to end war soonest, by a victorious peace." *Hist. B.* vi. pp. 338, 339. *Rapin* says, "Il voulut mourir debout, et armé, disant qu'il étoit honteux à un homme de guerre d'attendre la mort, dans son lit." *Histoire*, L. v. l. p. 437.

of them being then clergymen. To supply this defect of labour, the recitation of psalms was added to all the offices. Though bodily labour was required by the rule of Clugni, Ulric, who gives an account of it, says he saw nothing of it, but shelling beans, weeding the garden, and kneading the bread, and that not every day. They sung, in going to their work, or returning from it, and also during the work itself. So much devotion, says *Fleury*, was good in itself; but it would have been better to have adhered to the ancient customs, since so many offices lessened the time for study, as well as labour, and the offices themselves were repeated more negligently.

Much account was made of silence in this monastery, especially at meals. Nothing was said at certain [canonical] hours, as between *prime* and *tiers*, or between *none* and *vêpres*; and this interval was very short. Nothing was said in the church, the dormitory, the refectory, or the kitchen; and when necessity required that they should make themselves understood, they did it by means of signs.

To give a just idea of the character and manners of this age, it will be useful to recite the more remarkable instances of *austerity* that occur in the course of it; and the high esteem in which the most painful and disgusting austerities were held, shews the prevailing opinions of the times.

Romuald, a famous solitary of Lombardy,* at the end of the tenth century, said, that he who would be perfect ought not to eat every day, that he might feel hunger every day. For fifteen years he had been used to eat only on Saturdays and Sundays.

Of Nil, a solitary in Calabria, it is said that one year he drank only once a month. He often fasted the whole of Lent, without eating or drinking, except receiving the eucharist. He slept only one hour in the night, and then recited the psalter, making five hundred genuflexions, after which he said the nocturnal prayers and the matins.

But the greatest champion of monkish austerity in this or any other age, was one Dominic, the friend of Damiani, bishop of Ostia,† who published an account of him. His relations having sent a buckskin to a bishop, in order to get him made a priest, he abstained through life from acting in that capacity, and devoted himself to the life of a hermit, at Luccoli, in Umbria, submitting to the directions of Damiani, whose cell was then near to his own.

* See *supra*, p. 229.

† See *supra*, p. 253, note.

For many years he wore next to his skin a coat of mail, which he never put off except for the sake of flagellation, and on this account he got the name of *cuirassier*. He never passed a day without repeating the psalter twice, whipping himself at the same time with both hands, a handful of rods in each. But during Lent, or when he did penance for any other person, he repeated at least three psalters a day, giving himself discipline in the same manner. He often repeated two psalters without intermission, always disciplining himself and standing upright, without once sitting down, or ceasing one moment to beat himself. He made a hundred genuflexions in the recital of every fifteen psalms, or a thousand in the whole psalter. At one time he repeated the whole psalter eight times in the course of a day and night, but then he did not repeat every word audibly, but only mentally. And exerting himself to the utmost, he once repeated the psalter twelve times, as far as the thirteenth psalm, in one day.

Being informed that by repeating twelve particualr psalms eighty times, and holding the arms in the form of a cross, a great penance might be redeemed, he repeated those twelve psalms in that manner eighty times, without resting himself. In repeating the psalms, he added the *canticles*, several other hymns, the Athanasian Creed, and the Litany, which were added to the ancient psalters. It was a prevailing opinion, that since ten years of penance were due for one homicide, twenty homicides would require a hundred years of penance, and that a hundred years of penance might be commuted by the recital of twenty psalters, accompanied with discipline. Also three thousand strokes with a whip were deemed equivalent to a year of penance ; and a thousand lashes were given, in the recital of ten psalters. Consequently, the one hundred and fifty psalms were equivalent to five years of penance, and twenty psalters to a hundred years. Dominic performed this penance of a hundred years, in six days. At the beginning of Lent he once required of Damiani to impose upon him a penance of a thousand years, and he had nearly performed it before the end of it.

Besides his other austerities, Dominic wore four rings of iron, two on his thighs, and two on his legs ; and after some time he added four others. Notwithstanding this severe penance,* he lived to a great age, and died in A. D. 1062.

* Cette flagellation continuelle rendit sa peau aussi noire que celle d'un nègre." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 463.

From his example flagellation, which had been little used before, came into fashion with religious people, women as well as men.*

Rodolf, bishop of Eugubio, another friend of Damiani, recited the psalter at least once every day, giving himself discipline with both his hands. He often charged himself with a hundred years of penance, which he performed in twenty days.

Though the great lords of this age often made very light of excommunications, and every thing relating to ecclesiastical discipline, we meet with some examples of a rigorous compliance with it. Otho III., as a penance for some crime which he had committed, walked barefoot from Rome to mount Garganus, fasting, and singing psalms all the way, wearing a hair cloth next his skin, though over it he wore a garment of gold and purple; and though he had a bed of state in his room, he slept on a mat of reeds.†

In those superstitious times even the laity, and independently of any penance, were made to restrain the gratification of their appetites, and submit to certain restrictions. Fasting in the forty days of Lent was universally exacted; and marriage could not be celebrated in this season of mortification, even though the consummation was deferred till it was over. At a council in Benevento, in A. D. 1091, it was forbidden to celebrate marriage from *Septuagesima*, till the octave of Whitsuntide, and also from Advent to the octave of Epiphany.

Several persons, and some in the highest ranks of life, made a merit of living in continence even when they were married. When the emperor Henry II. died in A. D. 1024, he sent for the relations of the empress Cunegonde, and declared to them, that he restored her to them as much a virgin as he had received her.‡ This emperor after his

* Yet, according to the writer I have just quoted, these excessive austerities provoked some reformation. "Elles occasionement l'abolissement des penitences canoniques." He adds, "Le principal avantage de celles-ci étoit de détruire les mauvaises habitudes, en faisant pratiquer long-temps les vertus contraires, et non pas en faisant flageller un hermite, qui n'étoit pas coupable." But the following reasoning adopted by this catholic biographer of *Dominic* would be creditable to any *protestant*. "Le péché n'est pas, comme une dette pécuniaire, que tout autre peut payer à la décharge du débiteur, en quelque monnoie que ce soit; c'est une maladie dangereuse qu'il faut guérir dans la personne même du malade." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* pp. 463, 464.

† See *Maimburg*, pp. 118, 119, 127, 128.

‡ "Il avoit joint l'état de perpetuelle virginité à son mariage avec Cunegonde, qu'il rendit Vierge aux Comtes Palatins ses parens." *Maimburg*, pp. 136, 137.

death was canonized. Also Edward the Confessor of England declared on his death-bed, that he had lived with his wife as with a sister.*

SECTION V.

Of the Progress of Christianity, and of the State of the Jews and Christian Sectaries in this Period.

CHRISTIANITY made some progress in this period, though the manner of its propagation did not much resemble that in which it was promoted in the primitive times. But at this time it was a very different thing, and every thing relating to it was conducted in a different manner.

In A. D. 965, Miecslaus, duke of Poland, was converted to Christianity in consequence of his having married Dobrava, a sister of Boleslaus, king of Bohemia, who was a Christian.† The apostle of the Slavonic nations in general, was Adalbert, the first archbishop of Magdeburgh, who also preached to the Russians. But the conversion of the Russians is most properly dated from the reign of Wolodimer, who had married a sister of the Greek emperor in A. D. 989.‡

* See Milton, B. vi. p. 346, Rapin, L. v. I. pp. 426, 446, 447.

† She "was determined not to espouse Miecslaus, unless he would consent to be baptized." Some years after his conversion, which his people of course had imitated, he solicited the Pope for a regal crown, but he chose rather to make the duke of Hungary a king. *Des Fontaines*, pp. 25, 26.

‡ Igor, Duke of Russia, in 880, was killed in an ambuscade by the *Drevlians*, a people now called the *Deuski-Tartars*. He left a widow named *Olha*, who revenged his death by burning alive twenty ambassadors, who were sent by the *Drevlian* prince with a proposal of marriage; strangling a greater number of their chiefs in a bath, and causing five thousand of that nation to be intoxicated, and then massacred.

"Olha afterwards took a journey to Constantinople, where she embraced the Christian religion, according to the Greek church, in the reign of *John Zemises*, who would have married her." She was "baptized by the patriarch *Photius*, and took the name of *Helena*. The Russians celebrate her memory annually, and compare her to the sun, as she was the first who brought forth the light of the gospel among them, but she could not persuade her son *Svatoslas* to espouse the same faith."

Svatoslas being treacherously slain by the prince of the *Huns*, who made a drinking cup of his skull, *Wolodimer* his son succeeded in 980; and is reported to have had "several wives of different nations, besides six hundred concubines;" also a great "number of priests, who insinuated into him the necessity of establishing some certain worship in his dominions, each boasting with sacerdotal pride and obstinacy of the particular dogmas of his own sect. *Maluscha*, his mother, who had been an attendant on *Olha*, determined him in favour of Christianity; and prevailing upon him to be baptized, he took the name of *Basile* and broke the idols." Of these the principal was "*Perun*," the god of fire, which that word signifies in the Russian language. "This idol was represented with a thunderbolt in his hand, and had a constant fire of oak kept near him, which was not to go out, but at the peril of the lives of those who were set to watch it."

Wolodimer-Basile "sent an embassy to Constantinople, to demand the sister of the

Geisa, duke of Hungary, who died in A. D. 997, and who had married his son Stephen, to Giselle, sister of the emperor Henry II., embraced Christianity, and promoted the conversion of his subjects, and this was fully accomplished by Stephen himself. In the time of Constantine *Monomachus*, two chiefs of the Patzinaches, a Scythian nation, became converts to Christianity, in order to be assisted by the emperor against their prince who had used them ill; so that, as *Fleury* says, these conversions seem to have been a little interested.

Though there were not many martyrs in these conversions, yet a few persons are mentioned as having suffered in consequence of them. Bruno, who took the name of Boniface, of a noble family in Saxony, was put to death by the Russians, to whom he went to preach in A. D. 1009.* Also Adalbert, bishop of Prague, was murdered, as he was preaching to the Prussians in A. D. 997. And Gotheschalek, prince of the Sclavi, was killed by his pagan subjects, when he was endeavouring to convert them in A. D. 1065. Several others suffered with him.

These national conversions could not be supposed to have been grounded on conviction; and accordingly there occur in this period several instances of relapses into idolatry. All the time of the Othos, the Sclavi between the Elbe and the Eider made profession of Christianity; but in A. D. 1013 they revolted from their subjection to the princes of Saxony, and at the same time renounced their religion, though they had professed it sixty years. The exaction of tithes was very near overturning Christianity in Poland in the beginning of the eleventh century. Some of the lords said that this religion was insupportable, they would not go to church, and driving the priests from them, returned to their ancient superstitions. But Boleslaus arrested the principal of them, and punished them with death.† In A. D. 1047 the Hungarians, being dissatisfied with their king Peter, demanded permission to live as Heathens, according to their ancient

emperor *Basile*, whom he obtained in marriage, and lived with her twenty-three years. He instituted the feast of the princess *Olha*, and was himself after his death, in 1020, placed among the number of the saints, as the apostle of his country." *Mottley*, I. pp. 3—6.

* The writer of the notes to *Mosheim* says that he did not suffer martyrdom in Russia. II. p. 230. (P.) Cent. xi. Pt. i. Ch. i. Sect. ii.

† In 1037, "Some lords had the presumption to propose an utter extinction of Christianity, in order to re-establish the worship of Jupiter and Mars, whom Poland had formerly adored, under the appellations of *Jessa* and *Liada*." This was under the regency of *Rieca*, mother of Casimir, and widow of *Miecala* II. the son of Boleslaus, who died in 1025. *Des Fontaines*, pp. 38, 44.

customs, and to kill the bishops and priests. Their chiefs, it is said, thought proper to comply with their demands, but they were soon after brought back to the profession of Christianity.

The Jews were great sufferers by the prejudice and violence of the Christians in this period. The church of the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem being destroyed by the Saracens, and, as it was thought, at the instigation of the Jews, they were, in the beginning of the eleventh century, persecuted in a cruel manner in all Christian countries, at least in the West. It was resolved by common consent to banish them. Many were drowned, and put to death in other ways, and some destroyed themselves. The bishops forbade all Christians having any intercourse with them. Many to avoid death submitted to be baptized, but soon after returned to their former customs. It appeared, however, that the account of the guilt of the Jews in this business had no foundation in truth; and the bearer of the letter which produced all the mischief, being discovered, he was severely whipped, and, confessing his crime, was condemned to be burned to death.

In A. D. 1012, the emperor Henry banished all Jews from Mayence. It appears from the letters of Alexander II. to the bishops of Gaul, that those Christians who went to fight against the Saracens made a merit of killing the Jews they met with; for this pope praises the bishops for protecting the Jews from those persons, and highly condemns the practice.*

The crusaders made a point of massacring all the Jews they met with, in their passage to the Holy Land. The most moderate account says, that going by Cologne, Mentz, Worms, and Spire, they killed or drowned, from April to July, five thousand persons, and compelled great numbers to renounce their religion. Christian historians say that fourteen hundred were burned in Mentz only, and as they made resistance, one half of the city was reduced to ashes. Those of Worms took refuge with the bishop, but he would not receive them, except on the condition of their becoming Christians. Those, however, who did so, abjured Christianity when the storm was over. Many killed themselves. At Treves the women, seeing the crusaders' approach, killed

* "L'étrange dévotion de massacrer ces malheureux, s'imaginant gagner la vie éternelle par ces meurtres. *Alexandre* loue beaucoup les évêques de France, de ne s'être pas prêtés à ces cruautés, contre un peuple, autrefois chéri de Dieu, et qui sa justice a dispersé sur la face de la terre." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. pp. 89, 90.

their own children, saying it was better to send them to *Abraham's bosom* than abandon them to the Christians. The bishop of Spire shewed more humanity. He not only protected those who took refuge with him, but caused some of those who persecuted them to be hanged. The annalists of Bavaria say that twelve thousand were killed in their country. Others make this number much greater. This persecution was not confined to Germany, through which the crusaders passed, but was a general one, extending to England,* France, Spain and Italy. With the account of this persecution the Jewish historian, Rabbi Gans, concludes his history, saying the stench of it was insupportable.† Abarbinel considers this as the most cruel of all the persecutions of his nation. A greater number of Jews, he says, left Spain on this account than left Egypt under Moses.‡

We cannot expect much calm discussion of the question between the Jews and Christians in this period, and yet we find some recourse had to argument. In Africa, a Jew asked leave of the Fatemite Calif Mouaz to have a conference with the Christians in his presence. This was granted, and it is said that the Jew was confuted by Severus, a celebrated doctor among the Jacobites. Several works of this Severus are extant, especially a history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, now in the public library at Paris.

About the year A. D. 1076, Samuel, a converted Jew of Morocco, wrote a treatise addressed to another Jew of the name of Isaac, in favour of Christianity; alleging particularly the long continuance of their sufferings since the death of Christ, so much exceeding that of the Babylonish captivity, and distinguishing the two comings of the Messiah.§

In the beginning of the eleventh century there were several eminent Jewish doctors in Spain, and among them Isaac Alphosi, who came from Fez in Africa, and another Isaac, the son of Baruch.||

Notwithstanding the overbearing influence of the church of Rome, supported by all the secular powers of Europe, there were at all times, and especially in the lower orders of men, those who rejected the doctrines, and refused to conform to the discipline of that church. Such were the disciples of Clement and Adalbert in a preceding period, and such were

* Rapin says of the Jews in England, an. 1290: "L'opinion commune est, qu'ils avoient commencés à s'établir dans le Royaume, sous le règne de Guillaume le Conquérant: mais quelques-uns croient leur établissement plus ancien." *Histoire*, L. ix. III. p. 22.

† Basnage's *Histoire des Juifs*, 1716, IX. pp. 100, 193, 196. (P.)

‡ *Ibid.* p. 481. (P.) § Pictet, A.D. 1072. (P.) || *Ibid.* A. D. 1004. (P.)

the Priscillianists in the West, and the Paulicians in the East. Both these sects were very numerous; and though grievously persecuted, they were by no means extinguished. We now find an union probably of both these under the appellation of *Manicheans*, in several parts of France; and it is certain they held several of the distinguishing principles of the Gnostics, from which those of the Manicheans were a branch. That remains of Priscillianists should now appear in France will not be thought extraordinary, since they were not only in Spain, but also in the south of France in a former period; but the Paulicians, persecuted in Asia Minor, were received in Bulgaria; and when they were driven from thence they went to Italy, and other parts of the West; and those who are now called Manicheans in France are said to have come from Italy.* They are frequently called *Poplicani*, [and *Publicani*], which some think to have been a corruption of *Pauliciani*,† and *Patarini*, from *Pataria*, a district in the duchy of Milan.‡ This term came at length to be used to denote all kinds of heretics.§ In France they were called *Albigenses*, not, as has been supposed, from their chiefly residing in the town of Albi, but because their tenets were condemned in a council held there.||

We find the first distinct mention of them in the beginning of the eleventh century. We have no writings of theirs, by which to judge of their principles; but if we may at all depend upon the accounts of their enemies, they rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, they disbelieved the creation of the world, supposing probably that matter was eternal, and the world formed out of it by some evil being. They denied that Christ was born of a virgin, by which they meant that his flesh was not derived from her, but was a creation in her womb. They are said also to have denied the death and resurrection of Christ; but with respect to this it is probable they made the distinction of the ancient Gnostics, believing that he died only in appearance. But the greatest offence they gave was, their rejecting the miserable but gainful superstitions of the times respecting the rites of the church, and the powers of the clergy. Baptism they said did not wash

* *Mosheim*, II. pp. 345, 346. (P.) Cent. xi. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. ii.

† *Ibid.* p. 347. (P.) "The appellation of *Boni Homines* or *Los bos Hommes*, as the southern French spoke at that time, was a title which the Paulicians attributed to themselves." *Ibid.* Note [r].

‡ *Giannone* says they were called *Paterini*, from their readiness to suffer for their religion. I. p. 668. (P.)

§ *Mosheim*, II. p. 285. (P.) Cent. xi. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xiii. Note [r].

|| *Ibid.* p. 347. (P.) Ch. v. Sect. ii. Note [g]. See Vol. V. p. 82.

away sin, and they were the first who denied it to infants, while they administered it to adults.*

They maintained that the eucharistical elements did not become the body and blood of Christ by consecration, and that it was useless to pray to the saints. They condemned marriage, from the principle that matter was the source of all evil, and that it is our great business to mortify the body, and they forbade eating flesh meat. Like the primitive Christians, they were charged, but no doubt falsely, with the promiscuous use of women, and with privately killing young children, and other enormities.

A society of these persons being betrayed by one who belonged to the court of the duke of Normandy, (and who had pretended to join them,) was brought before the council of Orleans, in A. D. 1022; when, being charged with holding the opinions above-mentioned, they declared that such had always been their belief, and they hoped that even that assembly would embrace their doctrines, as they were the pure truth. Being asked, among other questions, whether they did not believe that God the Father created every thing out of nothing by his Son, they replied, "You may tell these tales to those who have earthly thoughts, and who believe the inventions of carnal men, written on the skins of animals; but it is in vain that you talk in this manner to us who have the law written by the spirit of God in the inner man. But make an end, and do with us whatever you please."

The disputation with them at this council continued from daylight till three in the afternoon, when they were threatened with being burned alive if they did not renounce their opinions, but they professed that they did not fear death in any form.† After this, those of them who were priests were formally degraded, and the queen, who had the charge of the door, with her own ring struck out the eye of one of them of the name of Stephen, who had been her own confessor. Of thirteen of them, only one man, who was of the clergy, and one woman, who is said to have been a nun, recanted; all the rest went with the greatest cheerfulness to the stake, and were burned alive. It now appearing that one Theodat, a singer in the same church, who had been dead three years, was in the same heresy, they dug up his body, refusing him Christian burial. Others of these heretics were burned at Thoulouse, and other places; for they were found in many parts of the West.

* Wall's "History of Infant Baptism," II. p. 177. (P.) Ed. 3d, III. p. 220.

† Mosheim, Cent. xi. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. iii.

More of these Manicheans, as they are called, were found at Arras, in A. D. 1025, by some persons who came from Italy, when Gerard, the bishop of that city, caused some of them to be seized, and, after questioning them, he put them in prison. Then, proceeding with great solemnity in the business, he ordered a fast of his clergy, in order to procure their conversion. On the third day after this, being Sunday, he went in great state to the cathedral church, and delivered a discourse on the subject. He then questioned them concerning the person from whom they learned their tenets, when they mentioned one Gundulf from Italy, saying that he taught them to receive no other Scriptures than the gospels and the acts of the apostles. Having been informed that they rejected baptism and the Lord's supper, with the other ordinances of the church, he put questions to them on those subjects, and in reply to what the bishop had said with respect to them, they said, "Our doctrine consists in abandoning the world, repressing the desires of the flesh, living by the labour of our hands, doing wrong to nobody, and exercising charity towards our brethren. In observing these things we think we have no need of baptism, and if we violate these things baptism will not avail us." They likewise urged the bad lives of the clergy who administered baptism.

To this the bishop replied with the usual arguments, alleging the baptism of the eunuch and of Cornelius, and saying that the unworthiness of the minister does not prevent the efficacy of the sacrament, &c. &c. Being probably terrified, for we can hardly suppose that they were really convinced, by what they must have often heard before, (and from other accounts it appeared that they had been put to the torture,)* they acknowledged themselves to have been in an error, and the bishop continued his instructions on the subject of material churches, which they had treated with contempt, as mere heaps of stone, together with the altar, the incense, and the bells. He also explained to his audience the nature and use of the ecclesiastical orders; for they had despised all external worship, thinking it to be a matter of indifference who were their ministers, in what place they exercised it, or where they buried their dead; funeral ceremonies being the invention of avaricious priests. He also instructed them in the use of penance, which he maintained to be serviceable even to the dead; for, said he, a

* *Pictet*, A. D. 1025. (P.)

person may perform the penance which his friend was prevented from doing by death. He defended the necessity of grace against what he called the false righteousness of these heretics; from which it is probable that they had laid great stress on personal virtue, in opposition to every thing that superstition and false notions had substituted in the place of it. On this occasion he also defended the lawfulness of marriage, which they were said to have denied. He concluded with pronouncing a solemn condemnation of all the articles of their doctrine, and sent an account of this synod, as it is called, to a neighbouring bishop, who is supposed to have been that of Liege, to guard him against those heretics, who were so disguised in his diocese as to have passed undiscovered.

The emperor Henry I. finding many of these Manicheans at Goslar, when he celebrated the festival of Christmas there in A. D. 1051, by the advice of bishops and lords who were assembled on that occasion, ordered them to be hanged, lest their heresy should extend farther. We shall find, however, in the subsequent periods of their history, that this heresy was not to be prevented from spreading, by these measures.

The controversy that chiefly agitated the Latin church in this period, was that with Berenger concerning the eucharist. He was a native of Tours, and master of a school there. He also taught in that city after he was made archdeacon of Angers. He seems to have imbibed some of the sentiments of the Manicheans; for he is said to have disputed against the baptism of infants, and also against marriage, as well as to have maintained the doctrine of John Scotus against Paschasius on the subject of the eucharist. Being opposed by Lanfranc, then prior of the abbey of Bec, in Normandy, he wrote him a letter of friendly expostulation; telling him that if he condemned the opinion of John Scotus as heretical, he must condemn Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, and many others.

Berenger was universally allowed to be a man of a most excellent private character. William of Malmesbury says he was regarded by some as a saint, and commended for having done an infinity of good works. Hildebert, bishop of Mans, who, St. Bernard says, was a man worthy of all respect, and a firm pillar of the church, wrote his epitaph, and greater praise could not be given to any man than is given to him in it.*

* *Pictet*, A. D. 1050. (P.)

The first who published any thing against Berenger was Hugo, bishop of Langres, in A. D. 1050, who exhorted him not to maintain singular opinions; for, says he, you see the eucharist with other eyes than the generality of Christians. By this time the doctrine of Paschasius, of the real presence, and the change of the elements into the body and blood of Christ, was probably the general opinion, though it was a long time in becoming so. Berenger's arguments against it must have made a great impression on many, and have excited much attention; for, in a council held at Rome, in A. D. 1050, his doctrine was condemned, and himself excommunicated. On this, he retired to Normandy, where he had conferences on the subject of his doctrine with the clergy of Brionne, and of Chartres, the former in the presence of William duke of Normandy. In these conferences, far from appearing to have been intimidated by the acts of the late council at Rome, he is said to have treated the church of Rome as heretical, not even excepting pope Leo.

Berenger, continuing refractory, was cited to appear at a council at Verceil in the same year, when pope Leo IX. presided, but he did not attend. In this council the treatise of John Scotus concerning the eucharist was read, condemned, and publicly burned; and the opinion of Berenger was also censured. Two clergymen who then attended for him were said to have been confounded, so as to be unable to defend him, and they were arrested.

Notwithstanding these solemn condemnations, the opinion of Berenger continued to spread so much in France, as to give much alarm. King Henry hearing of it, by the advice of his bishops and lords, appointed a council to be held on the subject at Paris, and Berenger himself was ordered to attend. He did not, however, go thither, but continued with Brunon, bishop of Langres, who was of the same opinion with him; but a letter of his to a friend, which had been intercepted, was read at this council, and was heard with much indignation; and his doctrine and the treatise of Scotus were again condemned.* In consequence of this, the king, who was himself abbot of St. Martin, at Tours, ordered the revenue of Berenger from that abbey to be withdrawn. On this, Berenger wrote a letter of remonstrance to that prince, by means of a friend, who had access to him, in which he said it was unjust in the council of Verceil to con-

* "Les pères déclarent, que si Berenger, et ses sectateurs ne se retractoient pas, toute l'armée de France, le clergé à la tête, iroit les contraindre de se soumettre, ou les punir de mort." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 382.

denn John Scotus, who wrote at the request of king Charles the *Bald*, a prince who had the greatest zeal for religion, lest the errors of ignorant and stupid people should prevail.

This letter does not appear to have had any effect, and the firmness of Berenger did not hold out much longer; for, at a council held at Tours in A. D. 1054, where Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII., attended, Berenger and Lanfranc, who was for some time suspected of favouring him, being introduced, the former made a public recantation of his doctrine, and was received into communion. Also, at another council held in Rome in A. D. 1059, Berenger made a more solemn retractation of his opinion, declaring that if he should ever think or preach otherwise than as the church prescribed, he would submit to the severity of the canons. He even himself lighted a fire in the midst of the council, and threw into it the book which contained his opinions.* But as soon as he was out of the council, he wrote against the confession he had there made of his faith, inveighing against cardinal Humbert, who had drawn it up for him.

On this occasion Lanfranc addressed an epistle to Berenger, particularly reproaching him for teaching in private what, for fear of death, he had denied before the council; and in reply to Berenger's saying, that it was impossible that the same body of Christ could be in heaven at the same time that it was eaten by the communicants, he said, "It is a mystery of faith, useful to be believed, but not useful to be examined."

The doctrine of the eucharist was again discussed, at the council of Rouen, in A. D. 1074, and with so much warmth that Berenger, who was present, was near being killed. And about the same time Guimond, a Spanish monk and a disciple of Lanfranc, distinguished himself by writing against Berenger, beginning with reproaching him for his affectation of superior wisdom, when he was very young. What handle Berenger had given for this does not now appear, nor is it at all to the purpose. With respect to the argument, what is advanced by Guimond is particularly curious. In answer to

* "Berenger fut condamné pour la seconde fois, et fut obligé à brûler ses écrits." *Nouv. Diet. Hist.* I. p. cxlvi.

"The profession of faith which Berengarius was made to make in this council, was as follows: 'The bread and wine, which are placed upon the altar, are after, consecration not only a sacrament, but also the true body and the true blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.' *Panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem, non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et verum sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi.* Concil. Rom. apud Labbe, Tom. IX. p. 1011." *Modest Apology*, by Dr. Alexander Geddes, 1800, p. 153, *Note*.

the objection that all the communicants cannot receive a whole Christ, he says, that "not only does every single host contain a whole Christ, but every particle of every host; and though a thousand masses were celebrated at the same time, all the communicants receive the one only indivisible body of Christ. It is," he says, "only to the senses that a single particle of a host seems less than the whole, but the senses often deceive us." He owns that it is difficult to *understand* this transmutation of the elements; but says it is not difficult to believe it, the only question being whether God wills the change. However, he illustrates the subject by saying, that when a man speaks, the same voice is heard entire by the greatest multitude.

Some of the disciples of Berenger having maintained what they called the doctrine of *impanation*, which was, that the real body of Christ, and the substance of bread and wine existed together, Guimond replied to them as well as to Berenger himself. He said the Berengarians could not be the true church of Christ, because they did not occupy a single city, or even a village. The question, he says, is of infinite moment, eternal life depending upon it. In the last place, he replies to those who said the elements ceased to be the body of Christ to unworthy communicants. Durandus also, the abbot of Troarn, in Normandy, wrote against Berenger; but he advanced nothing new. Thus at this time ended the famous controversy concerning what was afterwards called the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, and which came to be the most distinguishing article of the church of Rome.

But though nothing more was *written* in the time of Berenger, something more was *done*. At the council held in Rome in A. D. 1078, being urged to renounce his error, he gave a short confession of his faith, and obtained a delay of his sentence till the next council in the Lent following. At this council some of the bishops maintained that the elements were only a figure, which looks as if Berenger was not without the support of some persons of eminence in the church; but this opinion was set aside, and it was agreed that the elements were the real body of Christ, and Berenger was induced to sign an ample recantation of all that he had taught to the contrary; and in consequence of this he was dismissed, and solemnly charged to teach nothing more concerning the eucharist, except with a view to recover those whom he had led into error. But, as before, he was no sooner in France, than he wrote against this last confession, as he had done

against the former, which had been extorted from him in the same manner.

In France, Berenger must have had many and very powerful friends; for, notwithstanding his persisting in his opinion, we find him at a council at Bourdeaux in A. D. 1080; but what passed there is not said, except that he there gave an account of his faith. He lived eight years after this in a state of retirement near Tours, dying in A. D. 1088, and in communion with the church.* He was much commended for his charity to the poor, and two of the best poets of the age composed magnificent epitaphs for him.

The opinion of Berenger did not die with him; for it was thought necessary to condemn it once more at the Council of Placentia, in A. D. 1095, when it was declared that the bread and wine, duly consecrated at the altar, are not only a figure, but changed truly and essentially into the body and blood of Christ.

The doctrine concerning the nature of the presence of Christ in the eucharist, was not settled in the time of Berenger, and the confessions of his faith, which he was required to give from time to time, varied from each other. He adhered to that which he had subscribed in the two first Roman councils, approved by Gregory VII.†

Folkheim, abbot of Lobbes, in the bishopric of Liege, wrote against the real presence; and Hereger, who succeeded him, made a collection of passages from the fathers against the doctrine of Paschasius.‡

It is probable that, in this period, there were many of the disciples of Clement and Adalbert, who refused to communicate with the Romish church: for, at a council held at Amalfi in A. D. 1089, the clergy called *Acephali*, or those who had no connexion with the Catholic bishops, were condemned, and also some vagabond monks.

There was some discussion of the doctrine of the *Trinity* in this period, in consequence of what was advanced by Roscellin, a celebrated teacher, but rather of logic than of theology. He said that the three divine persons were *three things*, as distinct from each other as three angels, though they had but one will and one power. Otherwise, he said, it

* "Dans son opinion, suivant les uns, et dans le repentir, suivant les autres." This biographer adds, without referring to any authority, "Berenger vilipendoit les pères, et nioit que *Jesus-Christ* fût entré à travers la porte de la salle, où ses disciples étoient assemblés." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 383.

† *Mosheim*, II. p. 338. (P.) Cent. xi. Ch. iii. Sect. xviii. Note [d].

‡ *Pictet*, A. D. 1007. (P.)

would follow that both the Father and the Holy Spirit must have been incarnate, as well as the Son ; that, indeed, strictly speaking, they should have been called *three Gods*, but custom had not authorized it. Lanfranc and Anselm, he said, were of the same opinion. As this was an age in which many persons began to speculate on metaphysical and theological subjects, this doctrine was considered in a council held by Renauld, archbishop of Rheims, at Compeigne, in A. D. 1092, and condemned ; and Anselm, hearing what Roscellin had said concerning his opinion on the subject, sent to this council to disclaim it, and vouching the same for Lanfranc, who was then dead. He said he should not argue with Roscellin on the subject, giving this curious reason for it : “ Our faith,” he said, “ must be defended by reason against infidels, but not against those who bear the name of Christians ;” meaning probably that in their case it was sufficient to appeal to the authority of the church, which they allowed. Roscellin himself appeared at this council, and abjured his opinion ; but, like Berenger, he still continued to teach it, saying, he had abjured because he was afraid of being knocked on the head by the populace.

Anselm, who may be said to have been the father of that subtle method of reasoning on theological subjects, which, being used in schools, afterwards obtained the name of *scholastic*, wrote a treatise to solve the question, “ why God became man, in order to give life to the world by his death,”* when he might have effected the same purpose by means of an angel, or a mere man, or by his sole will and power ; which shews, that the principle of what is now called the doctrine of *Atonement* was by no means established at this time.

Some, who were called *Anthropomorphites*, were found in this period ; for, Ratherius, bishop of Verona, wrote against them. This doctrine, it has been seen, was held with peculiar obstinacy by many monks in the East.

Towards the end of the tenth century, an opinion prevailed that the world would come to an end in the year one thousand after Christ. Many of the donations that were made to the church about this time expressed this opinion ; the writings beginning with the phrase *the end of the world being at hand*, &c.† Abbon, the abbot of Fleury at that time, says, he observed this error, and refuted it from the gospels, the Revelation, and the book of Daniel.

* “ Libri duo, contra Gentiles, cur Deus homo ?” *Biog. Brit.* I. p. 213, Note [f. f.] No. xiii.

† *Mosheim*, II. p. 218. (P.) Cent. x. Pt. ii. Sect. iii. Note [w].

About the same time many persons, fond of the ancient poets, abandoned the Scriptures, and took their faith from them. This was too alarming an evil to be suffered to spread. One of these persons was condemned by the bishop of Ravenna, and others, it is said, were destroyed by fire and sword; but we have no satisfactory account of these transactions. At this time also there appeared, as it is said, several heretics, but their tenets are not mentioned, in Sardinia, "fertile in such evils, who corrupted some Christians in Spain; but they were exterminated by the Catholics." This deluge of errors was thought to be the accomplishment of the prophecy of St. John, who said that Satan would be let loose after a thousand years.

SECTION VI.

Of the Intercourse between the Greek and Latin Churches in this Period.

SOME communication between the church of Constantinople and that of Rome in this period was occasioned by a letter sent by Michael Cerularius, patriarch of the former of these cities, to John, bishop of Trani, in Apulia, in which he reproached the Latins for several of their customs, as their using unleavened bread in the eucharist, eating things strangled, and consequently blood, fasting on Saturdays, &c. This letter being carried to pope Leo IX., he treated with great indignation this censure of the church of Rome, as if they who had been instructed by the apostle Peter had then to learn how to celebrate the eucharist. He particularly insisted upon the donation of Constantine, as an argument for the pre-eminence of the see of Rome, reproached the Greeks for making bishops, of eunuchs, and shutting up the churches of the Latins in the East; whereas, the Greeks were permitted to have churches and monasteries in Rome, where they used their own customs without molestation.

At this time, however, the emperor Constantine Monomachus, wanting the assistance of the Western empire to oppose the Normans in Italy, wrote to the Pope, to express his concern at the difference that subsisted between the two churches; and he obliged the patriarch Michael to write to the Pope to the same purpose. This was towards the end of the year A. D. 1053. In return, the Pope sent three legates, with letters to the emperor and to the patriarch. To the former he expressed his satisfaction in his overtures for peace and

concord ; he gave an account of his transactions with the Normans, and expressed his willingness to concur with the emperor in repressing them ; but he complained of the patriarch Michael, for anathematizing those who administered the eucharist with unleavened bread, and for his attempts to bring into subjection to himself the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria ; and added that, if he did not desist from his pretensions, he could have no peace with him. In his letter to the patriarch, he complained of the same things in still stronger terms. The legates who carried these letters were received with every mark of honour ; but there was too much pride on both sides for a reconciliation.

Cardinal Humbert, who was the chief of this embassy, on his arrival at Constantinople, drew up a long answer to all the accusations of Michael against the Latins. On the subject of eating things strangled, and blood, he denied the charge ; saying it was only permitted in case of famine. At the same time he also replied to some things that had been written by Nicetas, a monk, on the controversy between the two churches ; and because Nicetas had said that communion breaks the fast, the cardinal concluded that in his opinion the eucharistical elements were subject to the process of digestion, and the consequence of it, like other food ; and for holding this opinion, which to him appeared so unworthy of a Christian, he called him a *Stercorarist*. In this treatise the cardinal also reproached the Greeks with the marriage of their priests, and on this account he calls them *Nicolaitans* : for the Greeks allow the marriage of a priest to a virgin, before his consecration.*

This controversy was not calculated to answer the purpose of the emperor ; and by some means or other, Nicetas was brought to retract every thing that he had written against the Latins, in the presence of the legates and of the emperor, and even to anathematize those who denied that the church of Rome was the first of all the churches ; and after this, they received the communion together.

But the patriarch proving more refractory, so as even to refuse to have any communication with the legates, they went to the church of St. Sophia, and in the presence of the clergy and people, laid on the great altar a writing which contained a formal excommunication of him, and then, going out, shook off the dust from their feet. After this, having regulated the Latin churches in Constantinople, and pronounced an ana-

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 286. (P.) Cent. xi. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xiii. Note [5].

thema against those who should communicate with any Greek who censured the eucharist of the Latins, they took leave of the emperor with the kiss of peace. The act of excommunication contained a recital of all the charges of the Latins against the Greeks, and among them they particularly mentioned their taking from the creed the words *Filioque*, their refusing baptism to children who died before the eighth day, and the communion to women in child-bed.

Michael, not intimidated, but greatly provoked at this proceeding, caused a copy of the writing which contained the form of excommunication, to be publicly burned; and affecting not to believe that the legates were sent by the Pope, he anathematized all those who had advised, published or written the excommunication, and all their accomplices. In this, twelve metropolitans and two archbishops concurred with him. The original of the writing was not burned, but preserved, as the patriarch said, for the perpetual condemnation of those who had uttered such blasphemies; and this anathema of his was ordered to be read every twenty-fourth day of July, being the day on which it was customary to read the decrees of the five general councils.

Thus ended the intercourse between the two churches, without producing any advantage to either of them, or in the least degree leading to a reconciliation. In a correspondence which Michael had with Peter, the patriarch of Antioch, immediately after this, he enumerated every article of difference between the two churches, magnifying their importance; and saying that what was most intolerable in the conduct of the legates, was their saying they did not come to Constantinople to be instructed, but to instruct, and make them adopt their opinions. At all times, and more especially at this period, the Greeks considered the Latins as little better than barbarians; so that the pride of the Greek patriarch could not but have been exceedingly hurt by such contemptuous behaviour of those whom he could not but regard with contempt.

Peter, to whom Michael addressed himself on this occasion, appears to have been a man of more good sense and moderation, and he endeavoured to recommend the same pacific principles to his correspondent; freely telling him, that some of his charges were aggravated, and others mere calumnies, and desiring him to neglect all the rest, and only lay any stress on the addition the Latins had made to the creed. The question about leavened or unleavened bread in the eucharist, he said, was of little consequence, and

should not be insisted on, lest the breach between the two churches, from which innumerable evils had flowed, should be made wider. To this friendly remonstrance, Michael made no particular reply. He only said that he had thought it right to inform him, and the other patriarchs, of his situation, that they might better know how to conduct themselves, if they were applied to on the subject.

In Italy every thing was conducted according to the will of the popes. At a council at Bari, A. D. 1098, where pope Urban was present, and which was attended by one hundred and eighty-three bishops, among whom was Anselm, then in a state of exile from England,* the question concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit was proposed by the Greeks, and openly discussed, they maintaining that it was from the Father only. But the Pope himself replied to them, making use of arguments drawn from a treatise which Anselm had just published on the incarnation; and calling Anselm himself to sit near him, and desiring him to speak on the subject, he complied, and delivered himself, it is said, with so much force and perspicuity, that all the assembly was satisfied,† and pronounced an anathema against all those who denied that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son, and not from the Father only. But this was not in Greece.

SECTION VII.

The History of the first Crusade.

WITHIN this period of my history we have the commencement of a series of military expeditions, of which I must give a brief relation, since they were undertaken on the account of *religion*, such as then chiefly actuated the Christian world. Besides, they were in their own nature very extraordinary, and had many important consequences. The *crusades*, to which I refer, or expeditions made by the Christians of the West, with a view to wrest from the Mahometan powers the possession of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, (to which, as a favourite pilgrimage, there had long been a prodigious resort,) appear the more extraordinary, as, at this

* Under the displeasure of the king, for not having furnished his quota of troops for an expedition into Wales. See *Biog. Brit.* I. p. 208.

† The Pope complimented Anselm with "the title of *Alterius Orbis Papa*, Pope of the other World, meaning England.—His arguments were afterwards formed by him into a tract, entitled, '*De Processione Spiritus Sancti, contra Græcos.*'" *Biog. Brit.* I. pp. 208, 213, Note [*f. f.*] No. xiv.

time, not only were the European kingdoms in general in a state of war with each other, but even the particular lords, in a state of almost constant hostility; so that it was not probable they would trust one another, or agree in any thing. Yet in this case, as if they had been all actuated by one soul, they at once overlooked all their differences, and united as one man in a series of distant and hazardous expeditions. But they were taught to consider them as of the most meritorious nature, and a certain road to heaven, whether, with respect to the event, they should be successful or not. Foolish and ruinous in the extreme as these expeditions are now universally considered, it does not appear that, at that time, or indeed long after, any person objected to them; and the habits of warfare, in which all the European states then were, sufficiently prepared them for this undertaking, and recommended it to them.

The first intimation that we meet with of any scheme of this kind, is in a letter of Gregory VII. to the emperor Henry IV., in which he says, that he had been applied to by the Christians in the East,* to relieve them from the oppression under which they then groaned; that he had endeavoured to excite all Christians to give their lives for their brethren; that there were already fifty thousand ready to march if they could have him to lead them; and that he was determined to go in person, even to the holy sepulchre, especially as the Greek church was desirous of being united to that of Rome, and as almost all the Christians in the East were disposed to receive their faith from it. He therefore asked the emperor's advice and assistance; for, says he, if I make this voyage, I must leave the Roman church to your care. Having received an embassy from the emperor Michael, he sent legates in return, in A. D. 1074; and wrote to all the Christian princes in the West, urging them to march to the assistance of their brethren in the East. Such was the spirit and magnanimity of this pontiff, that, had it not been for his quarrel with Henry, he would, no doubt, have undertaken, and have gone through with this expedition.

At this time the emperors of the East being much reduced, both by foreign enemies and internal dissensions, they were very desirous of getting assistance from the West; and every attempt that they had made for an union of the two churches had never had any other object. At the Council of Pla-

* There had been, in 996, "An epistle wrote in the name of the *Church of Jerusalem* to the *Church Universal*, throughout the world;" but this had no effect, "except upon the inhabitants of Pisa." *Mosheim*, Cent. x. Pt. i. Ch. i. fin.

centia in A. D. 1095, the emperor Alexis Comnenus sent ambassadors to pope Urban, earnestly begging his assistance, and that of all Christians against the infidels, and in defence of the church, which was almost destroyed in the East; for the Mahometans were advanced almost to the very walls of Constantinople. The Pope did not fail to second this application, so that many persons then took an oath to undertake the expedition, and aid the emperor according to their power.

But the immediate occasion of the crusade was a report of the state of Christianity in the East, brought by a hermit of the name of Peter,* of the diocese of Amiens, a man distinguished by his austerity, who always travelled barefoot, or mounted on an ass. From a principle of devotion he had made a pilgrimage to visit our Saviour's sepulchre at Jerusalem, where he was much affected to see the condition in which he found the holy place there, under the dominion of the Mahometans, the situation of the temple occupied by a mosque, and stables adjoining to the church of the holy sepulchre.

Conversing on the subject with Simeon the Christian patriarch, he asked him if there was no remedy for those evils. The patriarch replied, that they had no expectation of any assistance from the Greeks, who, though rich, were not able to defend them; but that there might be some hope if the Christians in the West, who were more powerful, would interest themselves in their favour. To this Peter replied, that if he and his brethren would give him letters to the Pope, and the Christian princes, informing them of the true state of things, and requesting their help, he would not only deliver them, but would spare no pains to solicit succours for them; and to this, they readily acceded.

With these letters Peter waited on the Pope, and with his own hands he delivered the letters addressed to the princes of Europe, and he urged not only them, but all persons wherever he went, to comply with their contents.† And such were his zeal and eloquence, that by the time which the Pope had fixed for a council to meet at Clermont, in A. D. 1095, the subject had become generally interesting, and the

* "Gentilhomme François quitta la profession des armes pour embrasser la vie d'hermite, et ensuite, la vie d'hermite pour celle de pèlerin." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 311.

† Mosheim adds, on the authority of the abbot Dodechinus, that "he carried about with him a letter which he said was written in heaven, addressed to all true Christians, to animate their zeal for the deliverance of their brethren, who groaned under the oppressive burden of a Mahometan yoke." Cent. x. Pt. i. Ch. i. Sect. iv. and Note [n].

minds of men were well prepared to receive any proposal relating to it.

When all business of an ecclesiastical nature was settled at this council, the Pope addressed the numerous assembly of bishops and princes on this subject; informing them of the miserable state of Christianity in the East, and especially the dangers to which pilgrims were exposed in visiting the holy places at Jerusalem, exhorting them to turn their arms from one another, against the common enemy of the Christian name, and by this means make satisfaction to God for their many murders, ravages, and other crimes; promising a full remission of all their sins to those who would take arms in this cause, and assuring them that all their possessions would be under the protection of the church; for that, if any person should disturb them, in their absence on this expedition, they should be excommunicated till ample satisfaction was made; and that the bishops and priests who did not join in this should be suspended from their functions.

Remigius, a monk of Rheims, who was present, says that when the Pope had done speaking* all the assembly were so moved, that, with one voice, they cried *Dieu le volt* (God wills it). Silence being obtained, the Pope rose again, and said that this unanimity in their cry must have arisen from inspiration, and was a sure omen of their success. Those words he said should be those with which they should rush to battle. He then said that those who went on the expedition should distinguish themselves by wearing a cross on their garments, and that those who were not able to go in person should assist by their money and other means.

When they had received absolution, and the benediction of the Pope, they chose Adhemar, bishop of Puy, a man well informed in both ecclesiastical and civil affairs, for a leader; and when, after some difficulty, he accepted the command, the Pope gave him the powers of his legate. But soon after this they were informed that Raymond, count of Thoulouse, had taken the cross, and would go on the expedition, with many knights; so that the crusade had two leaders, an ecclesiastic and a layman. To encourage them, the Pope again declared, that they who took the cross on that occasion should be excused from all other kinds of

* *Mosheim* remarks, that the Pope's "pompous and pathetic speech made a deep and powerful impression upon the minds of the French, whose natural character renders them much superior to the Italians, in encountering difficulties, facing danger, and attempting the execution of the most perilous designs." Cent. xi. Pt. i. Ch. i. Sect. v.

penance, in consideration of the danger of fighting, to which they would be exposed; and he ordered all the bishops to preach the crusade in their respective dioceses.

In his future progress through France, the Pope himself every where recommended the crusade; and then he appointed the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, in that year, for the time of setting out. Accordingly, on that day the crusaders began their march. The principal of them were Hugh, brother of the king of France, and count of Vermandois, Robert, duke of Normandy, brother of the king of England, Stephen, count of Blois, Raimond, count of Thoulouse, Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorrain, with his brothers Baldwin and Eustace, and Baldwin de Bourgh, their cousin. There were many lords of a lesser rank, and an infinity of the lower noblesse. There were also bishops, and at the head of them Adhemar, the legate of the crusade, William, bishop of Orange, many abbots and monks, and even some *recluses*, who on this great occasion quitted their cells.* Many of the common people, and even women and children, came from all parts, promising to obey, and serve the crusaders on the expedition.

A great advantage accrued ultimately to the community at large from many of the great landholders, on this occasion, selling their lands, and often at low prices, in order to equip themselves for this expedition. However, they cheerfully sold their possessions, and abandoned their wives and families, with every thing else that was dear to them. Public robbers confessed their crimes, with a view to make atonement for them in this holy war; some debtors went to avoid their creditors; some were, no doubt, induced to go from a principle of honour, and some were ashamed to stay behind; and many women went in the habit of men.

The first that set out was Gautier, surnamed, from his poverty, *Sans Avoir*, on the 8th of March, A. D. 1096, at the head of a great multitude, on foot. Passing through Germany and Hungary, they came to Constantinople, followed by Peter the *Hermit*, with about forty thousand men from different nations. Many other companies set out, the same summer. Peter was followed by a German priest, of the name of Godeschalch, with fifteen thousand men; but so

* "Les moines qui ennuyés du cloître avoient quitté leurs cellules, et les femmes qui, lassées de leur maris, suivoient leurs amans." According to *Fleury*, who is followed by the President *Henault*, "un tas d'hommes et des femmes perdus de crimes, parmi lesquels le Christianisme étoit aussi rare que la vertu." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 105. See *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 343.

ill disciplined, that they got no farther than Hungary, where they were all cut to pieces. Soon after followed another company, on foot, of about two hundred thousand, without any chief, and without discipline. These fell upon, and without mercy massacred, the Jews, wherever they came, especially at Cologne and Mentz. Many Jews on this occasion killed themselves, and some submitted to be baptized in order to save their lives.*

Robert, duke of Normandy, and Stephen, count of Blois, went by the way of Rome, where they received the Pope's benediction. Many of this company went no farther than Rome; others went to Bari, intending to take shipping there; but the season being unfavourable, they were not able to do it, and the duke of Normandy passed the winter in Calabria with his countrymen. However, the count of Flanders, with his company, did cross the sea. Robert and Stephen embarked at Brindisi the 5th of April, which was Easter-day, A.D. 1097. Boemond was besieging a castle in Campania, together with count Roger his uncle, when he heard of the crusade. On this he took a piece of red cloth, and cutting it into small pieces, he distributed it in the form of *crosses* to his followers, who all instantly cried out, *God wills it, God wills it*, as at Clermont.

The Pope wrote to the emperor Alexis, to inform him of the resolution that had been taken at Clermont, that the crusaders in all amounted to three hundred thousand men, and that Boemond led seven thousand of approved valour, desiring him to provide for their subsistence. But the emperor was alarmed at such an inundation of Barbarians, as the Greeks always considered the Western nations to be; and he was more especially afraid of Boemond, whose valour he knew by experience. He therefore treated them with every outward mark of honour and respect, but privately gave them as much obstruction as he could. This conduct giving the Latins just cause of suspicion, those who were

* "Father Maimburg, notwithstanding his immoderate zeal for the holy war, acknowledges frankly, that the first divisions of this prodigious army committed the most abominable enormities in the countries through which they passed, and that there was no kind of insolence, injustice, impurity, barbarity and violence, of which they were not guilty. Nothing, perhaps, in the annals of history, can equal the flagitious deeds of this infernal rabble. See particularly Maimburg, *Histoire des Croisades*," T. i. L. i. pp. 57—62. Ed. 2, 12mo. Dr. Maclaine's note to *Mosheim*, Cent. xi. Pt. i. Ch. i. Sect. vi. [s].

A biographer of "Pierre l'Hermite" says, "Ses soldats exercèrent toutes sortes de brigandages." He adds, "De cette foule innombrable qui avoit suivi l'hermite Picard, il ne resta que trois mille hommes, qui se réfugièrent à Constantinople. Pierre avoit réussi avec le bourdon, il échoua avec l'épée." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 34.

encamped near Constantinople demolished the houses in the country, and even stripped the churches of their lead, in order to sell it to the Greeks. This made the emperor expedite their passing the Hellespont. But they behaved no better in Asia, where they plundered and burned both houses and churches.

Being landed on the shore of Asia, several of the chiefs held a consultation about their future progress, and in consequence of it they laid siege to Nice the 14th of May, A. D. 1097. Here they reviewed their troops, and found them to be one hundred thousand armed knights, and, including the foot soldiers and the women, they were six hundred thousand. Nice, which was then in the power of Soliman, a Turk of the Seljukian race, surrendered by capitulation, on the 20th of June, and was given to Alexis, to the great dissatisfaction of the army, who expected to plunder it. By the treaty they had made with the emperor, they were to cede to him all the places they should conquer from the infidels, and he was to furnish them with provisions. But as he had not performed his part of the agreement, they thought themselves discharged from performing theirs; and therefore in all the places which they took afterwards they put garrisons of their own.

They had taken Tarsus and the rest of Cilicia, when Baldwin, brother of duke Godfrey, left the grand army, and, going to the North, conducted by a noble Armenian, he proceeded as far as the Euphrates. The country, being full of Christians, readily submitted to him; and having taken Edessa, he was crowned prince of it, and there founded a powerful state.

The grand army having passed through Syria, laid siege to Antioch on the 21st of October, A. D. 1097. It was then a large city, inhabited chiefly by Christians, though it had been in the possession of the Turks fourteen years. After a siege of seven months,* it was taken by treachery on the 3d of June, A. D. 1098; but the Turks keeping possession of the castle, and an immense army coming to its relief, the Christians were besieged in the city, and reduced to such distress that they fed on their horses and camels. In this state they continued twenty-six days, and in all probability

* "Quelques uns des principaux chefs des Chrétiens résolurent de prendre la fuite. Pierre l'*Hermite* fut de ce nombre, mais *Tancrède* le fit revenir, et lui fit faire serment de n'abandonner jamais une entreprise, dont il étoit le premier auteur. Il signala, depuis, son zèle, et fit les merveilles au siège de Jérusalem." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 311.

would have been all cut off, had it not been for the pretended discovery of the lance with which our Saviour's side was pierced. Having got possession of this, they bid adieu to despair, and took an oath that, if God would deliver them from this danger, they would never separate till they had taken Jerusalem, and delivered the holy sepulchre. After this they marched out, and defeating the enemy, took their camp, in which they found an immense booty. This was the 28th of June, A. D. 1098. Boemond remained at the place with the title of prince.

Immediately after the reduction of Antioch, a contagious disorder carried off many of the crusaders, and among them Adhemar, the Pope's legate, who was exceedingly regretted. They then wrote to the Pope, to give him an account of their proceedings, and to request that he would come in person to head them, in the city in which the Christians first acquired their name, and in which the apostle Peter had his first see. The Pope, however, contented himself with sending them another legate, Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa.

While they remained here, there arose a dispute about the reality of the lance that had been discovered; when Peter Barthelemi, who pretended to have had a revelation which led to it, demanded the proof of the fire ordeal. Accordingly, a fire being lighted, he took the lance, and boldly advanced through it, seemingly safe and sound; but, as he died a few days after, the question remained undecided.

After the taking of Antioch, the crusaders made some other conquests, and marching towards Jerusalem, they arrived there on the 7th of July, A. D. 1099; and though they were then only twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, and the city was garrisoned by forty thousand men, furnished with every thing necessary, they took it on the 15th of July, at three o'clock in the afternoon, which was noticed as being the day and the hour of the death of Christ. Godfrey was the first to enter the city, together with his brother Eustace, by getting upon the wall, from a tower which they had brought near it. Presently after, the count of Thoulouse entered at another place, and then the whole army, making a dreadful slaughter of the infidels, of whom they killed about ten thousand in the mosque which was situated on the ruins of the temple, and as many in other places.*

* "Le massacre fut horrible, tout nageoit dans le sang, et les vainqueurs fatigués du carnage en avoient horreur eux-mêmes." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 105.

Being now in possession of the place, the great object of the expedition, they bathed themselves, and marched barefoot, groaning and shedding many tears, till they came to the holy sepulchre, where they were met by the Christians in the place singing hymns. It was a wonderful spectacle, say those who were present, to see with what devotion the crusaders visited the holy places, some on their bare knees, and all of them endeavouring to exceed the rest in what was considered as an act of religion. The bishops and priests then performed mass in the church, praying for the people, and giving thanks to God for such great success. The day of this conquest was then ordered to be celebrated by a solemn festival every year.

Eight days after this, Godfrey was chosen king of Jerusalem, and being, on this occasion, offered a crown of gold, he replied, "that he could not bear the thoughts of wearing a crown of gold in that city where the king of kings had been crowned with thorns."* After some dispute, Daimbert the legate was chosen patriarch, the former patriarch Simeon being then in Cyprus, and ignorant of all that had passed. From Daimbert, Godfrey received the investiture of the kingdom of Jerusalem,† as Boemond did that of Antioch. After the return of the greater part of the crusaders, who had now accomplished their vows, Godfrey, and Tancred who remained with him, had no more than three hundred horse, and two thousand foot. The cities subject to them were very few, and separated from one another by places in the possession of the Mahometans, who killed or made slaves of them, whenever they took any of them. They also abandoned the cultivation of the ground; not caring if they starved themselves, provided they could furnish the Christians. The Franks were no where safe, except in cities, very well fortified, being liable to be plundered in the night, and murdered even in their houses. Such was the beginning of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which, however, subsisted eighty-eight years.

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 237. (P.) Cent. xi. Pt. i. Ch. i. Sect. vii. Note [x] by Dr. Maclaine, who adds, "This was sublime in the eleventh century."

† Which he enjoyed only one year, dying in 1100. *Sandys* says, that in 1611 he found his tomb in the *Temple of the Sepulchre*, with this inscription: "Hic jacet inclytus Godefridus de Buglion, qui totam istam terram acquisivit cultui Christiano; cujus anima requiescat in pace. Amen." Which he thus translates: "Here lieth the renowned Godfrey of Bulloign, who won all this land to the worship of Christ. Rest my soul in peace. Amen." *Travels*, 7th Ed. 1673, p. 127.

SECTION VIII.

Articles relating to the public Offices, and Discipline.

THE articles under this title that occur in the course of the present period are not of much importance, but they are sufficiently numerous to require a Section for themselves.

We have seen, in a former period, the desire of some popes to forbid the use of the living languages in the offices of public worship, and we find the same in this. Pope John XII., in order to prevent the Bohemians from using the Greek ritual, as the Bulgarians and Russians did, charged the prince not to use the Sclavonic tongue in divine service, but the Latin, which accordingly he did. Also Gregory VII. absolutely refused Wratisslas, king of Bohemia, the use of that language, for the same purpose, though the people had requested it; saying it was the will of God that some things should remain in obscurity, lest they should be despised by the common people; that ancient custom was no excuse, since the primitive church had dissembled many things, which were corrected afterwards, when religion was more confirmed and extended. "Wherefore," says he, "we command you, by the authority of St. Peter, to oppose with all your might the imprudent request of your subjects."

This pope shewed the same zeal for the introduction of the Roman ritual into Spain. This had been done partially before, in a former period; and it had been agreed on at a council held at Yacca, in A. D. 1060. In A. D. 1080, it was received by Sancho, the first king of Arragon, and after some threatening on the part of Gregory VII., it was also received by Alphonsus IV., king of Leon and Castile. This, however, the king was not able to accomplish without difficulty, on account of the opposition that was made to it by the clergy, and even the nobility and common people. After some dispute on the subject, it was agreed to decide the business by appointing champions to fight for the two rituals. Though the king's champion was defeated, his queen would not allow him to give up the point till they tried the *ordeal* of fire; * when, it is said, both the missals being thrown into the same fire, that of Spain, or the *Mosarabic*, was not injured, but the Roman was consumed. Still, the king would not yield, but ordered the Roman ritual to

* See a reference to this *ordeal*, Vol. V. p. 299.

be used in his dominions. Many churches, however, retained their former offices. This is the story related by Rodriguez, archbishop of Toledo, but who lived one hundred and fifty years after the event.

The Roman ritual was not, in all respects, the same that was used in other churches, as the creed was not recited in divine service. When the emperor Henry II. was crowned at Rome, he asked the reason of this, and was answered, that as there had not been any heresy at Rome, there was no occasion for it. At the request of the emperor, it was recited at a solemn mass.

A new festival, that of *all the faithful dead from the beginning of the world to the end of it*, was introduced in this period, by Odilon, abbot of Clugni.* It soon passed into other churches, and afterwards into all Catholic churches.

It appears by the offering of king Robert to the church of St. Agnes, in Orleans, in A. D. 1029, that the dedication of bells was then called *baptism*, and that oil and chrism were used on the occasion. In A. D. 968, John XIII. consecrated the great bell of the Lateran church at Rome.†

In the tenth century, the consecration of the elements began to be made with a low voice.‡

It appears by the writings of Fulbert, in the beginning of the eleventh century, that it was the custom for priests, at their ordination, to receive from the bishop, one host, of which they took a part every day, so as to consume the whole in forty days, in imitation of our Saviour's appearing to his disciples forty days after his resurrection. In some churches a host served them seven days.

It was about the end of the eleventh, or the beginning of the twelfth century, that *small wafers* were used in the administration of the Lord's supper. It was a curious conceit of Durandus to say, that they ought to be made in the form of denarii, because Christ was sold for thirty of those pieces of silver. § At this time all communion was in both kinds.

The discipline of *penance* was a great article in the religion of those times, and a source of great gain to the priests. In this period we first read of the *commutation of penance*. By a law of king Edgar, in the time of Dunstan, a fast of one day was valued at a *denier* (penny), which was sufficient for the maintenance of one man. A day of fasting might also be redeemed by the recital of two hundred and twenty

* He "extended the benefit of these prayers to all the souls that laboured under the pains and trials of purgatory." *Mosheim*, Cent. x. Pt. ii. Ch. iv. Sect. ii.

† *Bingham*, l. p. 316. (P.) ‡ *Ibid*. p. 767. (P.) § *Pictet*, A. D. 1054. (P.)

psalms, or six genuflexions, and one hundred and sixty paternosters, that is, the recital of the Lord's prayer. One mass was equivalent to twelve days of fasting. A rich man might relieve himself by making other persons fast for him, so as to accomplish in three days a fast of seven years; but then, besides this, he was prescribed many painful exercises, and great alms. It was the custom also to commute penances for sums of money and land given to the church, which was a great means of enriching it.

Burchard, bishop of Worms, composed a book of canons to direct the imposition of penance, and the compensation for it. According to his rules, a person who could not fast for one day with bread and water, was to sing fifty psalms on his knees in the church, and maintain a poor man that day, when he might take any nourishment, except wine, flesh, or fat. A hundred genuflexions were equivalent to fifty psalms, and the rich might redeem that with money. But these redemptions were allowed only when the penance could not be complied with. Some time before this, penances performed by others were condemned at a national council in England, in A. D. 747, because it was said, that if they were admitted, salvation would be more easy to the rich than to the poor, contrary to the express declaration of the gospel.*

There are, says *Fleury*, no instances of voluntary flagellation before the eleventh century. This flagellation in public was opposed by Stephen, who had been a monk of Mount Cassin;† but he dying suddenly afterwards, Damiani, the great advocate for this practice, said it might be a punishment for that offence; though in other respects he was a worthy man.

These articles relating to penance naturally lead to the mention of various other superstitious practices, and the opinions on which they were founded.

The invention of the *rosary*, consisting of a number of beads on a string, is ascribed to this period, in order to keep an account of the number of prayers and salutations of the Virgin, which persons were to repeat. A complete rosary consisted of fifteen repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and one hundred and fifty salutations of the Virgin; and what was called the *crown* consisted of six or seven repetitions of the Lord's prayer, and ten times as many salutations.†

* See Vol. V. pp. 319, 320, and Note *.

† *Mosheim*, II. pp. 224, 225. (P.) Cent. x. Pt. ii. Ch. v. *fin.*

Ratherius, bishop of Verdun, speaks of some persons who attended mass on Mondays, in preference to other days, because on that day the angel Michael celebrated mass before God. Damiani mentions it as the pious opinion of many eminent persons, that the souls of the dead do not suffer on Sundays, and that on this account they said mass in honour of the angels, to engage their protection of the dead, and those who were to die.

Robert, king of France, to prevent the guilt of perjury, which was then very common, made the lords swear on a chrystal *reliquaire*,* ornamented with gold, but without any relics in it; and another of silver, in which was the egg of a griffon; as if the validity of the oath, says *Fleury*, depended upon the relics on which it was then the custom to swear.

At the council of Aire, in A. D. 1020, it began to be the custom to take relics to councils, in order to add to their solemnity and obligation.†

As an instance of the most elaborate superstition that I have met with in this period, I shall mention the manner in which the wafers for communion were prepared at the monastery of Clugni. They took the best corn, which they chose grain by grain. They then washed it carefully, and put it into a sack, which was kept for the purpose. A servitor of approved purity carried it to the mill, every thing belonging to which was washed. He then put on a garment called the *albe*, and an *amict*, which covered his head and face to the eyes. In this manner he ground the corn, and sifted the flour. Two priests and two deacons, clothed in the same manner, kneaded the dough in cold water, that it might be more white, and they formed the wafers; a novice held the marked iron on which they were baked, and they sung psalms during this labour, which was always performed before dinner.

That superstition takes the place of moral virtue, we see exemplified every day; but that it should lead to the commission of actual crimes, is not so common. Yet in this period the Celtiberians, fearing that St. Romuald, a famous hermit,‡ would leave their country, after having in vain endeavoured to detain him with them, formed a design to murder him, that at least they might have his relics for the protection of their country.

* "Boite, coffret, &c. pour mettre des reliques; a shrine for relics." *Boyer.*

† *Pictet.* (P.)

‡ See *supra*, p. 229, Note*.

Superstition, however, was often a great and successful excitement to valour in battle, and the Normans, after they embraced Christianity, were particularly distinguished for it. Robert Guiscard passed the night before a battle which he fought in Epirus, with all his army, in the church of the martyr Theodore, where they received the communion. In a similar manner did William the Conqueror prepare his army before the battle of Hastings,* by which he gained the crown of England.

It is, however, to the credit of this period, that in it, Agobard wrote a treatise against the ordeal, and other kinds of superstition which prevailed in his time.†

SECTION IX.

Miscellaneous Articles.

IN this period we see more of the dawning of arts and sciences, and of literature in general, than could well have been expected from the complexion of it in other respects.

1. In the beginning of the eleventh century, Guido, a monk of Arezzo, invented the use of notes in music, by means of which it was said that a child might learn in a few months, what a man had not been able to learn in several years, which was of great consequence with respect to church music. The author of this ingenious art, writing concerning it to a monk of Pomposia, who had assisted him in it, he says, whether seriously or in pleasantry does not appear, "I hope that they who come after us will pray for the remission of our sins; since, instead of ten years, in which it was difficult to obtain an imperfect knowledge of psalmody, we now make a chanter in one year, or at most in two." He says, that pope John XIX. sent for him, and was wonderfully pleased with his invention.

Though the *gamut* was not wholly of Guido's invention, he greatly improved it, by affixing to the letters, certain syllables, extracted from a hymn to John the Baptist, for the purpose of intonation, which was the origin of *solfaing*.

* By "confession of their sins and communion of the Host." *Milton*, B. vi. p. 354. "Dans le camp des Normans, toute l'armée fut occupée à se préparer au combat et à demander à Dieu un heureux succès." *Rapin*, L. v. p. 459. Lord Lyttleton, in the *Introduction* to his *History of Henry II.*, commends these devout Normans, at the expense of the less religious army of Harold. Yet such devotees preparing slaughter, and full of their sanguinary purpose, could only taint the sacrifice of the altar.

† *Pictet*, A.D. 1002. (P.)

He also reduced the stave to four lines, by using the intermediate spaces together with them, at the same time prefixing certain letters, viz. F. and C. at the beginning, which was the origin of *cliffs*.*

The disputes between the Greek and Latin churches, and also those between the popes and the emperors, in this period, were the means of promoting inquiry and discussion, and of many persons applying to literature. The study of divinity was particularly attended to, by the monks of Mount Cassin, at first by having recourse to the fathers, but afterwards in a more logical way; the works of Aristotle having been introduced among Christians by the Arabs.†

In A. D. 820, the Caliph Almamon applied to the emperor at Constantinople for books in the Greek language, and those he got translated into Arabic; but the Arabs confined themselves to books relating to mathematics, natural philosophy and medicine. They particularly attached themselves to the works of Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen. Many of these books, Charlemagne and others got translated from Arabic into Latin; and soon after, schools were instituted, in which this kind of knowledge was taught. Salerno was particularly distinguished for Arabic literature, in consequence of the easy access to this place from the East and from Africa. On this account, it soon had the greatest reputation of any school in Europe, especially for medicine.‡ Gerbert, a native of France, afterwards pope Silvester II., distinguished himself by his application to this kind of literature, especially mathematics and astronomy, which he derived from the Arabs in Spain, having spent some time in the university of Cordova and Seville; and his example induced many to apply to the same source of information.§

2. Lanfranc was a great restorer of letters in Normandy. Many studied under him at the monastery of Bec, especially Anselm, his successor in the see of Canterbury. Anselm was, without dispute, the best metaphysician the church had ever had, before him, at least since Austin, as his writings now extant testify. In one of his works he gives the metaphysical arguments for the being of God, and went before Clark in the subtle but unsatisfactory arguments *à priori*. "God," says he, "must necessarily have existence; for he is possessed of all perfections, and *existence* cannot be denied to be one." ||

* Williams, p. 39. (P.) † Giannone, I. p. 487. (P.) ‡ Ibid. p. 489. (P.)

§ Mosheim, II. p. 199. (P.) Cent. x. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Sect. vii. viii.

|| Among Anselm's works are the following: "vi. *Dialogus de Veritate*; a Dialogue

Odo, before he was made abbot of St. Martin's, at Tournay, distinguished himself by teaching the sciences. He chiefly excelled in logic, of which he composed three books. Following the doctrine of Boethius and the ancients, he maintained, that the object of this art was *things*, and not *words*, as some of the more moderns, boasting to follow Porphyry and Aristotle, pretended. Of this class was Rainbert, who taught logic at Lisle, and decried the doctrine of Odo. This was the commencement of the two sects of *Nominalists* and *Realists*, so famous in the schools, afterwards.

We find some persons beginning to collect books, and form libraries. Bouchard, bishop of Worms, in the beginning of the eleventh century, had more than a hundred volumes of ecclesiastical authors, and a hundred and fifty of profane writers, which was then considered as a great library.*

At what time the Bible was divided into chapters, as now in use, does not appear; but Humbert, legate from pope Leo IX., in A. D. 1054, quotes those of the Old Testament, as they now are. The division into verses was made by R. Stephens, after the revival of letters.†

3. Architecture, and other ornamental arts, had been neglected in Italy more than five hundred years before the time of Desiderius, who rebuilt the monastery of Mount Cassin; so that he was obliged to send for workmen from Constantinople.

4. It will give my readers some idea of the nature of the legends, or fabulous lives of saints and martyrs, which were imposed on the world in ignorant and credulous ages, to be told, that at the Council of Limoges, in A. D. 1031, it was solemnly discussed whether St. Martial should be ranked among the *apostles*, or *confessors*; when, as *Fleury* says, his whole history was founded on a legend, composed under the name of one of his disciples, called Aurelian, and which

concerning Truth. vii. *Dialogus de Libero Arbitrio*; a Dialogue concerning Free-will. viii. *Dialogus de Casu Diaboli*; a Dialogue concerning the Fall of the Devil. xix. *Concordia Præscientiæ, Predestinationis, et Gratiæ, cum Libertate*; Prescience, Predestination and Grace, consistent with Free-will. xx. *Libër de Voluntate Dei*; a Treatise concerning the Will of God." *Biog. Brit.* I. p. 213, Note [ff].

* "At the beginning of the tenth century, books were so scarce in Spain, that one of the same copy of the Bible, St. Jerome's Epistles, and some volumes of ecclesiastical offices and martyrologies, often served several different monasteries."

Among *Lanfranc's* directions to the monks in 1072, "In the beginning of Lent, the librarian is ordered to deliver a book to each of the religious. A whole year was allowed for the perusal of this book." Warton, *Hist. of Poetry*, 2d Dis. *apud Biog. Brit.* II. p. 131.

† See *Prideaux*, Pt. i. B. v. *Lewis*, History of Translations, 2d Ed. 1739, pp. 208—210.

was not known before the tenth century. In this history it was said that Martial was a relation of St. Peter and St. Stephen, and that by the order of Christ, he was baptized by Peter himself, that he was made a bishop by Christ, after his ascension, and sent by him into Gaul, after he had received the Holy Spirit at the day of Pentecost. The debate terminated with his being called *an apostle*. But when the archbishop Aimon, who presided, was proceeding to pronounce an anathema against those who denied it, the bishop of Limoges, who had contended for his being only a confessor, obtained a delay of the sentence.*

5. In this age, the trial by *ordeal*, received immediately from the northern nations of Europe, but which came originally from the East, where it is practised to this day, was in the greatest credit, notwithstanding the decrees of councils and popes against the use of it; and in this period occurred (as was recited, p. 235), a case of a seeming miracle by means of it, perhaps the best attested of any, since the age of the apostles. With respect to it I would observe, that M. Fleury copied this account from a letter of the people and clergy of Florence to pope Alexander II.; but though it is said by Mr. Berrington† to be attested by the historians of the age, it is probable that they all had it from this one source.

Improbable as it must appear, *à priori*, that the Divine Being should give countenance to such a practice as this, the fact is certainly not impossible. But when it is considered that all the people of Florence, their magistrates, and the monks, were interested in the success of the trial; and that the only account we have of it was drawn up by themselves, some doubt will remain both with respect to the circumstances previous to the trial, and the issue of it; so that the chance of safety might be something greater than is represented, and the monk might not have come off quite so well. Nothing also is said of the direction of the wind, or of there being any current of the air at the time, and much would depend upon that. Besides, if a real miracle was depended upon, why was not the monk placed in the middle of a burning pile, and made to continue there till it was burned out? Why had he any chance of escaping unhurt, which the distance of the burning piles certainly gave him?

To gain our entire credit, the miracle should have been

* *Fleury*, XII. p. 487. (P.) See *supra*, p. 228, Note *.

† In the *Introduction to his History of Abelard*. (P.)

performed in the presence of the enemies, as well as of the friends to the issue of it; and if they did not join in the report, it should appear from the circumstances that they were unable to contradict it. The bishop's resignation might arise from the consciousness of his guilt, and of his extreme unpopularity, without any conviction of the truth of the miracle.

Mosheim makes no mention of this extraordinary fact, and Baronius places it in A. D. 1063, and not in 1075, where *Fleury*, followed by Mr. Berrington, places it; a difference sufficiently remarkable. The truth of Christianity does not rest on such miracles as these.

This, too, was very different from the case of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, at Babylon, when their enemies, who threw them into the furnace, were consumed; and when, after continuing evidently a considerable time, the king himself ordered them to come out, and then made a solemn decree in favour of their religion; reciting and acknowledging the miracle as the occasion of it.*

Successful and satisfactory as the issue of this trial by *ordeal* is said to have been, it does not appear that more recourse was had to it afterwards, though, no doubt, many similar occasions must have occurred.

* In the ritual for the *ordeal* was this *adjuration* by the priest:

"O God, who hast done many wonders by fire, who hast delivered thy servant Abraham from being burnt by the treacherous contrivances of the Chaldeans, who hast suffered the bush to burn in the sight of Moses and not to be consumed; who hast delivered the three children from the fiery furnace of the Chaldeans, by which many of them perished; who having destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah by fire, hast saved Lot thy servant and his family; who at the coming of thy Holy Spirit hast decreed to separate the faithful from unbelievers, by the illustration of fire; shew us, in this trial of our wickedness, the power of the same Holy Spirit; by the heat of this fire distinguish the faithful from the unbelievers; that the guilty, upon a slight touch of the same, upon the account of the crimes about which inquisition is made, may have horror upon them, and their hands or feet in some measure burn; but that those who are innocent may utterly escape and come off unhurt."

In another *adjuration* the priest added: "If the guilty person, or persons, shall, by some witchcraft, herbs or diabolical arts, be so heart-hardened, that he will not confess the sin he has committed, we beseech thee, O Lord, that thou wouldst be pleased to manifest the same by thy right hand."

The case of queen Emma (p. 251, Note *) is thus described: "The distressed queen spent the night before the *ordeal* in prayer, at St. Swythin's tomb, in the cathedral church of Winchester. Next day, all the preparatory ceremonies being over, she walked over the nine heated plough-shares unhurt, in the presence of the king and the nobility of the land. She was dressed like an ordinary person, naked to her knees, and had her eyes always fixed upwards. The fire was so far from making any impression upon her, that after she had walked out of the church, and had trod upon all the hot irons, she asked when they designed to bring her to the test: but being given to understand that the danger was all over, she gave God thanks for giving so full a testimony to her innocence." See *History of Trials*, pp. 4-7.

PERIOD XVIII.*

FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM, BY THE CRUSADERS,
A. D. 1099, TO THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE, BY
THE LATINS, A. D. 1204.



SECTION I.

The History of the Crusaders continued.

CONSIDERING the strange, irregular manner in which the first crusade was conducted, it terminated much better than could have been expected. Godfrey himself, however, did not long survive his success. He died in A. D. 1101,† and was succeeded by Baldwin, count of Edessa.

The success of this first expedition encouraged others to undertake a second. In A. D. 1102, fifty thousand men set out from Lombardy, conducted by Anselm, archbishop of Milan, Albert, count of Bladras, Guibert, count of Parma, and many other persons of distinction; who, followed by a great number of Germans, traversed Hungary, Bulgaria and Thrace, and at Easter arrived at Nicomedia.

About the same time, there set out from France, William, duke of Aquitaine, Hugh, surnamed *the Great*, count of Vermandois, brother of Philip, king of France, who had left the former crusaders at the siege of Antioch, and also Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois, who had done the same. They were joined by Stephen, count of Burgundy, and many others; who, with about thirty thousand men, taking the same road through Hungary, &c. arrived at Constantinople, where they found Raimond, count of Thoulouse; and taking him for their leader, came to Nice. But the emperor Alexis informing the Turks of their motions, and

* Vol. II.

† See *supra*, p. 270.

the crusaders being divided, one party of them perished in the mountains, but some of them arrived at Tarsus, where Hugh the Great died.

They assembled again at Antioch, whence they proceeded, some by sea, and some by land, for Jerusalem, where they celebrated Easter, in A. D. 1103. Presently after this, joining Baldwin in a battle with the Mahometans, the greater part of them were cut off, and among them, both Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois, and Stephen, count of Burgundy; so that this second crusade proved very unsuccessful.

This enthusiasm, however, was far from being abated in the West. Boemond, prince of Antioch, going to France in A. D. 1106, and being married at Chartres, harangued the principal nobility of France, who were assembled on the occasion, in such a manner as that great numbers of them took the cross. At the same time, the crusade was preached with more solemnity by the Pope's legate, Brunon de Signi, at a council in Poitiers, where Boemond was present. He did not, however, live to see the event of this expedition; for he died in Apulia, on his return to the East, in A. D. 1112, and thus the emperor Alexis was delivered from a formidable enemy: for though both were Christians, and equally opposed by the Mahometan powers, they were far from acting in concert, or at all friends to each other.

In the mean time, the affairs of the king of Jerusalem wore but an indifferent aspect. Baldwin was so poor, that, to mend his fortune, he concealed his marriage with a wife that he had at Edessa, and married Adelaide, the widow of Roger, count of Sicily, a princess of great wealth and power; and this he did by the advice of Arnoul, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, a man of a most profligate character. Being at the point of death, in A. D. 1117, he dismissed Adelaide, and, dying the year following, he was succeeded by Baldwin du Bourg. The arms of the Christians had, however, some success in the conquest of Tyre, in A. D. 1127; and undertaking the siege of Damascus, they sent six persons to procure succours from Europe. These were present at the Council of Troyes, in A. D. 1127, when the order of the *Knights Templars* was confirmed,* and returned the year

* This order had been instituted in 1118, and consisted at first of knights who "took up their habitation not far from Christ's sepulchre, and therefore were called *Templars*; and in armour led pilgrims safely through the Holy Land." *Discourses* published by *Hearne*, 1720, p. 145.

following, attended by a great number of the noblesse of France.

Baldwin II. dying in A. D. 1131,* was succeeded by his son-in-law, Fulk, count of Angers, and he by his son Baldwin III. in A. D. 1142.

In A. D. 1145, the bishop of Gabala came to Rome to implore succour for the crusaders, who were in consternation for the loss of Edessa, which was taken from them by Zengui, in A. D. 1144, after a siege of two years, with a prodigious massacre of the inhabitants. On this occasion, pope Eugenius wrote to Lewis, the king of France, exhorting him to take arms for the defence of the Christians in the East, granting the same indulgence to those who engaged in this expedition that Urban had done before; and giving leave to engage the *fiefs* of the church, if the lords would not advance the money that would be wanted. Lewis had before this, determined upon the expedition; and holding a parliament at Vezelai in Burgundy, at Easter, in A. D. 1146, where he was attended by the principal bishops and lords of France, Bernard, a celebrated abbot of Clairvaux, from a scaffold erected for the purpose in the open air, harangued the audience in favour of the crusade, with such effect that, after the king had taken the cross at this time, the crosses they had prepared were not sufficient to supply the demand for them. Bernard, therefore, cut his garment into crosses for the purpose. After the king, queen Élienor took the cross; and of the lords, the principal were Alfonso, count of St. Gilles and Thoulouse, Henry, son of Thibaut, count of Blois, Gui, count of Nevers, and his brother Renaud, count of Tonnerre, Robert, count of Dreux, the king's brother, and Ives, count of Soissons. Of the prelates were, Simon, bishop of Noyon, Geoffroy of Langres, and Arnoul of Lisieux.

At another assembly, held at Chartres, every thing was settled respecting the expedition, and Bernard was urged to accept the command. This he declined; but he not only wrote to the Pope,† exhorting him to employ both the swords of St. Peter, the spiritual and temporal, on this

* *Sandys* found his tomb near to his brother's, (see p. 279,) on which was the following inscription:

"Rex Baldwinus, Judas alter Macchabeus, spes patriæ, vigor ecclesiæ, virtus utriusque: quum formidabant, qui dona tributa ferebant, Cæsar, Ægypte Dan, ac homicida Damascus, proh dolor! in modico clauditur hoc tumulo." *Travels*, p. 127.

† In this letter he informs the Pope, as the effect of his harangue, that the towns and castles are deserted, and every where women to be seen bereft of their husbands, *des veuves dont les maris sont vivants*. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* l. p. 387.

occasion, but he sent circular letters to all the countries of Europe, to promote the crusade. "Is not this," said he, "a precious opportunity of salvation, an invention worthy of the depth of Divine goodness; when the Almighty designs to call to his service, murderers, thieves, adulterers, perjured persons, and men loaded with all sorts of crimes, as if they were righteous? He is willing to be your debtor, and to give you as a recompence for this service, the pardon of your sins, and eternal glory."* He exhorted them, however, not to molest the Jews. This was in consequence of a monk named Rodolf preaching the crusade at Cologne, and along the Rhine, and urging them to murder the Jews, as the enemies of the Christian religion; and on this, the Jews had actually been murdered in many cities of Gaul and Germany.†

Bernard himself made a progress through Germany on purpose to preach the crusade; and meeting with Rodolf, he persuaded him to return to his monastery. At Spire, Bernard preached before the emperor Conrad; and though this prince had hesitated before, Bernard spoke in so moving a manner, that, with many tears, he expressed his readiness to undertake the expedition. In this, all the people expressed the greatest satisfaction; and to add to the solemnity, Bernard took from the altar, and delivered to the emperor, a standard to carry in his hand, in this war. At this time also, Frederic, nephew of the duke of Suabia, and many other persons of distinction, took the cross. Bernard having gone over a great part of Germany, and, according to the account of his historian, having performed innumerable miracles wherever he went, returned to France, and arrived at Clairvaux in February, A. D. 1147.

Presently after, Conrad held his court in Bavaria, when many bishops took the cross, as Henry of Ratisbon, Otho of Frising, and Reinbert of Passau, together with Henry, duke of Suabia, the brother of Conrad, and many other lords. But what the historian says was more extraordinary, was,

* In his address to the *Knights Templars*, he said, "What is most wonderful is, that the greater part of those who enroll themselves in this sacred militia, were wicked wretches, impious ravishers, sacrilegious murderers, perjured persons, and adulterers; so that their conversion has two good effects, to relieve their country, and succour the Holy Land. It is thus that Jesus Christ revenges himself on his enemies, triumphing over them, and making use of them to triumph over others." (P.)

† "St. Bernard resté en Occident tandis que tant de guerriers, sur la foi de ses prophètes, alloient chercher la mort en Orient, s'occupa à réfuter les erreurs de Pierre de Bruis, du Moine Raoul, qui annonçoit, au nom de Dieu, d'aller massacrer tous les Juifs." *Noûv. Dict. Hist.* l. p. 387.

the great number of robbers and thieves who came thither for the same purpose. But after the invitation given them by Bernard, this was a very natural thing. Not long after this, Ladislas, duke of Bohemia, and Bernard, count of Carinthia, took the cross. The Saxons did the same, not, however, to go to the East, but to make war upon the neighbouring idolatrous nations, which took place the year following.

Conrad set out May 29, A. D. 1147, followed by his nephew Frederic, duke of Suabia, and he arrived at Constantinople September 8th, while other Germans who had taken the cross, went to serve against the Saracens in Spain, and took Lisbon the 21st of October. Lewis took his road through Germany the 14th of June, while Conrad had passed into Asia, with guides furnished him by the emperor Manuel. These betrayed him; and being surrounded by the armies of the sultan of Iconium, where they were almost famished, scarce a tenth part of them escaped. Conrad himself made good his retreat to Nice, where he was met by Lewis. Thence he went to Constantinople, to pass the winter, while Lewis advanced as far as Antioch. In the spring, Conrad went by sea to Acre, where the crusaders met to concert their measures with the king of Jerusalem. It was agreed to besiege Damascus; but not being able to take it, Conrad returned to Germany. Lewis, however, proceeded as far as Jerusalem, where he was, at Easter in A. D. 1149; but after this he returned to France, without having effected any thing. From this time the Mahometan princes held the Latins in great contempt, and the affairs of the latter went continually backward.

The Saxon crusaders formed an army of sixty thousand men. There was also another of forty thousand, and the king of Denmark marched at the head of a hundred thousand. These made an expedition against the Sclavi, destroyed part of their country, and burned several cities, especially one called Malchon, near to which was a famous idol temple. But after the war had continued three months, they made a peace with them, on condition of their receiving Christian baptism, and restoring the captives they had taken from the Danes. Accordingly, many of them were baptized; but, as the historian says, without being converted. Also, they only restored such of the slaves as were old and useless, keeping all that were serviceable. It soon appeared that these pretended Christians were worse than they had been before, paying no regard to the promises they had made at their bap-

tism, and making incursions into the territories of the Danes, as much as ever.

The ill success of this crusade was, as might have been expected, a great mortification to Bernard; and he was reproached, as having contributed to mislead those who went on that expedition. But he alleged in his excuse the case of Moses, who, though acting by the immediate order of God, did not bring the Israelites to the promised land, on account of the incredulity and rebellion of the people; and these crusaders, he said, were not less incredulous or rebellious. He likewise alleged the war of the eleven tribes against the Benjamites, when, though directed by God, they were defeated twice, and yet conquered the third time. When he was asked whether he was authorized by miracles as Moses was, he said modesty would not suffer him to speak on that subject,* but he left it to others; which looks as if he really thought that he had wrought some miracles.

The most formidable enemy the crusaders had was Saladin, a prince of great ability, courage, and magnanimity. After he had made himself master of Egypt, the affairs of the crusaders wore every day a worse aspect. Their manners were extremely corrupt,† and military discipline was neglected. Pope Alexander III. on hearing this, was much affected; and ordering his legates to preach a new crusade, the kings of France and England both promised to send speedy succours. The alarm was increased by the arrival of Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and others from the East, at Verona, where the Pope and the emperor were holding a council in A. D. 1184, and whose assistance they implored. Nothing was done at that time; but they were sent with letters of recommendation to Philip Augustus, king of France, and Henry II. of England.‡ The former would have undertaken the expedition himself; but having no children, he sent several brave knights at his expense, and a great number of foot soldiers. Henry also did not go himself, but he gave leave to all who chose it; and many persons took the cross,

* "Il parle avec beaucoup de modestie des miracles qui avoient autorisé ses prédications et ses promesses." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. pp. 387, 388.

† "On voit, par les relations de ces voyages, que les armées des Croisés étoient non seulement comme les autres armées, mais encore pires; et que toutes sortes de vices y regnoient, tant ceux qu'ils avoient apportés de leurs pays, que ceux qu'ils avoient pris dans les pays étrangers." *Ibid.* p. 388.

‡ "Il lui présenta les clefs du St. Sepulchre et de la Tour de David, pour marquer du désert qu'ils avoient de se ranger sous son obéissance." *Rapin, L. vii. ll.* pp. 227, 228.

among whom were several bishops and great lords.* Of the former were Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, and Gautier of Rouen. Henry had before this, viz. in A. D. 1166, caused a collection to be made through all England, for the service of the Holy Land, which was continued five years.

As none of the kings of Jerusalem distinguished themselves, it is barely worth while to note their succession. Baldwin III. dying in A. D. 1160, was succeeded by his brother Amauri, and he by his son Baldwin IV. in A. D. 1172. This Baldwin was a leper, incapable of business, and dying in A. D. 1185, was succeeded by his nephew Baldwin V. then nine years old; and he dying the next year, A. D. 1187, Guy de Lusignan was made king; and he was the last who reigned at Jerusalem.

The *Templars* having broken the truce that had been made with Saladin, he was resolved on revenge; and coming with an army of fifty thousand men, he defeated the Christians in a pitched battle near Tiberias, and took the king himself, and all the chiefs, prisoners. The king he spared, but he put to death Arnold de Chastillon, master of the *Templars*, who had been the cause of breaking the truce, and also all the knights both of the temple and those of the order of John of Jerusalem, who had never given any quarter to the Mahometans in peace or war. It was a great affliction to the Christians to lose in this battle what they took to be the true cross of Christ, which they had with them as a pledge of victory. After this, Saladin took almost all the places on the sea coast, and then he took Jerusalem itself by capitulation the 2d of October, A. D. 1187, after it had been in the possession of the Christians eighty-eight years. The only places that were then left to them, were Antioch, Tyre, and Tripoli.

The news of the loss of Jerusalem threw the whole Christian world into the greatest consternation, and especially pope Clement III. Being then at Pisa, he earnestly exhorted the people assembled in the cathedral church to labour for the recovery of the Holy Land; and he gave the standard of St. Peter to Ubaldi, the archbishop of that see, with the title of legate. Accordingly he set out in the middle of September, the same year, A. D. 1188, with a fleet of fifty vessels, and after wintering at Messina, arrived at Tyre, the 16th of April the year following.

* "Mais le patriarche, voulant faire sa cour au roi, lui dit, en prenant congé, qu'il auroit préféré sa seule personne à tous les Anglois qui s'étoient engagés dans la croisade." *Rapin*, L. vii. Il. p. 228.

The kings of France and of England, having a conference at Gisors to settle their differences, at the exhortation of William archbishop of Tyre, who represented to them the deplorable state of things in the East, agreed to compromise every thing in dispute between them, and both of them took the cross, together with several great lords and bishops. The king of England, moreover, ordered every person in his dominions to pay a tenth of his revenues towards the expense of the expedition, and forbade all expensive luxuries. The king of France followed his example, and this tax was called Saladin's tithe.

The cross was also taken on this occasion by Frederic the emperor of Germany, and his son Frederic duke of Suabia, together with no less than sixty-eight great lords of Germany, both ecclesiastic and secular; and their departure was fixed for the 23d of April the year following. A difference arising between the emperor of Germany and Isaac Angelus, the emperor of Constantinople, the former took Philippopoli, the 25th of April, A. D. 1189, and passed the winter at Adrianople. The next year, at Easter, he passed the Hellespont, and on the 18th of May took Cogni, the capital of the Seljukian Turks; but he was unfortunately drowned as he was bathing in a river of Cilicia, the 10th of June. His son Frederic, duke of Suabia, took the command of the army, but died six months after, before Acre.

King Richard set out from England the 10th of December, A. D. 1189, and the king of France joined him the 4th of July, A. D. 1190. Separating at Lyons, Lewis embarked at Genoa, and Richard at Marseilles; and rejoining at Messina, they passed the winter there. At the end of March the king of France left Messina, and on the 20th of April arrived at Acre, which the Christians had been besieging two years. Richard sailed from Messina the 10th of April, and being shipwrecked on the isle of Cyprus, he conquered it from Isaac Comnenus, who had revolted from Isaac Angelus, and arrived at Acre, which surrendered the 13th of July, A. D. 1191, and became a place of great importance to the Latins in Palestine.

Soon after this event the king of France returned to his country, but Richard staid,* and defeated Saladin on the 27th of September. Being obliged, however, to return to England soon after, and the other lords not being able to

* At this time Richard and Saladin put to death all their prisoners. In this barbarity Richard was probably the aggressor. See *Rapin*, L. vii. ll. p. 255.

continue the war, he wrote the most pressing letters to the Pope to engage him to come in person to their assistance, but without effect. Richard having made a truce with Saladin for three years, left Palestine the 8th of October, A. D. 1192, and returning through the dominions of the duke of Austria, whom he had offended at the siege of Acre, he was taken and imprisoned the 20th of December, and in this situation he continued all the year following.

On the death of Saladin in A. D. 1193,* the Christians thought it furnished a favourable opportunity to renew the war; and in Germany three great armies were formed, in A. D. 1197. The first, commanded by Conrad archbishop of Mayence, went by land to Constantinople, and thence by sea to Tyre. The second went by sea, and coasting Spain, took Silves in Portugal, and demolished it, and thence proceeded by the straits, to Acre. The third army, which was the strongest, the emperor Henry took with him to Italy, in order to complete the reduction of that country, and of Sicily, after which it was conducted by Conrad, bishop of Wurzburg, his chancellor, and arrived at Acre the 22d of September. But the chancellor himself stopped at the isle of Cyprus, to crown Guy of Lusignan, who did not choose to receive his crown from the emperor of Constantinople.

These German crusaders found the truce which had been made with Saladin, broken, and his brother Safadin in possession of Jaffa, which he had taken and demolished. The Christians, however, gained a battle near Sidon, and retook several of the places they had lost, though they did not succeed in the siege of Toron. But these Germans were exceedingly scandalized at the disorderly lives of the Franks, who being satisfied with the possession of a fertile country, minded nothing but their own interest and pleasure, without any regard for Jerusalem, or the holy sepulchre. They even suspected the Franks of acting in concert with the Mahometans, for their destruction. They, therefore, separated from them, and having recovered Jaffa, returned home; and so this formidable armament ended in disappointment.

Pope Innocent III. who interested himself much in the affairs of the Holy Land, directed a new crusade to be published, and employed Fulk of Neuville, a popular preacher,

* "On dit qu'il laissa, par son testament des distributions, égales d'aumônes, aux pauvres Mahometans, Juifs et Chrétiens." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 271. It appears from various circumstances recorded in this article, *Saladin ou Salaheddin*, that the Mussulman had made more use of the Christian precepts, transplanted into his *Koran*, than his Christian competitors had made, of the New Testament.

to preach it up, and he did it with great success. In consequence of his preaching, Thibaut IV. count of Champagne, Lewis count of Blois, Simon de Montfort, and several other persons of distinction took the cross, and also Baldwin IX. count of Flanders, with many lords of that country. Farther to facilitate this expedition, the Pope wrote to the emperor Alexis, begging his concurrence, though not without reproaching him for not having assisted in the conquest of the Holy Land, and threatening him if he did not change his conduct. The emperor, however, alleged in his excuse the ill offices that had been done him by the crusaders.

After many conferences held by the crusaders at Compeigne in A. D. 1200, they named six deputies, to whom they gave the power to direct all their proceedings, and these chose Boniface II., the marquis of Montferrat, for their chief. Being assembled at Venice, the 2d of June, A. D. 1202, they were met by another body from Germany, headed by Martin Litz, abbot of a monastery of Cistercians in the diocese of Basle. At the same time there arrived a fleet from Flanders, conducted by John de Nelli of Bruges. But many of the crusaders not being able to raise the sums which had been stipulated to be paid to the Venetians for their transportation, returned. Others, however, and among them the count of Flanders, and the marquis of Montferrat, gave the full price, though, in order to raise it, they were obliged to sell their vessels of gold and silver, and also to raise as much as they were able, on credit. Still, of the whole sum that had been agreed to be paid, there remained no less than thirty-four thousand marks of silver; and therefore as an equivalent for this, they promised the doge of Venice to assist the Venetians in the taking of Zara, which had been taken from them by the king of Hungary. On hearing this, the Pope was exceedingly offended, and forbade them on pain of excommunication to attack the dominions of any Christian prince, and Zara by name, then in the possession of the king of Hungary, who had himself taken the cross. He particularly forbade the marquis of Montferrat to have any concern in this business, and accordingly he declined going on the expedition.

While they were preparing to embark, there arrived at Venice, ambassadors from young Alexis, son of the emperor Isaac, whom his brother had dethroned; begging their assistance in his restoration, the prince himself, who had applied to the Pope with the same request, being gone to the emperor, Philip of Suabia.

On the 8th of October they sailed from Venice, and arriving

before Zara the 10th of November, they took the place, and passed the winter there. At this place they received letters from the Pope, in which he treated them as excommunicated persons, insisted on their doing no farther injury to the king of Hungary, and making restitution for what they had done. But the principal business transacted now, was, their treaty with Alexis who met them, together with ambassadors from the emperor Philip. He promised that, if they would restore him, he would bring the empire of Constantinople under obedience to the Pope, indemnify them for all their expenses, and would either go with them to Egypt, or send ten thousand men at his expense, and always keep five hundred knights to guard the country. To this expedition many objected; but at length it was acceded to by the majority, and the Pope himself in reality was a well-wisher to it, as promising a great addition to his power. And as the crusaders made an apology to him for their conduct at Zara, he absolved them from the excommunication he had laid them under. But the Venetians not acknowledging that they had done any thing wrong, remained unabsolved. In this place, however, the most considerable of the French lords left the army, as Simon de Montfort and his brother Guy; Simon having made a treaty with the king of Hungary, to whom he then went, though afterwards he proceeded to Palestine.

After Easter, the crusaders left Zara, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Pope against their intermeddling with the affairs of the Greeks, arrived in sight of Constantinople the 23d of June, and taking it by assault, crowned young Alexis, emperor, the 1st of August, A. D. 1203; but becoming odious to the Greeks on account of his connexion with the Latins, and his exactions in order to raise the money he had promised them, though it was by no means all that he had promised, he was put to death by another Alexis, surnamed Marchoufle, who got himself elected emperor. The crusaders offended at this, again took the city on the 12th of April, Marchoufle flying by night. Having got possession of the city, it was abandoned to plunder, the churches themselves, and things the most sacred, not being spared.

In this plunder of the city, the Latins found abundance of relics, which they considered as lawful prize. But because many of the soldiers set less value on the relics than the rich cases in which they were contained, and which they broke for the sake of the materials of which they consisted, the chiefs began to be alarmed lest this sacrilege should bring

some judgment upon them ; and in consequence of this, the Pope's legate and the bishops forbade all persons under pain of excommunication, to retain relics, and directed them to be put under the custody of the bishop of Troyes.

After the taking of the city, Baldwin, count of Flanders, was chosen emperor, and in this character he was crowned the 17th of May, A. D. 1204 ; and the marquis Boniface was made king of Thessalonica.*

SECTION II.

Of the Power of the Popes, in this Period.

AN account has been given, in a preceding period, of the publication of spurious *decretal epistles* of the popes, from the earliest times, by Isidore of Seville. That these *decretals*, as they were usually called, should have been received as genuine, when so much depended upon them, is one of the most extraordinary facts in history. But they were forged and published in an age of great ignorance, when few of the laity, whose rights they principally affected, could even read ; and though the clergy lost something, yet the sacerdotal order in general gained more than it lost, by the publication. The fact, however, is such, that few persons in that age, or several of the succeeding ones, appeared to have entertained a doubt of the genuineness of these epistles ; and as but little advantage was taken of them at the time, and the power of the popes and of the clergy had been increasing from other causes, their authority had a better opportunity of establishing itself, than if they had been appealed to, and acted upon, immediately.

Fleury, in one of his excellent *Discourses on Ecclesiastical History*, shews at large how much the power of the popes was advanced by means of these decretals, especially after they were included in the collection of canons, together with other spurious works of the fathers, by Gratian, a Benedictine monk of the monastery of St. Felix, in Bologna, which was for many ages the great university for the study of both the canon and the civil law. This work of Gratian was published in A. D. 1158. To the *decretals*, *Fleury* ascribes the introduction of the following important maxims and practices, viz. that no councils can be held without the

* There are several curious particulars and valuable references, on the subjects of this Section, in Dr. Robertson's *View*, prefixed to his *History of Charles V.* See Section i. *Note* xiii. Ed. 1772, l. pp. 285—291.

authority of the Pope; that bishops cannot be judged definitively, but by him; that he has the sole right of approving the translations of bishops from one see to another, of erecting new bishoprics and metropolitan churches,* and the consequence of these, the frequent appeals to Rome from all parts of the Christian world. In addition to these, arose an opinion unheard of, as *Fleury* says, before the publication of this work of Gratian, that, though the church of Rome gives authority to all the canons, it is not bound by them itself; and yet this new doctrine was generally received in the three following centuries, and the power of the popes seems to have been at no period so fully established as in this.

Pascal II. in a letter addressed to the archbishop of Poland, maintained that the councils did not make a law for the church of Rome, since it was that church which gave authority to the councils. But, says *Fleury*, it is only in the spurious decretals that there is any foundation for this maxim. The popes, in times prior to these, claimed a right of giving or refusing their sanction to the decrees of councils, and generally sent legates to preside in them. *Fleury* says, that from the year A. D. 1110, there were no councils in France without legates from the popes.

The maxim of the subjection of temporal to spiritual power, advanced by Gregory VII., though opposed in his time, was by no means given up, but was assumed as an axiom, by succeeding popes. Innocent III., the most distinguished of them in this period, always reasoned and acted upon it as far as circumstances would permit.

It was in this period, and especially in his pontificate, which began in this period, and extended into the next, that the papal power may be properly said to have been at its height. Exalted above the kings of the earth, the popes extended their power over all kingdoms, and kings thought it their greatest honour to own themselves their vassals, and make their kingdoms tributary to the apostolic see. The popes had made themselves sovereigns in Rome, and disclaimed all dependence upon the emperors. Rome was become the general court to which not only all ecclesiastical, but even all civil causes, from all parts of Europe, were carried. Appeals to Rome of all kinds, and from all persons, were so frequent, that there was no affair of any consequence but was immediately carried thither.

* At the erection of Ely, in England, into a bishopric, in A. D. 1107, it was thought necessary to get the leave of the Pope. (P.)

The popes had for the most part engrossed to themselves the conferring of bishoprics, because they were the judges of the validity of elections, though these properly belonged to the clergy, as the ordinations did to the metropolitans. In order to shew their unlimited power, and make advantage of it, there was nothing that could happen for which dispensations could not be obtained at Rome; which so enervated ecclesiastical discipline, that it provoked Bernard to declaim so violently as he did against it. But what raised the Papacy to the highest pinnacle of glory, was, that the disputes between sovereign princes were usually referred to Rome. And as, by this means, the general government of Europe may be said to have been in the hands of the popes, the interior government of all the separate states was chiefly, in those times, and long after, entrusted to ecclesiastics. They were employed in the greatest offices of trust and power, and in all the most important embassies.*

In order to form a clearer idea of the spirit of these times, I shall recite some specimens of the manner in which Innocent III. reasoned, and in which he was sometimes answered.

Having taken the part of Otho in a contest for the empire of Germany, in writing to him, he says, "By the authority of Almighty God, which has been given to us in the person of St. Peter, we receive you as king, and order that henceforth respect and obedience be rendered to you as such; and, after the customary preliminaries, we shall give you solemnly the imperial crown." At the same time he wrote to the princes of Germany, spiritual and temporal, enjoining them to respect Otho as king of the Romans, and emperor elect; and, as to any oaths they might have taken to the contrary, he promised to set their reputation and conscience at ease on the subject.

To this the princes who had taken the part of Philip of Suabia replied in the following sensible and spirited manner: "Where have you read that you, or your predecessors, or their envoys, have interfered in an election of a king of the Romans, either as electors, or as judges of the election? Jesus Christ has distinguished the provinces of the two powers, so that he who is engaged in the service of God must not involve himself in temporal affairs, and he who is charged with these, does not preside in things spiritual. But admitting you to be judge, a sentence given in the absence of one of the parties is null. We have unanimously

* *Giannone*, I. p. 637. (P.)

chosen Philip, king, and require that you crown him at a proper time and place, as is your duty."

The Pope, in a long answer to this remonstrance, said that the power of the princes of the empire, to choose a king of the Romans came from the holy see, which transferred the empire from the Greeks to the Germans, in the person of Charlemagne; and that "the princes ought to acknowledge that he has a right to examine the person whom they choose for king, since it is he who consecrates and crowns him; and it is an universal rule, that the examination of the person belongs to him who imposes hands upon him. If," said he, "the princes should choose a person excommunicated, a heretic, or a Pagan, must we be obliged to crown him?" The king of France was offended at the Pope's taking the part of Otho, who was his enemy, and sent a remonstrance on the subject, and afterwards the Pope abandoned him.

He did not, however, abandon his maxims: for when he refused to legitimate the children of William, duke of Montpelier, after he had legitimated those of Philip Augustus, he said he had a right in certain cases to exercise temporal jurisdiction in other places, beside the patrimony of the church, where he had sovereign authority, temporal and spiritual. To prove this, he alleged a passage in Deuteronomy, in which it is said that, in affairs of greater difficulty; or where the opinions of the ordinary judges differed, they should go to the place which God should choose, and address themselves to the high priest, as supreme judge, and even abide by his sentence, under pain of death.

The same Pope, giving his reasons, A. D. 1203, for interfering to make peace between the kings of France and England, quotes, in a letter to the former, many passages of Scripture, the purport of which was, to shew that Jesus Christ came to bring peace. "No person," he says, "doubts but that he came to judge with respect to the salvation or damnation of the soul: but is not sowing discord, attacking Christians, plundering the poor, spilling human blood, profaning churches, and destroying monasteries, works deserving of eternal damnation? Jesus Christ said, *if thy brother sin against thee, reprove him*. You have been reprovèd. What remains then but that, if you will not hear the church, you be treated as a heathen man and a publican? You will say you do no wrong, and the king of England, the same; must we not then inquire into the state of the fact, and, after having found it, proceed according to the command of God?

Shall we cease to reprove the wicked, and put a stop to violence?"

Writing to the king of England, he says, " We do not pretend to judge concerning *fiets*, but concerning *sin*, the correction of which, without doubt, belongs to us, with respect to all persons whatever. No person is ignorant that it belongs to us to reprove all Christians, in case of mortal sin; and, if he despise correction, to inflict ecclesiastical censures. We are particularly obliged to do so with respect to breakers of the peace, and oaths; since both these belong to the judgment of the church." In this manner it was easy for the popes to claim jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever.

In things of a properly spiritual nature, the authority of the popes was seldom disputed. We sometimes, however, meet with an instance of the good sense of the laity, revolting at the dispensing power of the popes in matters of plain morality. Pope Calixtus desiring Henry I. of England to allow of the election of Thurstan to the archbishopric of York, he said that he had sworn that he would not, as long as he lived. To this the pontiff replied, " I am Pope, and if you will comply with my request, I will absolve you of that oath." The king said he would consider of it, and afterwards answered, that it did not become his dignity to receive the absolution that he offered. " What confidence," said he, " can there be in an oath, if it be seen by my example that they may be so easily broken?" Thurstan not yielding to the king's demands, he never suffered him to come into his dominions, nor would he permit the Pope's legate to enter them. Neither was this king, nor the Pope, deficient in spirit, to assert what they supposed to be their rights. The king insisting on his right of granting investitures, and Anselm vigorously opposing him, the latter went to Rome, and the king sent an ambassador who said that his master would lose his kingdom rather than relinquish his right. The Pope replied, he would lose his head rather than grant it. Henry, however, appears to have withstood with great firmness all the Pope's attempts to encroach upon his prerogatives.

In this reign the Pope made great complaint of the refractoriness of the English, that no appeals were made to Rome, that translations of bishops were made without his consent, and that *Peter-pence* was irregularly paid; but though the king was threatened with excommunication, if he continued obstinate, he kept to his purpose; and in a conference which he had with pope Calixtus in A.D. 1119, the latter pro-

mised to allow him all the prerogatives of his ancestors, and that he would send no legate to England, except he desired it, on account of any case that could not be decided by his own bishops.

Other princes in this period shewed the same spirit, in despising the rash and unjust censures of the popes. William, king of Scotland, though excommunicated by Alexander III. for not suffering John, bishop of St. Andrew's, (whose interest was supported by the Pope,) to take possession of the see, paid no regard to it; and on this account the kingdom was laid under an interdict in A. D. 1181. Afterwards, he applied to pope Lucius III. and was absolved. When Philip Augustus, king of France, was threatened with an excommunication by the Pope's legate, he said, he should not regard it, because it would not be just. Though Innocent III. pronounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against André, king of Hungary, because he did not fulfil his engagement to go to the Holy Land, he never paid any regard to it; and his brother, whom the Pope had favoured, dying, André was universally received as king, and was acknowledged by the Pope himself. Pascal II. appears to have considered Henry IV. of Germany, as lawful emperor, though excommunicated and deposed by Gregory VII. and his successors. This example, says *Fleury*, and many others, shews that the power of the Pope over the temporalities of princes was not received as an article of faith. Lastly, pope Innocent III. having sent a legate into France, to make peace between the kings of France and England, Eudes, duke of Burgundy, advised the king of France not to make a peace or truce, by constraint of the Pope, or of any cardinal. "If," said he, "the popes do any violence to the king, on this account, I will assist him to the utmost of my power, and will make no peace with the Pope, but with the king."

Complaints were frequently made of the improper and injudicious interference of the popes, in the dioceses of other bishops. Bernard remonstrated with great earnestness with pope Eugenius on exemptions that were too easily granted. "Abbots," he said, "are withdrawn from their obedience to the bishops, bishops from archbishops, archbishops from their primates. You shew," he said, "by this the plenitude of your power, but perhaps at the expense of justice. The bishops become more insolent, the monks more relaxed, and even more poor; for they are plundered, and have no protection."

The people of Rome were not, for several centuries, recon-

ciled to the temporal power of the popes, and often gave them much trouble on that account. In A. D. 1144 they chose one Jourdan to be their patrician, or prince, insisting on pope Lucius II. resigning to him the rights of *regalia*, both within and without the city; maintaining that he ought to be content with the tithes and oblations, as the ancient bishops were. They applied to the emperor Conrad on the occasion; saying, they were acting for his interest, and to restore the empire to what it had been in the times of Constantine and Justinian. He did not, however, think proper to pay any regard to them, but received the ambassadors of the Pope very graciously. Pope Eugenius being obliged to fly from Rome upon his election in A. D. 1144, he excommunicated Jourdan and his adherents, and by the assistance of the Tiburtines, compelled the Romans to submit to be governed as before. Being, however, tired with their continual opposition, he went to France, and was received in Paris by king Lewis. In A. D. 1148 he returned to Rome.

So violent was the quarrel between Lucius III. and the people of Rome, that in A. D. 1184 they seized many of his cardinals, and put out the eyes of them all, except one, whom they sent to him. He was also obliged to leave the city, and take up his residence at Verona, where he died. After a long dissension, the people of Rome made their peace with Clement III., promising to surrender to him the senate, the city, and the mint, and to swear fealty to him annually, on condition of his surrendering to them the town of Tusculum, which he did in A. D. 1188. At the accession of Innocent III. the Romans swore fealty to him, and not to the emperor, as they had been used to do.

What is more extraordinary is, that the popes seem to have derived little or no permanent advantage from the liberal donation of Matilda, though in A. D. 1102, she renewed the gift of all her estates in the most ample manner to the church of Rome: for when she died in A. D. 1116, Henry V. was invited to come and take possession of all her estates, no regard being paid to the donation, not even, as *Fleury* says, by pope Pascal himself.

Though the more spirited of the temporal princes could, when circumstances favoured them, set the popes at defiance, they were too ready, through their ignorance, to avail themselves of their supposed prerogative, when they were gainers by it, without sufficiently considering the consequence of that conduct. When Henry II. of England attempted the conquest of Ireland, he applied to pope Adrian IV. for his

permission, and the Pope in granting it said, "It is not to be doubted but that Ireland, and all the islands which have received the Christian faith, belong to the church of Rome;" and on condition that he caused to be paid to St. Peter a penny per annum for every house, he gave his consent for the conquest. The same prince, though sufficiently high-spirited on some occasions, yet when he was pressed by the civil wars with his sons, applied to pope Alexander III. in a manner much too abject, saying, "the kingdom of England is under your jurisdiction, and as to the feudal right, it depends upon you." Thus, at least, Peter of Blois made the king say in a letter which he wrote for him. It is very possible, however, that the king might not have been acquainted with the full meaning of that language.

The power of the popes was most frequently displayed in the case of uncanonical marriages. In this period we have a remarkable example of it. Philip Augustus, king of France, refusing to take his wife Ingelburga, daughter of the king of Denmark, whom he had unjustly divorced, Innocent III. sent his legate to admonish him, and this not succeeding, at a council held at Vienne in A. D. 1199, he laid all his dominions under an interdict, and ordered all the prelates to observe it, under pain of suspension. This interdict remained in force eight months, in all which time the churches were shut, and the dead lay unburied. In consequence of this, the king was obliged to go into the territories of the king of England to get his son married. For some time the king resented this conduct of the Pope so much, that he expelled the bishops from their sees, and confiscated their effects. Such influence had the Pope's mandates on the minds of the common people, and he found himself so great a sufferer in consequence of it, that he was obliged to yield. Though he was passionately fond of Agnes, whom he had married, and she was with child, and he had an invincible aversion to Ingelburga, his nobles persuaded him to comply with the demands of the Pope, by dismissing Agnes and receiving Ingelburga as his queen, and promising to behave to her as such.

I must not omit a curious circumstance which shews the haughtiness of pope Calixtus III. When he crowned the emperor Henry VI. he pushed with his feet the imperial crown, which was placed between them, and threw it to the ground, to denote his power of deposing the emperor; after which, the cardinals took it up and placed it on his head.

At the close of this Section, relating to the power of the

popes in general, I shall observe that it is in the writings of Geoffroy of Vendome on the subject of investitures, that we meet with the first mention of the *two swords of St. Peter*, as signifying the temporal and spiritual power.

Though the papal power resides in the person of the reigning pontiff, he, like other sovereign princes, does not often choose to act without the concurrence of his council, which consists of the cardinals. When William king of Sicily sent to treat of peace with Adrian IV., and the Pope himself was of opinion that the terms were sufficiently advantageous, and would have accepted them, the greater part of the cardinals being of a different opinion, they were rejected.

SECTION III.

Of the Schisms in this Period, and the Transactions between the Popes and the Emperors of Germany.

SOME account of the transactions between the popes and the emperors of Germany, and of the schisms in the Papacy, which had an intimate connexion with those transactions, is of too much consequence to be omitted, as they help to give a just idea of the maxims and spirit of these times.

At the close of the last Period, the schism occasioned by the election of Guibert, under the name of *Clement*, so long favoured by Henry IV. was nearly extinct. In A. D. 1100 Clement died, and his partisans chose Albert Diederick, sur-named *Silvester*, in his place; and after him two others, who were all immediately seized and deposed by the catholic party, nor does it appear that Henry declared for any of them. The situation of this emperor was not, however, changed for the better. Pascal II. renewed the excommunication of him at a council held in Rome, in A. D. 1100, and encouraged his son Henry V. to revolt against him, which he did in A. D. 1105, and expelled from their sees all the bishops who had been in communion with his anti-pope, whose body, and those of his adherents, he ordered to be taken from their graves. His father dying at this time, and being buried at Liege, even *his* body was taken up, as that of any other person in a state of excommunication, and put in a stone coffin on the outside of the church at Spire.

However, this good son of the church, and unnatural one to his own father, very soon came to be in nearly the same situation with respect to the popes that his father had been;

for, immediately avowing the same sentiments, he marched into Italy, with a view to insist upon his right to grant investitures by the delivery of the staff and crosier.

At a conference at Chalons, when Paul II. was present, the archbishop of Treves pleaded the cause of the emperor, saying that it had been the universal custom in the time of their predecessors, holy and apostolical men, St. Gregory and others, that when the people had freely chosen any candidate for ecclesiastical preferment, the emperor had confirmed their choice by the delivery of the ring and the pastoral staff; and that when the person so approved had sworn fealty, he received the *regalia*, or the revenue granted by the prince to the see. To this the archbishop of Mayence, on the part of the Pope, replied, that the church, purchased with the blood of Christ, would be a slave, if the bishops could not be chosen without the consent of the temporal princes; that the ring and the staff belonged to the altar, with which princes had nothing to do; and that the prelates debased their unction, if, when consecrated by the body and blood of Christ, they submitted to the hands of laymen, defiled with blood. This so much provoked the ambassadors from Germany, that they declared it was not there, but at Rome, and with their swords in their hands, that this question should be decided.

At another conference, however, between his ambassadors and those of the Pope, it was agreed that the king should renounce the investiture, and the Pope the *regalia*; and thus the difference seemed to be properly accommodated. But the prince, thinking probably that he had yielded too much, in giving up what had unquestionably been enjoyed by preceding emperors, insisted, in the very middle of the coronation service, on the Pope's delivering him the crown, in the same manner, and on the same terms, as it had been given to Charlemagne and his ancestors; and as the Pope did not choose to comply with this, the emperor ordered him to be seized; and while he was a prisoner, he, though with great reluctance, consented to resign the investitures. He also gave the emperor the strongest assurances in writing, that for the future no ecclesiastic should be consecrated till he had received the investiture, in the usual form, from him.

This confession of the Pope gave great dissatisfaction to the superior clergy; and the cardinals being assembled on the occasion, they made a decree against the Pope, and his bull. In consequence of this, the Pope, when he was informed of it, promised to correct what he had done only by force; and at a numerous council, held at Rome in A. D. 1112, he

publicly revoked his concession. After this, in a council held at Vienne, decrees were made against the right of the laity to grant investitures, and Henry was excommunicated for his treatment of the Pope, who confirmed these decrees.

Several of the clergy wrote on this occasion, but none of them with so much spirit as Geoffroy, abbot of Vendome. He maintained that the Pope ought to have died rather than have made the concession that he had done. "A pastor of bad morals," he said, "may be tolerated, but not if he err in the faith. In this case the faithful have a right to oppose him, more than if he were a public sinner, and the most infamous person:" for he maintained that, according to the tradition of the fathers, the authorizing of giving investiture by laymen was a heresy.

If excommunication had any visible effect, it must have been seen on this occasion. Henry was excommunicated again at a council held at Beauvais in A. D. 1114, again at Rheims in A. D. 1115, at two councils held by the legate Conon, one at Cologne, and the other at Soissons, the same year, and again at Cologne in A. D. 1116. Albert, archbishop of Mayence, who had been among the first to encourage Henry in his opposition to the Pope, finding that he had been excommunicated in so many places, and that the Pope, (though, to keep his word, he had not himself excommunicated him,) would not absolve him, turned against his master, who was not, however, discouraged by this circumstance, for he caused him to be apprehended, and kept him three years a close prisoner.

On the death of Pascal, who had been driven from Rome in a faction of the citizens, supported by Henry, in A. D. 1118, when Gelasius was chosen to succeed him, Henry, not being able to bring him to an accommodation, did not consent to his election, but favoured that of Maurice Bourdin, bishop of Bruges, who had crowned him in the absence of the Pope, and for which he had been excommunicated by Pascal, and he assumed the name of Gregory VIII. On this, Gelasius excommunicated both Henry and him. This schism was not, however, of long continuance: for, on the return of Celestine II. from France, in A. D. 1120, Gregory fled to Sutri, and shut himself up in a fortress; but being delivered up on the approach of the army of Celestine, he was exposed to insult, and confined in a monastery for life.

In A. D. 1118, Conon, the Pope's legate, again excommunicated Henry at a council held at Cologne, and also at Fritzlar, at which he was much enraged, but promised to

attend a meeting for promoting peace at Friburg. A conference was also agreed on between the Pope and the emperor, at a great council held at Rheims in A. D. 1119, at which the Pope attended; but nothing coming of it, he was there excommunicated, as well as the antipope. This Conon going into the East, also excommunicated Henry, at Jerusalem, as he had done on his way thither, in Greece, in Hungary, Saxony, Lorrain, and France, and required that what he had done should be confirmed by the council at Lateran, held by Pascal in A. D. 1116; and though some opposed it, the majority consented, and the prohibition of investitures pronounced by Gregory VII. was renewed.

At length, however, this great business was finally settled at Worms, in A. D. 1122, when it was agreed between Henry and Calixtus II. that the emperor should no longer give investiture by the delivery of the cross and the staff; that the election of bishops and abbots should be in the king's presence, but without violence, or simony; that if there should be any difference, it should be decided by the metropolitan and the bishops of the province, and that the person elected should receive the *regalia* by the emperor's delivering to him a sceptre, as a badge of temporal and spiritual power. The assembly in which this was transacted was held in the open air, in a plain near Rheims, on account of the great multitude that attended. After this, the emperor received the communion, and was reconciled to the church.

A compromise similar to this was made in England: for, at a council held in London, in A. D. 1107, it was agreed that the king should not give investiture by the delivery of the ring and pastoral staff, but that the bishops should swear allegiance to him. But the king, jealous of his prerogative, hearing that the emperor of Germany granted investitures in the usual form, declared that he would do the same if the emperor was suffered to do so.

A schism of longer continuance took place on the death of Honorius II. in A. D. 1130. Before this event, it had been agreed among the cardinals to make the election of the new pope, in the church of St. Marc, where they should all meet according to custom. But those cardinals who had been the particular friends of Honorius, and the greater number apprehending a tumult, hastened the election before the Pope's death was generally known, and chose Gregory, the cardinal of St. Ange, surnamed Innocent II.; while the other cardinals, meeting at St. Marc's at the time appointed, chose Peter de Leon, cardinal of St. Mary, called Anacletus II.

But the party of Innocent being weaker in the city, he left Rome, and went to Pisa, in order to proceed to France.

Anacletus was acknowledged by Roger, king of Sicily, but not by any of the princes in the western part of Europe. There the interest of Innocent, which at first seemed very unpromising, prevailed, in consequence of his being warmly supported, first by Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, a prelate highly respected, and then near eighty years old, who excommunicated Anacletus and his adherents; and also by St. Bernard, who for a great part of his life almost governed the church. At a council assembled at Estampes, for the purpose of deciding between the two competitors, Bernard pleaded so strenuously for Innocent, that, with the exception of the duke of Aquitaine, he was universally acknowledged in France. His popularity had also been greatly promoted by the splendid reception he had met with at the monastery of Clugni. After this he was acknowledged in England, Scotland, Germany and Spain, and also by the king of Jerusalem.

In A. D. 1133, Innocent, accompanied by the emperor Lothaire, went to Italy, and they entered Rome together, the Genoese having assisted them with a fleet, but they could not take the castle of St. Angelo, whither Anacletus had retired. Lothaire, however, being unable to contend with the king of Sicily, returned to Germany, and Innocent to Pisa, where, holding a grand council in which every thing was carried by the authority of Bernard, he excommunicated Anacletus and all his adherents. In A. D. 1135, Bernard succeeded in gaining the duke of Aquitaine to acknowledge Innocent, having at the time of communion advanced towards him from the altar with the host in his hand, and with furious looks threatened him with divine judgment for supporting the schism.

In A. D. 1137, Innocent, accompanied by Lothaire, again entered Rome, and even took possession of the greatest part of the south of Italy, which thereby returned to his obedience. But Lothaire returning to Germany, and dying there, Roger retook all that he had lost, and obliged the country to acknowledge Anacletus. He dying in A. D. 1138, Gregory, a cardinal priest, surnamed *Victor*, was chosen to succeed him, but, at the persuasion of Bernard, he resigned, after holding the Papacy only two months, and thus this schism terminated.

The emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who succeeded Conrad in A. D. 1152, had as serious a difference with the popes as his predecessors Henry IV. or Henry V., and promoted

another schism in the church of Rome. He shewed some proper spirit at the time of his coronation, by refusing for some time to hold the pope's stirrup, which was insisted upon by Adrian IV. who was not satisfied with his kissing his foot. At length, however, he thought proper to comply with that humiliating ceremony.

This pope, having in A. D. 1157 sent legates to complain to the emperor, of the archbishop of Lunden being seized in Germany on his return from Rome, and kept a prisoner by some of the lords, they reproached him in an improper manner for his arrogance; and in admonishing him to do his duty, they reminded him of his having received the imperial crown from the Pope. This language gave great offence both to the emperor and his lords, who said that he had received his crown from God, and not from the Pope; that, of the two swords, he held one, and the Pope the other, but both from the same authority. The emperor also expressed his resentment on account of a picture exhibited at the palace of Lateran in Rome, in which Lothaire was not only represented as receiving his crown from the Pope, but with an inscription on it, signifying that he received it as a vassal of the Pope, the term *beneficium* (or *fief*) being used on the occasion. At Rome itself there was a party, even of the clergy, who favoured the emperor. In Germany the clergy universally took his part, and on his marching into Italy, the Pope thought proper to send legates to meet him; and by declaring that by the term *beneficium* was meant simply a *favour*, and not a *fief*, in the legal sense of the term, the difference was for that time compromised.

The reconciliation was, however, by no means cordial. The Pope, dissatisfied with the conduct of his legates, and with the vigour with which the emperor exacted his rights of forage, &c., wrote him a letter, respectful enough in words, but in reality discovering much resentment on the occasion. He also sent it by an ordinary person, who disappeared as soon as he had delivered it. The emperor being highly exasperated at this, directed his secretary to write to the Pope, in the style of the ancient Roman emperors, putting his own name before that of the Pope, and using the singular number *thou* instead of the plural, which was then grown customary. In reply, the Pope complained of this want of respect, and threatened him with the loss of his crown, if he did not act with more discretion.

The emperor, more irritated than before, said he owed his crown to God, and that the popes held all their possessions

of the emperors ; that he had excluded his cardinal legates from Germany, which was one principal subject of the Pope's complaint, because instead of coming to preach the gospel, and make peace, they had amassed gold and silver with insatiable avidity, and that pride had got even into the chair of St. Peter. The emperor being at Bologna in A. D. 1159, the Pope sent four legates to him to make various complaints and demands, to which he answered with others, each insisting on their respective prerogatives ; when the Pope died in September of that year.

On the death of Adrian IV., a great majority of the cardinals chose cardinal Roland, chancellor of the Roman church, by the name of Alexander III., while the rest chose Octavian, by the name of Victor III. Alexander and his friends apprehending violence, retired to the fortress, but they were defended by the people of Rome, while the emperor adhered to Victor. In this state of things the emperor summoned a council to meet at Pavia, in order to decide between the two competitors, in February, A. D. 1159. It consisted of fifty bishops and archbishops, and a great number of abbots and other ecclesiastics. There were also deputies from France, England, and other countries, who promised to be determined by the decrees of this council. After seven days, the decision was in favour of Victor, who, being present, was immediately received as pope.

On the other hand, Alexander, after admonishing the emperor, formally excommunicated him at Anagni, on the 24th of March, A. D. 1160, and declared all who had taken the oaths to him, absolved. Both Henry II. of England, and the king of France, after holding assemblies of their respective clergy, acknowledged Alexander, as did the king of Jerusalem : and it is remarkable that, in a letter addressed to him from a council which met at Nazareth, he was called their spiritual and temporal lord, though the king himself was present.

In the mean time, Victor held a council at Lodi, when the emperor and many bishops were present, and there he excommunicated all who opposed him. In A. D. 1161, Alexander returned to Rome ; but not being able to remain there, on account of the number of his enemies, he went to Campania, under the protection of the king of Sicily, and thence, by way of Genoa, to France, where he arrived in the beginning of the year A. D. 1162 ; and, after holding a grand council at Tours, he took up his residence at Sens, and continued there two years.

In A. D. 1164, Victor died, and his adherents having chosen Gui of Crema, called Pascal III., the emperor confirmed his election. In A. D. 1165, Alexander left France; and having gone to Messina, where he was received with great honour by the king of Sicily, he arrived at Rome in November. But the emperor coming to Rome in A. D. 1167, and defeating the Romans, he went to Beneventum, while Pascal celebrated mass at Rome, and crowned the emperor. Sickness seizing the emperor's army, and he leaving Rome in consequence of it, Alexander pronounced against him a sentence of excommunication and deposition, using the form that was first adopted by Gregory VII. viz. that "for the future he should have no force in battle, and gain no victory over any Christians."

In A. D. 1168, Pascal died, and John, abbot of Stum, and bishop of Albano, succeeded him, under the name of Calixtus III. But the emperor, being defeated in Lombardy in A. D. 1176, sent to treat with Alexander, promising to give him the prefecture of Rome, and the lands of Matilda; and when they had a meeting at Venice, a peace was concluded between them, when Frederic, renouncing the cause of the antipope, was absolved from his excommunication. On this occasion the emperor walked before the Pope, discharging the office of an *huissier* [usher], and when he mounted his horse, he held his stirrup a long time. It is observable, *Fleury* says, that on this occasion the absolution given to the emperor related wholly to the schism, and no mention was made of the sentence of deposition, which had produced no effect; so little were the novel pretensions of Gregory VII. regarded.

At the earnest invitation of the senate and people of Rome, Alexander returned thither in A. D. 1178; they promising to do him homage, and restore to him all the rights of *regalia*; and he made such a triumphant entry as no pope had ever made before. Calixtus himself made a public confession of his offence, and received absolution. The schism was not, however, absolutely ended; for a few of the friends of Calixtus chose Lando Steno, of the family of the *Frangipani*, (which had always been particularly hostile to Alexander,) and called him Innocent III., and for some time, a brother of Octavian, or Victor III., took him under his protection, in a fortress which he had near Rome.

At a general council held immediately after this schism, in A. D. 1179, in order to prevent others, it was ordered that every pope should have two-thirds of the votes of the car-

dinals ; and that whoever should assume the dignity without it, should be deprived of all holy orders, and be excommunicated, as well as all who should acknowledge him. In A. D. 1180, Alexander, having purchased the castle in which the antipope had taken refuge, he was by him put in prison ; and thus a final end was put to this long schism. After the death of Alexander [A. D. 1181], the cardinals began to conform to this decree, and all other persons, clergy or laity, were excluded from having any thing to do in the election.

SECTION IV.

Of the State of the Clergy in this Period.

IN every period of this history we find the pretensions and power of the clergy in general, to keep pace with those of the popes ; and indeed the principles of which they availed themselves were, in many respects, common to both, especially that of the superiority of things spiritual to things temporal, and consequently, as they said, the superiority of power and jurisdiction in the former with respect to that in the latter.

Several new maxims, with respect to the power of the clergy, were introduced by *Gratian's Collection of Canons* in this period, especially that, in all cases, they were exempted from the jurisdiction of laymen ; and it was supported by the spurious decretals. On this maxim was founded the conduct of Thomas à Becket.

The clergy in this period even maintained that temporal power originated from them. John of Salisbury said, " the prince receives the sword from the hands of the priest, and is the minister of the priesthood, for the exercise of that part of his power which is unworthy of his own hands." Hence he concluded that the prince is, with respect to dignity, inferior to the priest, and also that the priest can take from the prince the power that he has given him. We see in this, says *Fleury*, the progress which the new maxims of Gregory VII. had made after his death.*

An argument used by Innocent III., inferior to no pontiff in this period with respect to ability, is truly curious. In a correspondence with the Greek emperor Alexis, and the patriarch of Constantinople, who maintained that the civil power was above the spiritual, and who had urged that the

sword was given to the king to punish evil-doers of all kinds, he said, "it was only given him with respect to those who made use of swords, as the laity, but not those who did not make use of swords, as the clergy. The spiritual power," he said, "is as much superior to the temporal, as the soul is superior to the body." He also alleged what is said in *Jeremiah*, *I have set thee over the nations, to pluck up and to plant, &c.*, and that God had placed two great lights in the heavens, the sun to represent the pontifical power, and the moon the civil. It is almost equally extraordinary that such arguments as these should be advanced by men of sense among the clergy, or make any impression on men of spirit among the laity.

The right of the laity to have a voice in the choice of their spiritual guides, was for many centuries uncontested; but as, at length, the cardinals usurped the sole right of choosing the popes, the canons of cathedral churches got the sole right of choosing the bishops. But this was not effected, though it was attempted, in this period; for, at a council of Lateran, in A. D. 1139, the canons were forbidden to exclude other religious persons from the election of bishops. It seems, therefore, that they had endeavoured to exclude, not only the laity, but even the clergy too.

As the clergy had assumed the right of judging, not only their own order, but in all cases that bore any relation to *religion*, as of marriage, &c., so they claimed to judge in all cases relating to the crusades, which was a war of religion.

Several of the prerogatives of the popes were assumed by the greater prelates of several Christian countries. When Sanches II., king of Spain, made an expedition in defence of Calatrava, John, archbishop of Toledo, published an indulgence, and pardon of all sins, to those who went; which, says *Fleury*, is the first example of a plenary indulgence being given by any besides the Pope.

The excommunication of princes was not the peculiar privilege of the popes. In the case of Philip Augustus, it was performed by his own subjects. Persisting in his refusal to dismiss his wife Bertrade, he was excommunicated at a council held at Poitiers, in A. D. 1100. This and the former excommunications had such an effect, that when he and the queen went to Sens, no church in the place was opened to them. At length he was absolved by pope Pascal, on condition that he would renounce all criminal connexion with Bertrade; and at a council held at Paris in A. D. 1104, he received absolution, walking into the assembly barefooted,

and with every mark of humility he took the oath required of him.

As both bishoprics and monasteries had often been given to laymen, of which we have seen many instances in preceding periods, so, many of them became possessed of the right of tithes. These were called *lay impropriations*, and of course very offensive to the clergy. At a council of Lateran, in A. D. 1139, which was attended by more than a thousand bishops, laymen were forbidden to possess tithes, and ordered to restore them to the church, if they would not risk the crime of sacrilege, and the peril of eternal damnation. At another council of Lateran, in A. D. 1179, all laymen were forbidden to transfer to other laymen the tithes of which they should be possessed. But on this it was afterwards judged, says *Fleury*, that tithes possessed by laymen, before this council, were held legally.

The clergy in this period by no means thought or acted alike on the subject of investitures, some of them pleading the right of the princes from whom they received their preferments, and others contending for the privileges of their order, in opposition to them. Of this spirit we have several remarkable instances.

Otho being invested with the bishopric of Bamberg by Henry IV. in A. D. 1103, resigned, and was re-invested by the Pope, which gave him great pleasure, as but few of the bishops in Germany at that time, conformed to the papal decrees on the subject. Eadmer, bishop of St. Andrew's, in A. D. 1120, was not required to receive investiture, by king Alexander's delivering to him the cross, but only the ring, and the cross he took from the altar, to denote his receiving it from God. Accordingly, when he resigned his preferment, he gave the ring to the king, but put the cross on the altar.

The greater part of the history of Anselm falls within the preceding period. He retained his firmness to the last; refusing on his return to England in A. D. 1100, in the reign of Henry, to receive the investiture of the archbishopric of Canterbury from him.* While at Lyons, he had written to the king to inform him that he could not render him homage for his bishopric, or communicate with any of those to whom he had given investiture. On this, the king seized his revenues, and told him that he should not return unless he would allow him his ancient privileges; and having levied

* Alleging the canons of the late synod at Rome." *Biog. Brit.* I. p. 209.

a tax on the priests, on the pretence of executing the decrees of a council held at London, obliging them to continence, he wrote to him a letter of remonstrance on the subject, in which he said "it was a thing unheard of, that a prince should execute the laws of the church against ecclesiastics by temporal punishments. It is the province of the bishops to punish their crimes." At length, by the advice of the Pope, some concessions were made on both sides, and Anselm was allowed to return, and end his days in his own country.

In this period we first read of several abuses, which, in later times, were the subject of great complaint with respect to the clergy. It was not till this time that we find any mention made of *mercenary priests*, or priests not properly belonging to any particular church, doing the duty of it for hire. This practice was forbidden at a council held at Rheims, when each church was required to have its proper priests, who could not be displaced but by the canonical judgment of the bishop, or the archdeacon. This abuse arose from bishops ordaining priests without any particular title, which the bishops were often induced to do, for money, the person receiving holy orders acquiring thereby valuable privileges, especially an exemption from being tried in the civil courts. But at a council of Lateran, in A. D. 1179, it was ordered that every bishop who ordained any person without a title, should give him a sufficient subsistence till he was provided with a living, unless he could subsist without it from his own estate.

In A. D. 1159, we find the first example of papal dispensations for non-residence and pluralities of benefices, and of recommendations or mandates, to engage the ordinary to promise benefices before they were vacant. Hugh de Champfleuri, chancellor of the king of France, having taken much pains to promote a reconciliation between that king and the king of England, the Pope expressed great satisfaction in his conduct; and as he was a canon both of Paris and Orleans, the Pope desired both the chapters to preserve his revenues wherever he should be. He also desired the bishop of Paris to give him the first dignity that should be vacant in his diocese; and he desired the canons of that church to give him the first dignity at their disposal, and the first house in their cloisters that should be vacant. He also confirmed to him the possession of the archdeaconry of Arras, given him by bishop Godfrey; and because the bishop had made him swear when he gave him this, that he

would resign the chancellorship, the Pope ordered the restitution, and absolved him from his oath. This Hugh was made bishop of Soissons, in A. D. 1159, and still continued chancellor of France. Pluralities, however, becoming very frequent, they were forbidden at the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1179. At that time several persons had no less than six livings, besides several cures; so that they could not reside, while many others of the clergy were destitute of a subsistence. At the same council it was forbidden to promise any benefice before it became vacant.

While so many of the clergy lived in indolence and luxury, it was found to be impossible to enforce the laws of celibacy and continence. In all Normandy the priests were publicly married, swearing in the presence of the relations of the women they married, that they would never leave them. They also bequeathed their churches to their sons, as by hereditary right, and often gave them in portions to their daughters. Bernard, and some other monks, preaching against these practices in this country, were in danger of their lives. The church of Armagh, in Ireland, before the year A. D. 1133, had gone in succession, and been confined to one family, some of whom had been laymen, and married. Eight of them had been of this description, though they were not illiterate. At a council held in London, in A. D. 1107, Anselm, with the Pope's consent, allowed the advancing to holy orders the children of priests, on account of the great number of such persons in that country.* He was also allowed to grant other dispensations, which the barbarism of the country was thought to require.

There are many instances in this period, though not so many as in the preceding, of open violence committed both by the clergy, and upon them. In A. D. 1112, Gandri, bishop of Laon, made himself odious by instigating his brother to murder Gerard of Creci, one of the chief lords of the city, as he was at prayers in the church, which was a great aggravation of the crime. The chief cause of the bishop's hatred of him, was, his having sworn to the *commune* of that city after he had abolished it. These *communes* were societies of burghers, who purchased privileges of their lords, whether laity or clergy, and often to their prejudice. On this they refused to pay the ancient claims, and thus became odious to the clergy. This *commune* of Laon is the first that is mentioned in history. In England

* At the same time he persecuted the married priests. *Rapin*, L. vi. II. pp. 94, 95.

they were called *corporations*, and were the germs of liberty in that country. This bishop Gaudri was afterwards murdered by the burgesses, for having given the king a sum of money to prevent his confirming their privileges, and then taxing them to the amount of what they had offered the king for confirming them. The archbishop of Mayence was murdered by his own clergy in A. D. 1160.

Some of the clergy still continued to appear in arms. The bishop of Beauvais being taken prisoner in the war with Richard, king of England, in A. D. 1197, the Pope interceded in his favour, though he blamed him for wearing armour. In answer, the king sent the Pope the suit of armour in which the bishop had been taken, and asked whether that was his brother's coat, or not.

The greatest act of violence on the clergy that we meet with in this period, was on the return of the prelates from a council at Pisa, in A. D. 1134. While they were in the territory of Tuscany, they were attacked, and much abused, by a company of banditti. They consisted of archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, abbots and monks; and yet they were plundered, some taken, and confined in the neighbouring castles. The archbishop of Rheims, after being insulted and wounded, without any respect to his age or dignity, was put in prison; the bishop of Perigueux was treated in the same manner: the archbishops of Bruges and Sens, after having lost all they had about them, arrived with great difficulty at Pontremoli, and there were seized a second time, together with the archbishop of Einbrun. The bishop of Troyes was wounded with a lance, which threw him from his horse, and the city of Pontremoli was full of prisoners.

In the East, as well as in Europe, it had been the custom to plunder the episcopal houses during a vacancy of the sees. By a constitution of the emperor John Comnenus, governors of provinces were forbidden to do this, in the strongest terms; and yet we find that Manuel Comnenus had occasion to renew this prohibition.

In some respects it was better for the world that the characters both of the popes and of the clergy in general, were not more respectable than they were, in this ignorant and superstitious age; for then their authority would have been unbounded. This appeared by the conduct of Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, in the time of Henry II. of England. He was a man universally revered for his integrity and sanctity; and having behaved with uncommon fortitude and freedom in reproving this high-spirited prince, after he had been

threatened by him, he turned to his courtiers, and said, "If all bishops were such men as this, kings and lords would have no power over them."

In this period, in which the power and influence of the clergy were at their height, something was done which tended to check their exorbitant wealth, by which their power was supported: for, with this view the emperor Frederic made a law to prevent the transferring of *fiefs* without the consent of the superior lords, in whose names they were held; so that the giving of estates to the church did not depend on the sole will of the possessor, of whom an unfair advantage was often, no doubt, taken in his dying moments.*

It was in the twelfth century that *subdeacons* were considered as a sacred order in the church. Before this, the three superior orders were deemed to be bishops, priests and deacons: but the Romish church now began to use a different language, and to say they were priests, deacons and subdeacons. From this æra, subdeacons were not allowed to return to secular life, any more than the clergy of the other orders.†

SECTION V.

The History of Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.

IN order to shew in a clearer light the spirit of the high clergy in this period, in which it was at its greatest height, I shall give an outline of the history of Thomas à Becket, a man of great ability and spirit, who had thoroughly imbibed the new maxims of Gregory VII. and acted upon them, I am inclined to think, conscientiously; though pride, and other improper dispositions of mind, have more influence on men's conduct than they are themselves aware of, as it might be in this case.

Becket was in the highest degree of favour with Henry II. and his chancellor; when, having been archdeacon of Canterbury, he was persuaded by the king himself to accept of the archbishopric, in A.D. 1162; and presently after, as if he was become quite another man, he laid aside the manners of a courtier, and assumed those of the most rigid ecclesiastic, even wearing coarse hair cloth next his skin, when he had a dress suiting his high station over it. Contrary to

* Mosheim, II. p. 395. (P.) Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. ix.

† Bingham, I. p. 198. (P.)

the king's expectation and wishes, he resigned the seals of his civil office, and devoted himself wholly to the duties of his clerical capacity, which, not having been considered as incompatible with the other, displeased the king. But their first open difference was occasioned by the archbishop's ordering some clergymen, convicted of crimes, to be punished, without delivering them up to the secular power.

After this, the king, having assembled the bishops of his kingdom at London, in A. D. 1163, asked them whether they would conform to the ancient custom of the realm? They replied, that they would, *saving their order*. The king not liking this answer, required them to make the promise without restriction. The bishop of Chichester replied, that he would, and with good faith. But the archbishop and the rest, said that, when they swore fealty to him, they only promised to preserve his life, limbs and temporal dignity, *saving their order*, and they would abide by that form. Provoked at this, the king left them abruptly, and the day after, he took from the archbishop all the places and *fiefs* which he had held as chancellor.

Many of the bishops, however, were afterwards prevailed upon to accede to the king's proposal; and even the archbishop himself went to him, when he was at Oxford, and promised to change the form which had given him so much offence. But the king, requiring a more public satisfaction, called an assembly in A. D. 1164, at Clarendon, and then, though not till much urged by the other bishops, and others who wished the peace of the kingdom, he did promise to conform to all the ancient customs without exception. On this, some of the lords being appointed to reduce these customs to writing, the archbishop desired some time to consider them. The next day the writing was completed, and the articles amounted to sixteen. Having taken some time to consider them, and to reflect upon the subject, the archbishop repented of having complied so far as he had done; and to punish himself, he refrained from all service at the altar; and to make his sentiments more public, he sent to the Pope, who was then at Sens in France, to obtain absolution. Accordingly, the Pope sent his absolution, commanding him to resume his functions, and do his duty with courage, as a good pastor.

This conduct of the archbishop, which amounted to an open declaration of war against the king, provoked him in the highest degree; and to shew his resentment, he did him every ill office in his power. The archbishop then endea-

voured to go privately out of the kingdom, to the Pope, but was prevented by contrary winds. This attempt being a violation of an established custom, offended the king still more; so that the archbishop, dreading his resentment, seemed desirous of obliging him by sending to the Pope to obtain his leave to conform to the customs. This, however, the Pope refused to do. He, moreover, wrote to the king, to persuade him to abandon customs which were contrary to the liberties of the church, out of regard to the judgments of God, who had often punished kings for infringing on the privileges of the priesthood. Notwithstanding this, the king persisted in having the clergy, when accused of theft, and other offences of a civil nature, tried by the secular judges, while the archbishop constantly remonstrated against it; maintaining that every offence of a clergyman ought to be judged in the ecclesiastical courts, though in this case all they had to fear was deposition; and then, not being liable to be tried for the same offence in any other court, they escaped without any proper punishment.

In October, A. D. 1164, the king called a council at Northampton, which was attended by all the lords and prelates of the kingdom, when the archbishop, for not appearing in person to a former citation, was condemned to have his goods confiscated. On being informed of this sentence, he said, it had never been heard of before that an archbishop of Canterbury had been judged in the court of the king of England on any account whatever, since he was the spiritual father of the king, and of all the kingdom. The king then demanding of him an account of the revenues of several bishoprics and abbeys, of which he had the disposal, when he was chancellor, he desired to take the advice of his friends, and they were of different opinions. The lords spiritual and temporal being required to give their judgment, the bishops deliberated by themselves; and in order to free themselves from all blame, agreed to cite the archbishop before the Pope, as guilty of perjury for refusing to obey the king, after he had taken an oath to do it; thinking by this means to procure his deposition. But the temporal lords passed sentence upon him, both as a perjured person and a traitor. When this sentence was announced to him, he said, after giving an account of the manner of his exaltation to the see of Canterbury, "as much as the soul is of more value than the body, so much ought you to obey God and me rather than an earthly king. Neither the law nor reason permits children to judge their father. I therefore decline your jurisdiction, to be judged by God

alone, by the ministry of the Pope, to whom I appeal." However, dreading the king's violence, he withdrew privately into France, landing at Bologne, the 8th of November, A. D. 1164.

In the mean time, a deputation of bishops and nobles was sent by the king to the Pope; but he, having been prepossessed in favour of the prelate, said he could give no opinion in his absence, and the deputies, not choosing to wait for him, returned, after which the Pope rescinded the sentence passed against him at Northampton.

Becket was well received by the king of France, who was not sorry to have that opportunity of mortifying the king of England, though they ought to have made a common cause, in opposing the encroachments of the clergy; and being conducted in the most respectful manner by the king's officers, he waited upon the Pope. In his presence he made a formal confession of his fault, in complying so far as he had done with the king's requisitions, and receiving the archbishopric at his hands. Having again obtained absolution, he, in the like formal manner, resigned his church into the hands of the Pope, who restored him to his dignity, and committed him to the care of the abbot of Pontigni, which was of the order of Cistercians, promising that he would never desert him.

Henry, provoked at this reception of the archbishop by the king of France, confiscated all his goods, and even banished all his relations and friends. And shewing moreover, a disposition to treat with the antipope, and the emperor, Alexander began to be alarmed, and desired the bishops of London and Hereford to apply to the king, in order to accommodate matters. In return, they advised the Pope to act with moderation, lest he should lose the obedience of England, and involve them in much trouble; and in this he seemed to acquiesce: but, being arrived at Rome in A. D. 1165, and having but little dread of the antipope, he made Becket his legate for all England, except the diocese of York.

Thus supported, the archbishop wrote letters to the king, first in a mild strain, but afterwards in a more lofty one, magnifying the sacerdotal dignity, and threatening the king with the anger of God; which provoked him still more: but fearing lest the archbishop or the Pope's legates should excommunicate him, and lay his kingdom under an interdict, he appealed to the Pope. To this extremity Becket had intended to go; but hearing of the king's illness at this time, he deferred it for the present, and contented himself with excommunicating the bishop of Oxford, and some other

persons whose conduct offended him, as too complaisant to the king, and all those who should take any thing belonging to his see of Canterbury. At the same time he admonished the king to give satisfaction to the church; for that, otherwise, he should certainly excommunicate him. He also condemned the sixteen articles of ancient customs, and excommunicated all those who should be governed by them.

In these circumstances, the king wrote to England, to acquaint the people with his appeal to the Pope, and forbade his clergy to obey the archbishop. And some time after, the bishops, by his order, assembled in London, where they wrote to the Pope in favour of the king, who, they said, only wished to punish, as they observed, those of the clergy who should be convicted of great crimes. They also complained of the archbishop, as having acted improperly, especially irritating the king by his threats of excommunication, and of laying the kingdom under an interdict, and having actually excommunicated several of their own body; but against this they appealed to his holiness. They also wrote a letter of expostulation to the archbishop himself, exhorting him to behave with more patience, humility and gratitude to the king. In answer to this he reproached them with cowardice, and abandoning the common cause of the church.

The king and the archbishop having both appealed to the Pope, he promised to send legates to negotiate a peace between them. In the mean time, the king threatened the Cistercians with the loss of all that they held in his territories, for receiving his enemy; and in consequence of this, Becket was obliged to leave Pontigni, where he had resided two years, and he went to Sens, where he remained four years.

When the bishop of Oxford and the deputies of Becket waited on the mother of Henry, a woman of sense and spirit, she excused her son's conduct, as proceeding from his zeal for justice, and irritated by the malice of the bishops. They ordained, she said, clergymen without choice, and without attaching them to any church; and the consequence was, that, through idleness, they committed many crimes. A clergyman, she observed, without a title or benefice, had nothing to lose; he feared no temporal punishment, for his holy orders secured him from that; and he did not fear the prison of the bishop, who would rather let him go unpunished than be at the expense of maintaining and guarding him. The bishops, she also said, gave to one clergyman five or six benefices, which occasioned differences about presentations and collations, and lastly, that the bishops received

money for conniving at the offences of which persons were accused before them. To all this, the deputies were unable to make any answer, and owned that there was the true source of the mischief.

In A. D. 1167, the legates arrived from the Pope; but though they had several conferences with the king, the archbishop, and the bishops of England, at the head of whom was the bishop of London, who made many complaints of the tyranny of Becket, with respect to himself, nothing was concluded. But the king still said he would abide by the decision of the Pope.

When Henry and the king of France made peace, the archbishop, apprehensive of losing his chief support in the friendship of the latter, and also urged to it by the Pope, who always gained more by the differences than the agreement of princes, went to make his submission, and even proposed to refer all the articles of their difference to the king himself, in which, from the knowledge he had of the king's generosity, he might think himself safe. But as, in doing this, he added *saving the honour of God*, the king was very angry, observing that, whatever displeased himself, he would say was contrary to the honour of God. The king, with the greatest firmness, proposed that Becket should only do to him what the greatest of his predecessors in the archbishopric of Canterbury had always done to the meanest of his predecessors, the kings of England. This, however, the haughty prelate refused; saying, that his predecessors had reformed some abuses, but had left others to be reformed by him. This appearing extremely unreasonable to the lords of both kingdoms, they said he was an obstinate man, resisting the will of both the kings, and ought to be abandoned by them both. Accordingly, both the kings mounted their horses, and left him without even the common salutations.

Some time after this, the king of France considering probably the advantages he might sometime derive from such a spirited opponent to his rival, relented in his favour, and allowed him an honourable maintenance as before. Encouraged by this, the archbishop again excommunicated all those who had seized any thing that belonged to him as archbishop of Canterbury, and especially the bishop of London; and the consequence of this was, that the king could hardly find a person in his own chapel who would give him the kiss of peace at mass, for the clergy were almost all excommunicated, either directly or indirectly, as having communicated

with those who were so. On this the king applied to the Pope to get them absolved ; but all that he could obtain was, that the Pope would send a nuncio to make peace.

Accordingly they met the king at Domfront, in France ; when the king, not liking the Pope's proposal, which was simply to receive the archbishop into his favour, began to threaten something, they replied, " Do not threaten us, for we do not fear you. We belong to a court which is accustomed to command emperors and kings." In their farther conferences, the king, provoked at their insolence, said he should not value their excommunications an egg. Afterwards, however, he was appeased, and promised he would reinstate Becket in his archbishopric ; but not being able to agree on the form of the oath to be taken on the occasion, the king insisting on his promising with a *saving of the dignity of his kingdom*, and the archbishop with a *saving of the rights of the church*, the conferences, which had been carried on at different places, broke up without any good effect.

The king, hearing of a legate to be sent to England, and dreading the probable consequences of it, ordered that, if any person should be found there with letters from the Pope, or the archbishop, containing an interdict on the kingdom, they should be seized and executed as traitors ; and that if any bishop, abbot, or other ecclesiastic, should observe the interdict, they should be banished, together with all their relations ; and their goods should be confiscated. All appeals to Rome were forbidden, as also the payment of Peter-pence ; and what there was of that tax already levied, was to be kept in the exchequer, to be disposed of as the king should direct.

The lay-lords conformed to these spirited orders of the king ; but the bishops and abbots refused, especially the bishops of Winchester, of Exeter, and of Norwich ; and this seems to have encouraged the archbishop and the Pope to oppose to the bold measures of the king, measures as bold on their side : for, after some other attempts to promote a reconciliation had proved ineffectual, the Pope took off the archbishop's suspension, in case the king should not give satisfaction to the church before Easter, in A. D. 1169 ; and Becket, anticipating this term a fortnight, sent orders to all the clergy, that if the king did not make the required satisfaction before Candlemas, they should discontinue all the public offices of religion, except the baptism of infants, penance, and the *viaticum*, for which purpose they might say mass, but with the doors shut, and excluding all excom-

municated persons. Many persons the archbishop excommunicated by name, especially the bishops of London, and Salisbury, and the archdeacon of Canterbury.

The Pope seconded these violent proceedings of Becket, giving commission to the archbishop of Rouen to lay an interdict on all the king's dominions in France, except that infants might be baptized, and the *viaticum* given to the dying, if, after forty days, he did not receive the archbishop into favour. He also forbade the archbishop of York to crown the king's son, instead of the archbishop of Canterbury, whose prerogative it had been. This, however, was actually done, no person having delivered the Pope's letters.

At length the king, fearing the effect of the excommunication, agreed to make peace with Becket; and meeting once more, they behaved to each other with the greatest complaisance, especially the king, who was naturally generous, and on this occasion shewed the greatest command of temper. It does not appear that any particular terms were made, only the king promised to make restitution of whatever belonged to Becket as archbishop.

With this promise he went to England, where he arrived in November, A. D. 1170, and was received with the most joyful acclamations by the common people: but refusing to absolve the excommunicated bishops, he was ill received by the friends of the king, and two of them, viz. Roul and Robert de Broc, who were brothers, having offered him some insult, he excommunicated them.

The archbishop of York having informed the king of this, and complaining that Becket was again disturbing the kingdom by his censures, the king, being in a violent passion, cursed those who had received so many favours from him, and would not revenge him of one priest, who disturbed his kingdom, and would deprive him of his dignity. Four knights, hearing of this, agreed among themselves to dispatch the archbishop; and with this view, leaving the court, which which was then in Normandy, they went to Canterbury, and having first insulted the archbishop in his own house, followed him into the church at vespers, and rushing upon him with their swords, soon put an end to his life. Seeing their purpose, he received them with the greatest firmness, and in dying recommended his cause, and that of the church, to God, to the holy Virgin, to the holy patron of that church, and to the martyr St. Denis. This was on the 29th of December, A. D. 1170. While, after this, the knights and

their companions were plundering the archiepiscopal palace, the common people were gathering the relics of Becket, and preserving them with the greatest care.

The king was seriously concerned when he heard what had been the consequence of his rash language ; and dreading the vengeance of the Pope, especially as Holy Thursday, on which it was customary at Rome to publish excommunications, was at hand, he made all haste to dispatch ambassadors to the Pope ; and as he promised absolute obedience to his orders, the pontiff contented himself with excommunicating the murderers of Becket, their abettors, and all who should afford them relief or protection. He then sent legates to receive the king's submission, which he made in the most ample manner, after solemnly declaring that he had no knowledge of the murder of the archbishop ; yet, because his rash expressions had been the occasion of it, he promised to send to Jerusalem two hundred knights to serve a year at his expense, to take the cross himself for three years if the Pope did not excuse him, to discontinue the ancient custom which gave offence to the church, to admit of appeals to Rome, to restore to the church of Canterbury all the lands belonging to it, and to receive into his favour all those persons with whom he had been displeased on account of Becket. The legates also enjoined the king, secret fasting, alms, and other penances. The king's son also promised that he would discharge the articles of the penance,* if his father should be prevented by death.

The Pope being informed of the miracles said to have been wrought at the tomb of Becket, solemnly canonized him in February, A. D. 1173, as one of the martyrs.† The four knights who had murdered him were held in so great execration, that no person chose to eat with them, or even to speak to them. Finding themselves in these circumstances, they went to Rome, and confessing their crime, the Pope imposed upon them the penance of going to Jerusalem ; but one of them dying before he arrived there, and the three others presently after, all within three years of the deed, it was considered as a divine judgment.

* The king's " great seal was affixed thereto, together with those of two cardinals ; one of them using that verse of the psalmist, *Qui respicit terram*, &c. 'He looketh upon the earth, and maketh it to tremble ; toucheth the mountains and they smoke ; he is terrible to the kings of the earth.' " *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 404.

† Yet " *Cæsar* in his *Dialogues*, (L. viii. C. lxix.) tells us that about the year 1220, *Questio Parisiis, inter magistros, ventillata fuit*, &c. The question was much canvassed amongst the doctors at Paris, whether *Becket* were damned or saved." *Ibid.* p. 408.

Henry himself being embarrassed by the war with his sons, and almost abandoned by his subjects, whether in order to recover his popularity with his superstitious people, or to ease his own mind, went to Canterbury, which had immediately become a place of general resort as a place of pilgrimage,* in July, A. D. 1174, to make satisfaction at Becket's, now *St. Thomas's* tomb. Being arrived there, he set out from the church of *St. Dunstan*, which is at a distance from the city, clothed with a tunic of coarse wool, walking barefooted through the dirty streets, till he came to the tomb. Then prostrating himself, he received the discipline, properly so called, from all the bishops and abbots who were present. Also, every monk in the monastery gave him a blow on his naked back.† After this, he continued prostrate all that day, and the night following, without taking any nourishment. He then visited all the altars in the cathedral church, and again returned to the tomb of Becket. On Saturday, at day-break, he asked for a mass in honour of the new saint,‡ and then left the city with great joy.

So famous was the tomb of Becket, as an object of pilgrimage, that *Lewis* king of France, admonished, as he thought, in a dream, that he could not otherwise obtain relief for his son *Philip*, who was ill, than by making a pilgrimage to Canterbury, applied to Henry for his leave to do it. Henry not only gave him leave, but in a liberal manner defrayed all his expenses.§

* "A hundred thousand people," according to *Somner*, (*Antiq. Cant.* p. 249,) "have come in one year to pay their devotions to his shrine." In "an old *Leger-Book*" of the church of Canterbury, are entered for one year "the offerings at the shrine of *St. Thomas*, 954*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*, those to the *Virgin*, 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*, and to *Christ* nothing at all." *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 409.

† "Primò ab episcopis quinquies cæsus est, deinde à monachis amplius octoginta ternos accepit ictus, atque ita solenniter, absolutus est," saith *Haræus*, in the life of *St. Becket*. *Ibid.* p. 404. "When we see," says *Dr. Kippis*, "one of the most powerful, spirited and accomplished sovereigns of his time, yielding to so much ignominy, we need not ask what was the character of the period in which he lived." *New Ann. Reg.* 1783. *Short View*, p. vii.

‡ Who in the public prayers, according to the Use of *Sarum*, was thus invoked:
Per te, Thoma, post lævæ munera
Amplexatur nos Dei dextera.

The following was part of an *Antiphon* to *Jesus Christ*:

Tu per Thomæ sanguinem, quem, pro te, impendit,
Fac nos, Christe, scandere quò Thomas ascendit.

Hist. of Popery, I. p. 407.

§ On the subjects of this Section, see *Biog. Brit.* II. pp. 100—114; *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. pp. 555, 556, article *Saint Thomas De Canterbury*; *Gostling's Canterbury, Index, Becket*; *Rapin*, L. vii. II. pp. 185—221; *Lord Lyttleton's Hist. of Henry II.* 4to. II. p. 95; *Berrington's "History of the Reign of Henry the Second;"* and *New Ann. Reg.* for 1790, p. [3].

SECTION VI.

Of the Monks in this Period.

IN this period, as in the preceding, the orders of monks kept advancing in power and consideration, notwithstanding many complaints of their degeneracy; owing to the greater degeneracy, and the greater ignorance, of the secular clergy. Also, by their superior influence with the popes, to whom they were always peculiarly devoted, and the favour of the princes, to whom they made themselves useful, they continually gained new privileges, though in the end these were prejudicial to their interest.

For the services that Bernard rendered pope Innocent, he, in A. D. 1131, granted a privilege to his house at Clairvaux, and all the Cistercians, of paying no tithes of their possessions, which was the cause of great animosity between the Cistercians and the other monks, especially those of Clugni.

The monks were always eager to obtain exemptions from the jurisdiction of the bishops, but they were often sufferers in consequence of it. In A. D. 1175, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, complained to pope Alexander III. of these exemptions. "Hence it is," said he, "that the goods of the greater part of the monasteries are plundered; the abbot thinks of nothing but making good cheer, and the monks abandon themselves to vain discourses. I know," says he, "that the Pope has granted these exemptions on account of the tyranny of the bishops, but the contrary is the case now: for the monasteries which have obtained these exemptions, either by the authority of the Pope, or, which is more common, by false bulls, are fallen into the greatest trouble and poverty; so that the most celebrated monasteries have refused these exemptions."

At the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1123, there were great complaints of the encroachments of the monks. "Nothing remains," said the bishops,* but that they take from us the cross and the ring, and make us submit to their ordinations. They are in possession of churches, lands, castles, tithes, the oblations of the living, and of the dead. The glory of canons, and of the clergy, is obscured, since the monks, forgetting celestial things, seek the rights of bishops with an insatiable ambition, instead of living in repose according to the institutions of

* Of whom there were more than 300. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. cl.

Benedict." On this account it was ordered in this council, that abbots and monks should not appoint public penance, visit the sick, give the unction, or sing public masses ; that they should receive from the bishops the holy oil, the consecration of their altars, and the ordination of their clergy. At the Council of Rheims, in A. D. 1131, the monks and the secular canons were forbidden the practice of the law or of medicine, which was tacitly allowed to the secular clergy, then a necessary evil, because those professions required to be exercised by men of letters. Also, at a council of Tours, in A. D. 1163, held by Alexander III., monks were forbidden to leave their monasteries for the exercise of those professions : but it is probable that the decrees of this council were as little observed as those of the former. In all the professions, those persons will be employed, in whom those who have occasion for them have the greatest confidence.

Bernard made great complaint of the relaxation of discipline at Clugni. " Their great feasts," he said, " consist indeed of fish, but seasoned with the greatest art ; they have a variety of exquisite wines ; they go to the infirmary for the sake of eating flesh ; they wear the richest habits ; they travel with so much pomp, both of men and horses, that the train of one abbot would suffice for two bishops. You would take them for lords, and governors of provinces, rather than pastors, and spiritual fathers. They can scarce go four leagues without carrying all their equipage. One of them," he said, " he knew, who travelled with no less than sixty horses." He also blamed the magnificence of their churches, for which he said there was no pretence with monks ; their cloisters also were ornamented with ridiculous grotesques, and paintings unbecoming their character.

It appears from the writings of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Clugni, in the time of Bernard, and who wrote in defence of his monastery against Bernard, that discipline was even then much relaxed in that monastery ; and at that time it contained about four hundred monks. There were more than three hundred houses of the order, and about two thousand depending upon it, some of them in the most distant countries, as one at Jerusalem, and another at Mount Tabor. But after the time of this Peter, it fell into the greatest obscurity. He governed his monastery thirty-five years with singular prudence, dying in A. D. 1156.*

Abbots, as well as the secular clergy, had sometimes

* Berington's "History of the Lives of Abelard and Heloise," 1788, p. 390. (P.)

recourse to arms. In A. D. 1126, Pons, who had been abbot of Clugni, returning from the Holy Land, took possession of it again by force, which occasioned a war of some continuance. When pope Honorius pronounced a sentence of excommunication against him, he despised it, as well as a more solemn one at Rome, where both the competitors attended; Pons saying that only St. Peter himself, who was in heaven, could excommunicate *him*. However, after the second sentence he was deposed, and confined in a tower, where, soon after, he died penitent.

Abelard gives a shocking account of the state of the monastery of St. Gildas, of which he was the abbot. The monks, exasperated at his attempts to reform them, first importunately applied to him for clothing, and other things, with which they well knew he was not able to supply them; and till that time they had spent what they had stolen out of the common stock, or saved out of their allowance, in the maintenance of their concubines and children. After this, they proceeded so far as to make several attempts to murder him, especially by poison. At the same time, the lord of the territory, availing himself of the notorious conduct of the monks, seized such of their possessions as he liked; and if Abelard went beyond the door of the monastery, he was met and threatened by this tyrant or his followers.*

But the greatest acts of violence that we meet with relating to any monastery, were committed by Oderise, abbot of Mount Cassin. Pope Honorius, when he was bishop of Ostia, having had a quarrel with him, demanded of him, when he was pope, a sum of money for the support of the church: but he replied that, as he had nothing to do in the election of a pope, he would not bear the expense of one. The Pope then sent for him, and reproved him publicly, as more of a warrior than an abbot, and for spending and dissipating the goods of the monastery. Being, after this, summoned to appear at Rome, he refused to go; and when the Pope pronounced against him a sentence of deposition, he paid no regard to it. The Pope then proceeded to the excommunication of him, and all his adherents. But this was so far from intimidating him, that it produced an open rupture between them, and caused a great division among the monks and the people, who depended upon the monastery, some taking part with the Pope, and others with the abbot. On both sides they had recourse to arms; but the friends of the

* Berington's *Abelard*, p. 189. (P.)

Pope overpowering the others, the monks were obliged to expel the abbot, and choose another.

With some difficulty, one Nicolas, recommended by the Pope, was chosen abbot; but when Oderise heard of it, he seized the castle of Bantra, and having collected troops, he destroyed those castles which acknowledged Nicolas, with fire and sword. On this, Nicolas called to his assistance Robert, prince of Capua, and took from the monastery many valuable things, the gifts of princes and popes, to enable him to carry on the war, which made the monks his enemies. At length, Oderise, despairing of success in any other way, submitted to the Pope, and resigned the monastery into his hands. The Pope then deposed Nicolas, and excommunicated his adherents; and the monks, shutting their gates against him, submitted to his holiness. At his recommendation, Seignoret was chosen abbot, but the monks, though they had yielded thus far, would not permit him to swear fealty to the Pope. When they were asked, why he must not do what other abbots and bishops did, they said the monastery of Mount Cassin had never been in any heresy, or entertained any sentiment contrary to the church of Rome; and with this answer, unsatisfactory as it was, the Pope was obliged to be content.

Another instance of great disorder occurs in the monastery of Lisieux, in A. D. 1182, in consequence of the frequent absence of their abbot William, in England, on pretence of taking care of the estates belonging to his monastery in that country. There was no observance of the rule, within the monastery, no hospitality, or alms. The monks quarrelled, and sometimes fought with knives. They had propagated a report that they had a miraculous well in the monastery, which, they said, cured any sick person who was plunged in it seven times; but a woman whom they plunged in it, died in their arms. One of the monks killed the cook, who complained of the too frequent visits that he made to his wife; and the steward being drunk, and striking two of the monks with a knife in the refectory, they dispatched him with a pole. Such, however, was the ignorance and superstition of the people in the neighbourhood, that this murdered steward began to be considered as a martyr, and the Pope was obliged to interfere, and put a stop to the adoration they paid him.

We also find in this period complaints of the disorders of some who, in some measure, assumed the character of monks or nuns. At the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1139, a censure was passed on some women, who, without observing any

rule, or living in common, would pass for nuns, living in their own houses, and receiving guests, not always of the best character.

There were some noble exceptions to this disorderly state of monasteries in this age. Among, no doubt, many others, may be reckoned that of St. Denis, of which Abelard was a member, that at Argenteuil, where Heloise took the veil, and her own monastery at the Paraclete, as well as that of Clugni, while it was superintended by Peter the Venerable. The nuns at the Paraclete were not only pious, but learned in an extraordinary degree. Heloise herself was learned far beyond any thing we read of in that age. Her ideas of what should be required of nuns, is remarkably free from superstition. "Rules," she says, "which were enacted for the good of man, should vary as he varies. Why be so solicitous about things which are indifferent in themselves, which sinners and saints may equally practise? Let sin be prohibited, but let us have every other indulgence."

She then proceeds to discuss the nature of external observances, treating them as things of no value in themselves. "Virtue alone," she says, "has merit with heaven. The true Christian is solely occupied in perfecting his moral character. It is from the will that evil flows, and not from what is external to it." She proposes that her nuns should aspire to perfection by the practice of domestic virtues; that they should strive to be happy in the society of each other; that their tempers should not be soured by corporeal macerations, or humiliating punishments; and that having the advantage of a sound mind, and of a body invigorated by sufficient nourishment, they should be able to improve their understandings by study, and edify their neighbours by such virtues as it is equally the duty of every citizen to practise.*

Heloise's account of the employment of her nuns is peculiarly interesting, and even edifying. I shall recite the particulars. 1. "We strive," she says, "as far as in us lies, to imitate the lives of the first Christians, by having all things in common.

2. "Our dress is ordinary and simple, made of the coarsest wool and flax. But in this, as in our beds, if we sometimes have not all that seems necessary, let it be remembered that we have renounced the world, and its conveniences.

3. "We eat the bread that is laid before us, sometimes wheaten, and sometimes of other grain. In the refectory,

* Berington's *Abelard*, p. 255. (P.)

our common fare is legumes, or such roots as the garden gives us. Milk, eggs and cheese, are rarely served, and fish only when the kindness of our neighbours supplies us. Our wine is mixed with water. At supper, only salad, or fruit, is allowed us; and when these fail, we bear it without murmuring.

4. "Only the abbess and prioress have a right to command. Without their permission, no one goes out of the inclosure, or speaks, or gives, or receives, the smallest trifle.

5. "Would our strength permit us, we should till our lands, and live by labour. But we cannot. We therefore call in the aid of lay-brothers. Any alms which the piety of the faithful offers, we do not refuse.

6. "We rise before break of day, and proceed to the church, to *matins*. After this, according to the season of the year, we either retire for a short time to our beds, or we meet in the chapter house, to read or work. When the bell rings, we again go to church, where *prime* is said, and after that the morning mass. Again we assemble in the chapter house, to confess publicly our faults, and to receive correction. Here on solemn festivals a sermon is preached. After chapter, if there be time, we read till *tierce*, or nine o'clock. Then follow high mass, and *sext*, after which we read or work till *none*, or three o'clock. At three we take our meal, silent and recollected. This finished, we return, giving thanks to God, go to the church, and thence to the chapter house, where one of the nuns, whose duty it is, makes a discourse to the assembly. If there be time, we then remain in the cloisters till the hour of *vespers*. These are always sung. After vespers, we return to the cloisters, where in silence and meditation we wait the hour of collation, supper. After supper, *complin** is sung in the church, and we remain in prayer till a signal is given, at which we all rise from our knees, and then, sprinkled with holy water by the superior, they proceed in procession through the cloisters to the dormitory, where each one turns to her bed, and, blessing God, retires to rest."

Thus, says Mr. Berington, lived Heloise and her nuns, and with some accidental variety, the same continues to be the rules of most orders of religious women. It is severe, he adds, and uninviting, but every moment of the day having its proper duty, there is no time for idle speculations, and consequently no time for the ingress of those ideas from which error, uneasiness and misery spring.†

* The last act of worship.

† *Abelard*, p. 394. (P.)

In the East, the emperor Manuel Comnenus lamented the decay of monastic discipline. The monks, he said, were no way distinguished from other men, but by their dress, their long beards, and their external appearance. He founded a monastery, but provided for its maintenance out of the public revenues; saying, his ancestors had done wrong in putting monks in possession of estates in land, when they ought to have lived in deserts and caverns, as having renounced the world, and not appear in cities and public places.

Such, however, was the superstitious respect of this emperor for the monkish character, that, on the unexpected approach of death, he ordered in great haste a monk's dress to be brought, and he put it on, though it was observed to be much too short, and not at all fitting him, and in it he expired. In a manner equally unworthy of a man of sense, died Henry, the son of Henry II. of England; in A. D. 1183, at the age of twenty-eight. When he found himself at the point of death, he put on a haircloth, and tied a cord about his neck, by which he desired the bishops and other ecclesiastics who were present, to draw him out of his bed, and place him on a heap of ashes. Accordingly they did so, putting one great stone at his head, and another at his feet; and in that situation he received the *viaticum*. *

There were some new orders of monks founded in this period, which, on account of the reputation they acquired, deserve to be mentioned. One of them was that of *Prémontré*, founded by St. Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, in A. D. 1120. The monks of this order professed the rule of St. Austin, the founder and his principal followers being canons. † They wore a white habit, which was that of the clergy, but all of wool, and his first disciples preferred old and patched garments to new ones. There was no labour too mean for them, their silence was continual, and they ate only once a day. Norbert particularly recommended to them three things,—neatness in the service of the altar, the correction of faults in the chapter, and charity to the poor. His institute was confirmed by Honorius in A. D. 1126, the year in which he was made archbishop of Magdeburg. ‡

* "Comme il se trouvoit sur le point d'expirer, il se fit mettre sur la cendre, revêtu d'un sac, et la corde au cou, et en cet état, il voulut rendre le dernier soupir." *Rapin*, L. vii. II. p. 227.

† "The *Premonstratenses*, vulgarly called *White Canons*, came first into England A. D. 1146." *Mosheim*, Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xx. Translator's Note.

‡ Where he died in 1134. He was of the Imperial family, and had passed his early life in the court of his relation Henry V. There he could not escape luxury

A new system of monkish discipline was introduced by Robert de Arbrisselles. He had several monasteries built within one inclosure, for monks and nuns, all subject to an abbeſs; alleging the authority of Chriſt, who recommended John to the Virgin Mary, and directed him to be obedient to her as to his own mother; though he more properly committed her to the care of John. This ſingular diſcipline was embraced by great multitudes.*

In this period aroſe the order of *Carmelites*, beginning with a Calabrian of the name of Berthold, who, with a few companions, took up his abode upon Mount Carmel, and lived a life of great aſterity and labour. They were afterwards erected into a regular community by Albert, the patriarch of Jeruſalem,† and, being confirmed by the Pope, this order was transferred to Europe.‡

In A. D. 1198, the order of the *Trinity* was inſtituted, for the redemption of Chriſtian captives, who were numerous in conſequence of the cruſades. In the ſhort ſpace of forty years, there were no leſs than ſix hundred houſes of this order.

The monastery of Clairvaux [*Clara Vallis*] became famous in this period, though belonging to the Cistercian order, by the rigorous diſcipline of St. Bernard. He was born of noble parents, in A. D. 1091, at Dijon.§ His mother had ſix ſons and one daughter, all of whom ſhe devoted to God; but Bernard, her third ſon, in a particular manner; and all the ſeven at different periods embraced the monaſtic life. At the age of twenty-two, he entered the monaſtery of Citeaux, with ſeveral young men whom he had perſuaded to join him, and there he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his humility, labour, abſtraction of thought, and ſtudy of the Scriptures. In A. D. 1115 he was made abbot of Clairvaux,

and corruption. “La cour produiſit ſur ſes mœurs l’effet qu’elle devoit produire; elle les adoucit et les corrompit.” Flying from this ſcene of temptation, he abandoned the world, diſtributed his property among the poor, and became an *itinerant*. “Il ſ’en alla de ville en ville prêcher le royaume de Dieu.” Soon after, he founded *Prémontré*; for ſuch was the name of the ſolitary valley in Picardy, granted to him by the biſhop of Laon. See *Nouv. Dict. Hiſt.* IV. p. 741, article *Norbert*.

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 410. (P.) Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xix. Dr. Maclaine adds, that “in the year 1177 ſome nuns of this order were brought into England, at the deſire of Henry II., who gave them the monaſtery of Ambreſbury. On *Arbrissel* and his eſtabliſhment, ſee *Nouv. Dict. Hiſt.* I. p. 182.

† Sandys, in 1611, ſaw “the remains of their monaſtery, with a temple dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin, under which a little chapel or cave [fabled to be] the ancient dwelling of Elias,” then “inherited by Achmed, an Emir of the Arabians.” *Travels*, p. 158.

‡ *Mosheim*, II. p. 412. (P.) Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xxi.

§ Rather in Burgundy, “Dans le village de Fontaine en Bourgogne.” See *Saint Bernard*, in *Nouv. Dict. Hiſt.* I. pp. 386—388.

then first founded, a place given to the Cistercian order by Hugh, count of Troyes, on the river Aube. The monks of Clairvaux, under the direction of Bernard, found, it is said, so much satisfaction in their mortifications, * that they were even alarmed at it, thinking it more dangerous on account of its being more spiritual. To free them from this scruple, the authority of the bishop of Chalons, in whose diocese they were, was necessary. This was called the golden age of the Cistercians. In A. D. 1119, pope Calixtus confirmed the regulations of the monastery of Citeaux, ordering all the abbots to attend a chapter general of that order every year. This was the first order of monks that had *chapters general*; but it served as a model for all the others.

Lambert, surnamed *Le Begue*, or the *Stammerer*, who had distinguished himself by declaiming against the avaricious bishop of Liege, being permitted to preach, by Alexander III. in A. D. 1174, assembled a number of women, married and single, persuading them to live in continence; and from him they were called *Beguines*, devoting themselves to acts of charity. Also many women, without making a perpetual vow, lived in common, applying themselves to prayer and labour.

What particularly distinguished this period of our history was, the institution of several *military orders*, in which two things before thought most discordant, viz. the profession of arms, and the discipline of the monastery, were united. The first of these was that of *the Templars*,† which was instituted at Jerusalem in A. D. 1128, taking their appellation from their fixing themselves near the situation of the temple of Solomon. They consisted of knights of a religious turn, who promised to live in perpetual chastity, obedience to their superior, and poverty, like the canons. Their first duty was to guard the high roads from robbers, chiefly for the safety of pilgrims. They were only nine in number, when six of them presented themselves at the Council of Troyes in A. D. 1128, and received a rule in writing, composed by St. Bernard; and pope Honorius, and the patriarch Stephen, ordered them to wear a white habit. According to this rule, they were to repeat the public offices entire by day and night, except when their military duty prevented them. They were to recite thirteen paternosters for matins, seven for each of the lesser hours, and nine for vespers,

* Barley, millet and vetches, composed their bread, and they made a pottage with beach leaves, "de feuilles de hêtre." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. pp. 386—388.

† See *supra*, pp. 290, 292.

because these good knights could not read. For each of their brethren who died, they were to repeat a hundred paternosters for seven days; and within forty days they were to give to the poor the portion of the deceased. They ate flesh only three times in the week, Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. Each knight might have six horses, and one squire. All hunting with hounds or hawks was forbidden them.

Another military order, which, in after time, acquired greater celebrity than that of the Templars, arose after them. It was that of the *knights of the hospital of St. John at Jerusalem*. While this city was under the Mahometans, the Latins obtained leave to have a monastery near the church of the holy sepulchre, where the Latin pilgrims might receive hospitality. These monks founded an hospital dedicated to St. John. Many donations being made to this hospital, the directors of it applied to Rome to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the patriarch, and also from the payment of tithes; and they had obtained various privileges under the popes who preceded Adrian IV.: but under him they were formed into a regular society, dependent only on the Pope, consisting of three orders, knights, clergy, and serving brothers. Of these, the knights, after taking the habit and the cross, were strictly forbidden to quit their profession, or adopt any other institution. The bull of their institute is dated the 21st of October, A. D. 1154.

This profession of arms soon appeared to be ill suited to the purposes of religion; for the knights of both these orders were so much degenerated within six years of their institution, that all writers agree in describing them as the most abandoned of men. In their excursions they spared neither Christians nor Mahometans; and by keeping no faith with the latter, they were the chief cause of their own expulsion from the Holy Land.

After the siege of Acre, in A. D. 1191, some Germans established an hospital for the sick of their own country, such as had been before at Jerusalem; and this was the origin of a third military order in imitation of the Templars, and the knights of St. John, which was confirmed by pope Celestine III. the 23d of February, A. D. 1192, and was denominated the order of the *Teutonic knights*, of the house of St. Mary at Jerusalem. They had the same privileges with the knights of the other orders, but they were subject to the patriarch and the other prelates.

All these three orders originated in the East, and were

occasioned by the holy war. Two others were established in Spain, in consequence of the wars with the Mahometan powers in that country. The first was that of the *knights of Calatrava*, being instituted for the defence of that city, when it was attacked by the Moors in A. D. 1158. It was confirmed by Alexander III. in A. D. 1164. The second was that of the knights of *St. James of Compostella*,* sanctioned also by Alexander III. in A. D. 1176. This order consisted of clergy and knights; the latter married, but whose wives were considered as sisters of the order. Their object was to fight the Mahometans, or convert them. They had a *master*, and many *commanders*. They lived in common, having no separate property. When once of the order, they could never return to common life, or pass into any other order, without the leave of the master. All that they conquered, or that was given them, belonged to the order. For their privileges, they were to pay to the Pope every year ten *Malaquins*, which were pieces of Spanish money.

SECTION VII.

*Of Sectaries that bore some Relation to the Manichæans.
Of the Albigenses and Waldenses.*

ALL the labours of the Greek emperors, by argument or by open force, which was too often had recourse to, failed to bring over the Paulicians, and other sectaries whose principles were similar to those of the Manichæans. From Armenia it has been seen that they went to Bulgaria, and thence into the West, where they were distinguished by various names, according to particular circumstances, and often the malice or caprice of their adversaries. Those of this period whom the Byzantine historians call *Bogomiles*, were evidently no other than Paulicians. This appellation they received from their being observed to *pray* much, the word in their language having that signification. About A. D. 1111 they were persecuted by the emperor Alexis, who ordered their chief, at that time called Basilius, to be burned alive at Constantinople.

This Basilius appears to have been a pious and venerable old man, and he was betrayed into a declaration of his opinions by the emperor and his brother pretending to listen to his instructions, while a secretary, concealed behind a curtain, wrote down what he said.

* See the *Legend* of this "Patron of Spain," M. Geddes, II. p. 221.

The *Massalians*, and also the *Euchites*, received their appellations from the same honourable circumstance, as the words signify persons disposed to pray.*

According to Euthymius, who published an account of those Bogomiles, by order of the emperor, and chiefly from the conversation between this Basilus and the emperor, they rejected the Old Testament, but received the New. They said the Son and Spirit did not exist before the birth of Christ, so that, whatever they meant by this, they could not have been Trinitarians, nor were the Manichæans, or any of the ancient Gnostics; all of whom acknowledged only one God the Father, and Christ to be an inferior and created being. Previous to the birth of Christ, they said there was another son of God, called *Satanel*, who revolted, and drew many angels into his party; but being driven from heaven, he made this visible world, deceived Moses, and gave him the ancient law. Jesus Christ, they said, came to destroy the power of *Satanel*; but that his incarnation, death and resurrection, were only appearances to deceive him. These are evidently Gnostic sentiments, and, like the ancient Gnostics, they were advocates for austerity, disapproving of the commerce of the sexes. They ate no flesh, or even eggs, and fasted every Wednesday and Friday. They rejected the Catholic baptism and the eucharist, but received their proselytes by what they called the baptism of the spirit, which is not well explained. They held relics and crosses in great contempt, and considered the Catholics as Pharisees and Sadducees.

The emperor Alexis Comnenus took great pains to convert the Paulicians, who were settled in Thrace, having frequent conferences with them; sometimes the whole day, and even the night, being taken up with them. Three of their chiefs, on whom his arguments had no impression, were sent to Constantinople, and confined there. Of these one recanted, and was released, but the other two were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. By one means or other, the emperor succeeded in bringing over whole towns and villages to the profession of the Catholic doctrine.

At a council at Constantinople, in A. D. 1140, the writings of Constantine Chrysomalus were condemned, on account of their favouring the opinions of the Bogomiles, as, that persons baptized in infancy were no Christians, because they had not been instructed beforehand; that they who have their baptism are real Christians, not subject to the law; and that

* *Moskeim*, II. p. 441. (P.) Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. ii. Note.

Christians have two souls, the one impeccable and the other sinful. If this representation be just, their doctrine had some relation to that of the Manichæans.

At another council in Constantinople, in A. D. 1143, two bishops of these Bogomiles were introduced. They contended for the rebaptizing of infants, and in all other respects held the tenets ascribed to them by Euthymius. Their writings were condemned, and those who held their opinions were anathematized. In the same year, at another council in that city, a monk called Niphon was ordered to be put into close custody for approving the doctrine of the two bishops above-mentioned, and cursing the God of the Hebrews. Cosmas, the patriarch of Constantinople, being much attached to this Niphon, and suspected of the heresy of the Bogomiles, was deposed in A. D. 1146.

In the West, the doctrines above-mentioned had a very wide spread, gave greater alarm, and had the most serious consequences. In the church of Rome the corruption and abuses were much greater than in the East, and excited greater indignation in those who had any thing of the spirit of primitive Christianity. Whatever was the origin of the Manichæan or Gnostic doctrines in the West, we find them in all parts of it, from Germany and Flanders, to Spain and Italy, and they sowed the seeds of the Reformation. Extraordinary as it may appear, the same general principles from which were derived the earliest corruptions of the Christian doctrine, in the very age of the apostles, were the means of bringing about the reformation of Christianity; and having effected this purpose, they are now become extinct.

Of Tanchelme [or *Tanquelinus*] who appeared in Flanders about A. D. 1122, we know but little, besides his declamations against the corruptions and abuses of the Catholics. The churches, he said, were places of prostitution, the sacraments were profanations, especially that of the eucharist, and he forbade the payment of tithes. He is said to have been followed by three thousand armed men; but no mention is made of any violence they committed, and he himself was knocked on the head by a priest. He had, however, many followers, and the famous Norbert, founder of the order of Prémontré, and a celebrated preacher, was made bishop of Antwerp with a view to reclaim them; and it is said that by the mildness of his address he succeeded with many of them. There were many of this sect, in Treves, some of whom were examined by the archbishop Brunon; and others were discovered and burned at Soissons.

About A. D. 1147, some heretics appeared at Cologne, two of whom, a bishop and his companion, were burned by the populace, and suffered with great firmness. They called themselves *the poor of Jesus Christ*. They did not wholly reject baptism, but only that of infants. Evervin, the provost of Stenford, in Westphalia, wrote an account of them, to Bernard, desiring that he would confute them; and to satisfy him, he published two sermons against them, in which he said they were the heretics foretold by the apostle, forbidding to marry, and abstaining from meats, &c., not being at all aware, that the whole of the description applied much better to his own church.

But it was in the southern provinces of France that opinions hostile to the church of Rome prevailed most; and as a most cruel persecution was excited, and the tribunal of the inquisition was in the next period established with a view to crush them, I shall in this period recite the principal particulars of what I find relating to them, in the order in which they occur.

At a council held at Thoulouse in A. D. 1119, when Calixtus II. was present, those who were called Manichæans were condemned, as persons who, under the disguise of religion, condemned the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, lawful marriage, the priesthood, and other ecclesiastical orders; and orders were given to repress them, as heretics, by the secular power.

At the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1139, the canon of a preceding council at Thoulouse against the heretics who rejected the sacraments of the church, was repeated *verbatim*, which shews that the heresy was by no means extinct.

In A. D. 1160, these heretics, as they were called, but then bearing the name of *Poplicani*, spread from the south of France over to England; and at this time they are said to have been very numerous in France, Spain, Italy and Germany, from which place those who appeared in England directly came. They were thirty in all, men and women. Being examined by a council of bishops at Oxford, Gerard, the chief of them, answered, that they were Christians who followed the doctrine of the apostles. Being interrogated on particular articles, it appeared that they did not allow of baptism or the Lord's supper, nor approved of marriage,* and made no account of the authority of the church. They

* This representation depends on the authority of *William of Newbury*. The council was, probably, held in 1166. See *Rapin*, L. vii. viii. li. pp. 207, 519.

were not affected by any exhortations or menaces, saying, when they were threatened, *Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake.* After their condemnation by this council, the king ordered them to be burned on the forehead, to be driven out of the city, forbidding any person to receive them, or give them any relief. However, they received this cruel sentence with joy, saying, *Blessed are you when men shall hate you, and persecute you.* As it was then winter, and no person gave them any entertainment, they perished miserably of cold and hunger.

In France, the proceedings against these people were similar to those in England. At a council at Tours, under Alexander III. in A. D. 1163, when they had spread from Toulouse to Gascony, and other places, it was forbidden to give them any retreat or protection, to have any commerce with them in buying or selling, under pain of excommunication. When they were discovered, they were ordered to be imprisoned, their goods were to be confiscated, and their meetings, as far as possible, prevented.*

In A. D. 1167 they again appeared in great numbers in Flanders, where also they were called *Poplicani*. They offered the archbishop six hundred marks of silver if he would not molest them; but he refusing the sum, they appealed to the Pope. At Vezelay, the same year, seven of these heretics were burned; and one of them, who had asserted his innocence, submitted to the trial by water, and, being found guilty, was publicly whipped.

In A. D. 1176, the archbishop of Narbonne, and many other bishops of the province, called an assembly to judge some heretics, called *Goodmen*, which was then, and long after, the distinguishing appellation of plain, common people, or those who were not noble. They were, however, supported by the nobility of Lombers, a small town two miles from Albi, and the sentence was pronounced by the bishop of Albi. Being questioned concerning their principles, they were particularly cautious not to advance any thing for which they had not the express authority of Scripture, which they interpreted literally. They allowed of no oaths, and declaimed violently against the clergy, as wolves in sheep's clothing. In other respects they appear to have been the same with those, who in the same parts had been commonly called Manichæans. They were condemned as heretics, but it is not said what was done to them.

* Limborch's "History of the Inquisition," Bl i. Ch. ix. *init.* 1731, l. p. 58.

In the same year, there appeared in Lombardy heretics called *Cathari*, probably from their pretending to greater purity than the members of the established church, like the *Puritans* in England; and sometimes *Runcarians*, who were labouring people employed in felling trees and clearing the ground, being in general persons in the lower classes of life. They were much encouraged at Milan, when it was in the power of the schismatics, and they made great progress in that neighbourhood, which excited the zeal of the bishop Galbon, who often preached against them.

These people got about this time the appellation of *Albigenses*,* and in A. D. 1177 their party appears, from a letter of Rainier V., count of Thoulouse, to the abbot and chapter of the Cistercians, to have been very strong in those parts of the country. "This heresy has gained," he says, "even the priests. Churches are abandoned and ruined, baptism is refused, the eucharist held in abomination, penance despised, the creation of man rejected, as well as the resurrection of the flesh, and all the mysteries. In fine, they introduce the two principles, and yet nobody thinks of opposing these wretches. I am willing to employ the sword that is put into my hands, but my forces are not sufficient, because the nobles of my estates are infected with these errors, and draw great numbers after them." He then expresses a wish that the king of France would come and put an end to the mischief.

On hearing this representation, the kings of France and England agreed in A. D. 1178, to go in person, and drive these heretics out of the province of Thoulouse; but before they did this, they sent prelates to reason with them, and convert them. These arriving at Thoulouse, found the chief of the heretics to be one Peter Moran, an old man, very wealthy, and of great consideration in that city. Being found to be a heretic, he was sent to prison; and though he recanted, all his property was confiscated, and he was farther ordered to leave the country in forty days, to serve the poor at Jerusalem three years, to go every Sunday over all the churches in Thoulouse barefoot, and in his shirt to receive discipline. At the same time Roger of Beziers, a lord of that country, who is said to have held the bishop of Albi prisoner under a guard of heretics, though it is not said on what account, was declared to be a heretic and a traitor; he was

† See Vol. V. p. 82, and *supra*, p. 259.

publicly excommunicated, and war was declared against him. Two of their chiefs demanding a public hearing, it was granted them in the cathedral of Thoulouse, when many persons were present; and though they denied many things that were laid to their charge, such evidence was produced against them, that they were excommunicated and banished.

We now begin to perceive the approach of a more serious persecution. At a council of Lateran, in A. D. 1179, it was ordered, that "though the church rejects bloody executions, it ought to be aided by the laws of Christian princes; and the fear of corporal punishment has sometimes made persons have recourse to spiritual remedies;" and since the heretics called *Cathari*, *Paterini* and *Poplicani*, were so fortified in Gascony, that they did not hide themselves, but taught their errors publicly, they were anathematized, together with all those who protected them.

Three years after this, viz. in A. D. 1181, the Pope's legate, Henry, who from being abbot of Clairvaux, was made a cardinal, and bishop of Albana, being sent to France, marched against the Albigenses with a great army, took the castle of Lavoux, and obliged Roger de Beziers, and many others, to abjure their heresy. In the beginning of A. D. 1183, the bishop of Rheims condemned to the flames, with confiscation of their goods, many of the Paterins, clergy, gentlemen, peasants and women.

In the year following, viz. A. D. 1184, at a council at Verona, where pope Lucius III., attended by the emperor, presided, all the heresies then existing were condemned by name; the bishops were required to make strict inquiry after them, and the temporal powers to punish them according to the degrees of their guilt, as distinguished by those who were *convicted*, *penitent* and *relapsed*. In this, says *Fleury*, we see the origin of the *inquisition*, which was established afterwards. Among the heretics condemned at this time were some who were called *Passagins*, who contended for the strict observance of the law of Moses, denied the Trinity, and condemned the fathers and the church of Rome in general. Another class of heretics condemned at this time are called *Humilies*. They were originally men and women who lived in great poverty by the labour of their hands, the men altogether in one place, and the women in another. The Pope approved of their institute, and gave them leave to preach even in churches, with the leave of the prelates: but many under that disguise preached other doctrines.

The *poor of Lyons*,* which is another class of heretics censured at this council, arose in A. D. 1160, from one Peter Valdo, who, being struck with the sudden death of a person in a public assembly, distributed a large sum of money to the poor, and admonished others to do the same, and live in voluntary poverty, in imitation of Christ and the apostles. Being in some measure learned, Valdo explained the Scriptures to his followers;† and though reprov'd for this by the clergy, he persisted in doing it, exclaiming against these on account of their corrupt morals and doctrine. Some say the Waldenses took their name from this Valdo; but, as they existed in the valleys of Piedmont long before this time,‡ and professed a purer doctrine than that of the church of Rome, it is more probable that if this was not his original name, which is very possible, he might take it from them. These *poor of Lyons* were distinguished by wearing wooden shoes, with the sign of the cross upon them. From this circumstance they also got the appellation of *Sabbatati*, and *Insabbatati*, *sabot* being the word for a wooden shoe in France. § These *poor of Lyons* were so far from considering themselves as heretics, that they applied to pope Innocent III. for the confirmation of their order, but were refused.||

The Albigenses had bishops, and each of them had two vicars, an elder and a younger. They had also deacons, and the veneration in which the common people held their clergy almost exceeds belief. ¶

All that the proper *Waldenses* aimed at in this respect was, to reduce the form of church government, and the manners of the clergy, to their primitive simplicity. They denied the supremacy of the Pope, and said that the ministers of religion were obliged, like the apostles, to procure a subsistence by the labour of their hands. They remonstrated against indulgences, confession to a priest, prayers for the dead, and purgatory. They interpreted the sermon on the mount in a literal sense, condemning all wars, law-suits, and oaths. They had bishops, presbyters and deacons; and the

* “*Vandois, du nom de leur maître, Pierre Valdo, né au bourg de Vaux en Dauphiné; ou gueux de Lyon, de la ville où cette secte prit naissance, ou Sabatès, à cause de leur chaussure singulière.*” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 651.

† He appears to have translated the New Testament from Latin into French, according to *Rainerus*, in his invective against this sect, (L. v.) “*Cum autem esset aliquantulum literatus, Novi Testamenti textum docuit eos vulgariter.*” *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 418. *Nouv. Dict. Hist. ubi supra.*

‡ See Vol. V. pp. 82, 144.

§ *Mosheim*, II. p. 451. (P.) Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. xi.

|| *Giannone*, II. p. 65. (P.)

¶ *Mosheim*, II. p. 446. (P.) Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. ix.

common people were divided into two classes, the *perfect* and *imperfect*, the former divesting themselves of all worldly possessions. Some of the Waldenses allowed the Catholic church to be a true church, and its sacraments valid; but others considered the Pope as Antichrist.*

Other heretics condemned on this occasion are called *Josepins* or *Mesopins*, but the reason of the denomination is not known.

In A. D. 1198, one Terric, a leading person among the Poplicani, being discovered in Nivernois, was burned, and many other persons of good fortune at Charité were excommunicated, and delivered over to the secular arm.

The persons who distinguished themselves the most in this class of heretics, or rather reformers, and who therefore deserve a more particular mention, were, Peter of *Bruis*, and from whom the sectaries were sometimes called *Petrobrusians*, and an Italian of the name of *Henry*, from whom many were denominated *Henricians*.† They both preached with so much success in Provence, Dauphiny, and the South of France in general, that many persons were rebaptized, the churches profaned, the altars overturned, crosses burned, priests whipped, monks imprisoned, or compelled to marry. They had even made a bonfire of many crosses, and to shew the greater contempt of them, they cooked victuals at the fire, and invited the people publicly to eat of them, though it was on Good Friday.

In A. D. 1147, Eugenius III. sent Alberic, bishop of Ostia, to combat these heretics, and he was accompanied by Bernard. Peter, abbot of Clugni, who gives an account of this preaching expedition, employs a long letter to refute the heretics; and from this it appears that they rejected the authority of the Old Testament, the baptism of infants, the sacrifice of the mass, and prayers for the dead.‡ We know very little of the history of Peter de Bruis, but soon after this mission of Alberic, he was burned alive at St. Gilles, after having preached near twenty years.

Henry was in the diocese of Mans, where he was favourably received by Hildebert the bishop, who was then setting out for Rome. Henry was then a young man, very

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 454. (P.) Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. xiii. On the distinctions between the *Albigenses* and *Valdenses*, see *Limborch*, B. i. C. viii. l. pp. 42—57.

† *Limborch*, B. i. Ch. vii. ad fin. l. p. 42.

‡ “Il soutenoit que le baptême étoit inutile avant l’âge de puberté; que le sacrifice de la messe n’étoit rien; que les prières pour les morts étoient encore moins.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* l. p. 524.

tall, had a strong voice, and a long beard. He walked barefooted, and had a great appearance of sanctity. As he was very eloquent, the people crowded to him, and the effect of his preaching was an universal rage against the clergy; so that many people would have no dealings with their domestics. They would even have pulled down their houses, and stoned them, if the lords had not interposed. Hildebert, in consequence of this, not being well received by the people, banished Henry from his diocese.

After this, we find Henry in the neighbourhood of Thoulouse, and there he was when Alberic and Bernard undertook their expedition. Accordingly, before they went thither, Bernard wrote to Alphonso, count of St. Gilles and Thoulouse, in whose territories Henry was, informing him of all the mischief he had done, and desiring that he would make particular inquiry into the manner in which he had left Lausanne, Mans, Poitiers and Bourdeaux, in all which places he had no doubt been.

According to this letter of Bernard, this reformer must have preached with great effect. "The churches," he says, "are without people, the people without priests, the priests despised, the churches no longer considered as holy places, nor the sacraments holy things; the festivals are not celebrated, men die without penance or communion, and infants are not baptized." A disciple of Henry, named Pons, was then at Perigord, but the city the most infected with his opinions was Albi. At this city the legate arrived at the end of June, where the people met him on asses, and with beating of drums, by way of mockery; and when he performed mass, he was hardly attended by thirty persons. Notwithstanding this unpromising reception, when Bernard preached, the writer of his life, who represents him as working miracles wherever he went, says that he converted all the people; which, he says, was the greatest miracle that he wrought in all this journey. He preached with the same success at Thoulouse, so that Henry, being summoned to surrender himself, fled, and his followers, who on this occasion are called *Arians*, with him. Bernard followed his steps, and at length he was apprehended, and being put into the power of the bishops, and carried before pope Eugenius, who was holding a council at Rheims, he was committed a close prisoner in A. D. 1148, and soon after he died. He had, however, a milder fate than Peter de Bruis. This Henry is by some called a disciple of Peter de Bruis; but

this is improbable: the latter could not bear the sight of a cross, whereas the former carried a crucifix in his hand.*

He, however, adopted all the opinions of Peter, and added to them some of his own. Of those the principal were, that spiritual songs are an insult to the Deity; that he only delights in pious affections; that he is not to be invoked by loud vociferations, nor soothed by the harmony of music. This is the first time that I have met with this sentiment, which was afterwards adopted by the Quakers.†

Calin, a chief of Bosnia, having received a great number of *Paterini*,‡ Innocent III. wrote to Emeric, king of Hungary, in A. D. 1200, charging him to compel Calin to drive them out of his territories, with the confiscation of their goods; otherwise he would proceed against all the kingdom of Hungary.

About the same time many Manichæans, as they were called, were discovered at Orvieto near Rome, whither this doctrine had been brought from Florence by one Diotosalvi, a person of a venerable and modest appearance, about A. D. 1150. He preached in conjunction with one Gerard Marson, in Campania. They were driven out of Orvieto by the bishop, but were succeeded by two women, who, leading a pious and contemplative life, drew many into their opinions. On this, the bishop, assisted by the civil officers, pursued them with so much vigour, that some were hanged, some beheaded, some burned, and others banished; and those who died were deprived of the rites of Christian burial. In the absence of this bishop, the heretics got the upper hand again; but in A. D. 1199, pope Innocent sent Peter di Parenzo, a noble Roman, to suppress them; which he seemed to have done by violence of every kind; but at length the heretics having gotten him into their power, murdered him.

In the same year, Bertram, bishop of Metz, informed the Pope of many heretics being in his diocese. They had translated into French the gospels, the epistles of Paul, the psalms, the books of morals, Job, and some others, which they read with great ardour, holding assemblies in secret, and exhorting one another, in contempt of the priests, the Pope, and the hierarchy in general.

In A. D. 1201, Evraud, a knight, and steward of Henry,

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 448. (P.) Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. x.

† *Berington's Abelard*, p. 315. (P.)

‡ See *supra*, p. 259.

count of Nevers, was convicted of the heresy of the Bulgarians, which did not differ from that of those mentioned above, and was burned in public at Nevers. On this, his nephew, a canon of Nevers, infected with the same heresy, fled to the province of Narbonne, where he was received with honour, but thought proper to change his name.

Such being the state of things in all the southern provinces of France, we cannot wonder that the popes and the court of Rome were alarmed. The whole craft was in danger, and therefore, as political men, they exerted themselves to the utmost to extirpate these heretics, employing all the power they had, for the purpose, and in the next period we shall see the shocking cruelties they were guilty of. At present they only tried some preparatory measures. Innocent III. sent into those provinces two Cistercian monks, Rainier and Gui, in order to convert these heretics; but at the same time, he ordered all princes, counts, and other lords, to assist them with their secular power;* and after the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, to confiscate their goods, banish them, or punish them more severely, if they remained in the country. Rainier was also instructed to excommunicate those lords who would not join him in this, and lay their estates under an interdict. The Pope also granted to those who engaged in this extirpation of heretics, the same privileges as if they had gone on the pilgrimage to Rome, or Compostella. This, however, was only a prelude to what we shall find in the next period.

Spain was by no means free from this infection of heresy. In A. D. 1199, Alphonsus II. of Arragon, ordered all his officers to drive the Waldenses out of his territories, or to burn them alive,† and confiscate their property.

* “*Platina*, in his life of *Innocent III.* tells us, *Non disceptationibus verborum tantum, verum etiam armis opus fuit, aded inoleverat tanta hæresis.* There was need, not only of disputations, but also of arms, to that strong head was the heresy grown.” *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 426.

† The edict, as quoted by *Limborch*, does not appear to go this length. It was forbidden, under the penalty of high treason, “to receive into any house the *Waldenses* and *Inzabbutati*, or to give them food, or to do them any kind office whatever.” And if they remained in the country after three days’ notice, they were to “be plundered, whipped and beat.” Persons are invited to inflict upon them “every evil, disgrace, or suffering, except death or maiming.” The edict declares this “will be very grateful and acceptable to us;” and adds, as to such an inflieter, “he shall be entitled to our favour.” *Hist. Inquis.* B. i. Ch. ix. *init.* I. p. 58.

SECTION VIII.

Of Arnold of Brescia, and Abelard.

THE reformers of religion, in consequence, no doubt, in some measure, of their having been generally oppressed by the civil powers, have almost always been the zealous advocates of civil liberty; and, on the other hand, the friends of civil liberty have often been suspected of heresy. This was the case with Arnold, a citizen of Brescia, in the north of Italy, in this period. He had formerly been a disciple of Abelard; but it does not appear that he derived any of his principles from him. Whether Arnold had ever been in a monastery does not appear, but he wore the dress of a monk, and declaimed against the bishops, without sparing the Pope, or even the monks; nor did he flatter the laity, though he exhorted them to assert their liberties.

What were the peculiar opinions of Arnold does not appear, but he was suspected of entertaining sentiments unfavourable to baptism and the Lord's supper. His discourses had such an effect at Brescia, and many other cities in Lombardy, that the clergy were held in the greatest contempt, and became the objects of public raillery. Being complained of by the bishop, he was ordered to be silenced, on which he retired to Zurich, and infected all that country with his opinions. In the mean time he was condemned at the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1139.

Arnold being now in the diocese of the bishop of Constance, Bernard, to whom nothing relating to the interest of the church was indifferent, wrote to him to urge him to guard against so dangerous a person, whose austere life gave credit to his doctrine; so that he more easily insinuated his errors, and those of Abelard. He advised the bishop not to banish, but to confine him, lest he should only go from place to place, and thereby propagate his errors the more widely. What was the consequence of this advice does not appear. But on the accession of pope Eugenius, in A. D. 1145, Arnold came to Rome, and joined the disaffected party there, exhorting them to follow the example of the ancient Romans, to rebuild the capitol, restore the dignity of the senate, and the order of knights; saying, that the Pope had nothing to do with the civil government of the city, and that he ought to be content with his spiritual jurisdiction. We shall see in a later period, that this was a favourite opi-

nion of many of the people of Rome, and on this was founded the influence of Rienzi, in the time of Petrarch.

Ten years after this, we still find Arnold at Rome, and preaching publicly. But one of his followers having wounded a cardinal in A. D. 1155, Adrian IV. laid the city under an interdict, in consequence of which the people applied to him, promising to expel Arnold and his disciples from the city and its territory, which accordingly was done. And presently after this, falling into the hands of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, then in Lombardy, three cardinals were sent to demand him, and being delivered up to them, he was publicly burned alive, and his ashes were thrown into the Tiber, lest the people should honour his relics, as those of a martyr. Such was the end of this reformer, as well as of many others, in all ages.*

Abelard is by no means to be classed with Arnold of Brescia, though he was deemed a heretic, and exposed himself to the persecution of Bernard, as such. In fact, they were rivals in popularity. However, Abelard acted so conspicuous a part on the public theatre in this period, that his history deserves to be related. He was born near Nantes, in Bretagne, in A. D. 1079, and when he was grown up, addicted himself chiefly to the study of logic, under Roscellin of Compeigne, and then under William de Champeaux, at Paris, reckoned the ablest teacher of his time. But Abelard soon rivalled his master, and taught at Melun, though he afterwards returned to study rhetoric under Champeaux, at St. Victor. After this, he fixed his school at Mount St. Genevieve, then out of Paris.

Champeaux being made bishop of Soissons, Abelard went to study theology under Anselm, bishop of Laon; but soon despising him, though a venerable old man, he himself undertook to explain the Scriptures, without having regularly prepared himself for doing it, on which, Anselm drove him from Laon, and he returned to Paris; where, teaching logic and theology, he was attended by a prodigious number of scholars, from all parts; but his success was the cause of his ruin. Undertaking the instruction of Heloise, niece to Fulbert, a canon of the church of Paris, a young woman of an uncommonly fine genius, and great accomplishments, he

* How different is the reflection of a good *Catholic*! "Telle fut la fin de cet hérésiarque, qui doit apprendre, par un si funeste exemple, à tous ceux qui troublent le monde, comme lui, par la nouveauté de leurs dogmes pernicieux, que s'ils font bien du mal aux autres, ils courent fortune de s'en faire encore beaucoup plus à eux-mêmes." *Maimburg*, pp. 438, 439.

had a criminal connexion with her ; and when she was with child, he removed her to his sister's, where she was delivered of a son ; and he promised the uncle, who was much irritated, to marry her, provided it could be done privately. Accordingly, though much against her will, they were married in the presence of the uncle, and a few other witnesses, but only had private interviews afterwards.

Fulbert, willing to repair the honour of his family, contrary to his promise, published the marriage, though Heloise denied it, and was on that account ill used by him.* On this, Abelard removed her to the nunnery of Argenteuil, where she had been educated, and took the habit, but not the veil. Fulbert, provoked at this, caused Abelard to be surprised in the night, and castrated. When he was recovered, he embraced the monastic life, and persuaded Heloise to do the same ; he entering at St. Denis, and she at Argenteuil.† After this, Abelard again opened his school, and he had so many scholars,‡ that they could hardly find lodging or victuals. Some came even from Rome.

In this situation, Abelard published a book on the subject of the Trinity, in which he maintained that, as in logic, the proposition, assumption and conclusion, are the same discourse ; so the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, are the same essence, but that the Father alone is the Almighty. In this he had no suspicion that he was advancing any heresy ; but subtle distinctions and nice comparisons being then much admired, he probably thought he had hit upon one that would do him credit. His popularity, however, together with his vanity ; and the asperity of his temper, had raised him many enemies, and among them was the redoubtable Bernard. He was, therefore, accused of heresy at the Council of Soissons, in A. D. 1121, and without any discussion of the subject, his book was condemned as heretical, and he was ordered to throw it into the fire with his own hands, and also to read, as the confession of his faith, the creed of Athanasius. This mortifying ceremony he submitted to go through, though not without many tears, and as a punishment, he was confined in the monastery of St. Medard, at Soissons. After this, he was ordered to return to the mo-

* "*Heloise, à qui la pretendue gloire d'Abailard étoit plus précieuse que la sienne propre, nia leur union avec serment.*" *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 4.

† "*Moins en Chrétienne qui se repent, qu'en amante abandonnée à son désespoir. Dans le moment qu'elle alloit recevoir l'habit religieux, elle récita des vers de Lucain, qu'elle appliqua à ses aventures.*" *Ibid.* p. 5.

‡ "*Quelques auteurs en font monter le nombre jusqu'à trois mille.*" *Ibid.*

nastery of St. Denis; but giving offence by something that he advanced concerning that St. Denis, he fled from the place; and having obtained leave to lead a monastic life wherever he pleased, he retired to a solitary place in the diocese of Troyes,* where he built an oratory, and called it *The Paraclete*, and was resorted to, as before, by a great number of pupils. This success again excited envy, and dreading the ill offices of St. Norbert and Bernard, he took upon him the conduct of an obscure abbey, at St. Gildas, in the diocese of Vannes, in Bretagne, and gave the Paraclete to Heloise, where she established herself as abbess. At St. Gildas, he met with every mortification he could well have, from the behaviour of the monks, and the lords in the neighbourhood; but all this did not satisfy the malice of his enemies.

In A. D. 1139, complaint was made by William, abbot of St. Thieri, to Geoffroy, bishop of Chartres, and St. Bernard, of errors in the writings of Abelard. He was particularly charged with asserting, that in God, the terms Father, Son and Holy Spirit, are improper; that the Father alone is Almighty, the Son a certain power, viz. wisdom, and the Holy Spirit no proper power at all, being only the divine goodness. He was, moreover, charged with advancing that the Holy Spirit is not of the substance of the Father and of the Son, as the Son is of the substance of the Father, and that the Holy Spirit is the soul of the world. He was also accused of maintaining that man has the power of willing what is good, without the help of Divine grace, and that we derive from Adam only the punishment, and not the guilt, of original sin.†

After some correspondence on the subject, Abelard challenged his opponent to a public disputation, at a council which was to be held at Sens, in A. D. 1140; when the king of France was to be present, and a great number of learned ecclesiastics. Bernard accepted the challenge, and coming prepared for the purpose, produced the books of Abelard, and called upon him to defend certain articles which he objected to in them, as absurd and heretical. But Abelard, perceiving the unfavourable disposition of the audi-

* Near *Nogent-sur-Seine*, in Champagne.

† St. Bernard describes him as a horrible compound of Arius, Pelagius and Nestorius, a monk without a rule, a superior without vigilance, an *abbé* without disciples, a man without morals, a monster, a new Herod, an Antichrist. His modern French biographer charges him with having taught the errors which the Socinians have since revived; “de véritables erreurs sur l’Incarnation, erreurs renouvelées depuis par les Sociniens.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 6, article, *Abailard*.

ence, contented himself with appealing to the Pope. The council, offended at his conduct, condemned his doctrine, but out of regard to his appeal, spared his person; but they exhorted the Pope to confirm their sentence, lest, as they said, the evil should extend itself; since they saw that he drew a great multitude after him, so that a speedy remedy was necessary.

Bernard also wrote to the Pope, complaining of Abelard, as having engaged his disciple Arnold, of Brescia, to attack the church in conjunction with him; observing that they had an appearance of piety in their manner of living, which served to seduce many. Abelard, he said, extolled the philosophers, in order to vilify the doctors of the church. He strongly urged him to suppress this heresy, after having extinguished the schism. "Nothing more," he said, "is wanting to your crown." In animadverting upon the errors of Abelard, he charged him in this letter with advancing that the end of Christ's incarnation was only to instruct us by his example and his doctrine, representing him, in fact, as a Pelagian.

The Pope, in compliance with these requests, which with respect to Bernard were equivalent to commands, in A. D. 1149, passed a sentence of condemnation on Abelard, imposing upon him, as a heretic, perpetual silence, and ordering that all his followers should be excommunicated. He likewise directed that Abelard and Arnold should be confined in separate monasteries, and that their books should be burned wherever they could be found.

Notwithstanding this sentence, Abelard pursued his journey to Rome, in order to prosecute his appeal. But stopping at the abbey of Clugni, where he was kindly received by Peter the abbot, by his advice he made his peace with Bernard, retracted every thing he had advanced that had given offence, and consented to pass the remainder of his life in that monastery. To this the Pope consented; and when Abelard had, in a most inoffensive and exemplary manner, passed two years in that monastery, he died. His remains were carried to the Paraclete, where they were received in a manner the relation of which is very affecting, by Heloise, who survived him more than twenty years; he dying in A. D. 1142,* and she in A. D. 1163. See Mr. *Berington's* well-written, and most instructive *Life of Abelard*.

* "Pierre le Vénérable, [the abbot of Clugni] honora son tombeau d'une Epitaphe, qui n'est point dans le style de *Virgil*, mais qui étoit bon, pour les tems." *Ibid*.

SECTION IX.

Of the various Opinions advanced in this Period.

As this was an age of much speculation, and metaphysical subtlety, we are not surprised at the advancement of singular opinions. Had the church had less power, and had there not been a disposition so very hostile to all innovations, this turn for speculation might have had valuable consequences. It was the introduction of the works of Aristotle into the schools of Christians, that was the chief cause of this refinement, and four men particularly distinguished themselves by their attachment to his philosophy; Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris, Abelard, Peter of Poitiers, and Gilbert of Porée, bishop of Poitiers. Their opinions were sometimes called the *four labyrinths*, into which the old churchmen said the church had fallen through this philosophy.

Gilbert of Porée, had advanced that the *divine essence* was not *God*. He was likewise charged with advancing various other subtleties about the distinction of the persons in the Trinity; and as every new opinion, or singular mode of expression, excited alarm, he was examined on the subject, at Paris, in A. D. 1146, and the year following at Rheims, in a council held by pope Eugenius, Bernard being present and conducting the examination. But, after much disputation, Gilbert made the concessions that were required of him, and thus the business terminated, without any serious consequences.

In the catechism of the Greek church there was an anathema against the *God of Mahomet*, as neither *begetting nor begotten*. This the emperor Manuel Comnenus wished to have taken away, as it shocked the Mahometans, that God should be anathematized. But the prelates rejected the proposal, since the anathema was not against the true God, but a mere phantom. However, the emperor persisting, the anathema was at length changed for one against "Mahomet, his doctrine, and his sect."

In A. D. 1166, a council was held at Constantinople on occasion of one Demetrius having reported that the Germans were in an error for maintaining that the Son was at the same time equal to the Father, and inferior to him. This question having been the subject of much disputation about six years, the council, without entering into the merits of the question, contented themselves with pronouncing an anathema against

those who did not assent to the doctrine of the church. Nothing of any importance, or at all new, was advanced on the occasion, and nothing of consequence followed from it.

Peter Lombard having asserted that Jesus Christ *as man* was not, strictly speaking, a *thing* or *substance*, it gave great offence to pope Alexander III., who proposed to have the opinion condemned at the Council of Lateran, in A.D. 1179; but some disciples of Lombard standing up to defend it, the discussion was deferred. Afterwards, however, the Pope ordered his legate in France to assemble the doctors of the schools of Paris, Rheims, and other cities, and to forbid the teaching of it, under pain of anathema.

In Lombardy we find a sect called *Pasaginians*, who held that the law of Moses was obligatory on Christians, excepting, however, what related to sacrifices. They circumcised their children, abstained from the meats prohibited in the pentateuch, and they observed the Jewish sabbath. Like the Jews they also denied the doctrine of the Trinity, maintaining that Christ was the first and purest creature of God. Nor, says *Mosheim*, are we to wonder at this, when we consider the great number of Arians with which Italy formerly abounded.*

In Burgundy we find persons called *Caputiati*, from a singular kind of cap which they wore, and in which they put a leaden image of the Virgin Mary. They professed, as it is said, to level all distinctions, to abrogate magistracy, and restore primitive liberty. These were probably mere calumnies, the same things being frequently charged on other advocates for liberty, civil or ecclesiastical. However, Hugo, bishop of Auxerre, employed arms, instead of arguments, to reduce them.†

Many Christians in the East were attached to the Eutychian doctrine; and being no longer subject to the emperor of Constantinople, they openly professed their opinions, and formed separate churches. Both the Armenians, and the generality of the Egyptian Christians, were of this class. Many persons, who were more offended than was necessary at these divisions among Christians, took much pains to unite them. In A.D. 1170, Norsesis the Catholic, as he was called, a patriarch of the Armenians, wrote to the emperor Manuel Comnenus on the subject of the difference between their church and that of Constantinople, and in consequence

* Vol. II. p. 456. (P.) Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. xiv.

† *Mosheim*, II. p. 457. (P.) *Ibid.* Sect. xv.

of this he sent Theorian, who had a long conference with Norsesis, which terminated in his entire satisfaction ; so that he promised to use his best endeavours to bring over his nation to acknowledge the Council of Chalcedon, and to condemn those who were condemned by it. Nothing, however, seems to have followed from it ; and to this day the two churches are as far separated from each other as ever.

The Greek and Latin churches, though they had little communication in this period, were not in a state of declared hostility to each other. The emperor Manuel Comnenus had a correspondence with pope Alexander III. ; and William, archbishop of Tyre, spending a winter at Constantinople, speaks in the highest terms of his piety ; which shews, says *Fleury*, that the Latin church then considered the Greek church as Catholic, and that the schism between them was not properly formed. But Theodore Balsamon, in his Commentary on the *Nómocanon* of Photius, speaks of the bishops of ancient Rome as cut off from other churches, and laments it, expressing his hope of their conversion ; and this is the first direct proof of the schism of the Greeks, or the separation of the two churches.

So great was the inveteracy of the Greeks against the Latins, inflamed, no doubt, by their conduct in the crusades, that in April, A. D. 1182, they made a general massacre of those that were settled in Constantinople. They had been in great favour with the emperor Manuel Comnenus, who employed them in preference to the Greeks, finding them better qualified to serve him. This made them exceedingly odious to the Greeks, the priests also continually representing them as heretics, for not conforming to their customs. The Greeks did not, on this occasion, spare even the churches of the Latins, but burned them, together with all the persons who had taken refuge in them, without any distinction of priests, monks or laymen ; and among the rest perished John, a cardinal subdeacon, who had been sent to promote an union between the two churches. After cutting off his head, they tied it to the tail of a dog, and thus dragged it through the streets. The most humane sold to the Turks those who took refuge with them ; and of those, there were said to have been more than four thousand, of every age, and of both sexes. Those of the Latins who escaped this massacre took a cruel revenge for it. For, assembling near Constantinople, they went from the mouth of the Hellespont to the Black Sea, killing all the inhabitants they met with, plundering monasteries and churches, in

which they found immense booty. They also collected many galleys, and thereby raised a formidable fleet.

There are few periods in this history in which something does not occur relating to the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper. About A. D. 1192, there was a dispute whether the words *I baptize thee*, were not necessary to Christian baptism; Macarion, the bishop of Paris, saying that without those words the baptism was null, and Stephen, bishop of Tournay, that it was valid; those words being necessary to the solemnity, though not to the substance of baptism. Some time after, pope Alexander III. decided according to the opinion of the bishop of Paris, those words being necessary to distinguish the intention of the minister from any other ablution.

There was in this period a violent dispute among the Greeks, in which Manuel Comnenus took a part very unbecoming an emperor, about the sense in which it might be affirmed that an incarnate God was at the same time the *offerer* and the *oblation*. It was the occasion of much discord and inconvenience to the empire, but how the controversy was decided does not appear. The Greeks were also divided into deplorable factions by the controversy, about the sense in which Christ said that the *Father was greater than the Son*. The emperor warmly interested himself in this question; also publishing an explanation of the text, in which he maintained that the words related to *the flesh that was hid in Christ, and that was passible*, or subject to suffering. He also published an edict, denouncing capital punishments against such as should controvert his opinion. But the next emperor, Andronicus, forbade all disputing on the subject.*

About A. D. 1200, there arose a question in the Greek church, whether the eucharistical elements, or the body of Christ, was corruptible, as before his passion, or incorruptible, as afterwards. This so much divided the people, that it was the subject of conversation in all places. Nicetas, who gives an account of this controversy, does not say how it terminated; but he observes, that the emperor took the right side, which, of course, was his own, viz. that it was incorruptible. So popular was this opinion, that they who held that the eucharistical elements were subject to corruption, and consequently to the process of digestion, and its consequences, were by way of opprobrium called *Stercorarists*. At the Council of Sens, in A. D. 1190, Rainold,

* Mosheim, II. p. 434. (P.) Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. xv.

abbot of St. Martins of Nevers, was accused as coming under this denomination, and also of maintaining, after Origen, that, in the end all men will be saved.

In the pontificate of Clement III. a question arose whether the water mixed with the wine in the eucharist was changed into the blood of Christ. Innocent III. gave it as his opinion that it was. The water, he said, is mixed with the wine, to represent the people united to Christ; but this observation seems to militate against his opinion. The first time that we find the word *transubstantiation*, is in the letters of Hildebert, archbishop of Tours, in this period. He died in A. D. 1133.

Much of the refinement and nice distinctions in theology, speculative and practical, came from the monks, who had leisure for that purpose. Bernard, in treating of the love of God, says, "there are four degrees of it; the first is for our own sakes, the second from a principle of gratitude, the third for the sake of God, without respect to ourselves, and the fourth is the love of ourselves, only for the sake of God. The last," he says, "can only be felt occasionally here, but will be the fixed state of the blessed hereafter." These distinctions, the intelligent reader will perceive to be, in some measure confirmed by the more accurate observations of Dr. Hartley.*

As the last article under the title of this Section, I would observe, that pope Pascal II. being at Florence in A. D. 1109, held a council, in which there was much disputing with the bishop of that city, who maintained that Antichrist was then born.† The novelty of the subject drew a great company, but nothing was determined about it.

SECTION X.

Of the State of the Jews in this Period.

AFTER the composition of the Chaldee paraphrases, and the Talmud, which was completed about A. D. 500, the Jews produced not more than five or six books, from the time of Christ to this period. But at this time they applied to literature in imitation of the Christians and Mahometans, and from this time they composed many works.

* See *Prop.* 99, (Priestley, li.) where it is shewn how "the moral sense carries us, perpetually, to the pure love of God, as our highest and ultimate perfection, our end, centre, and only resting-place, to which yet we can never attain."

† "1105. Conciles de Florence, de Quedlimbourg, et de Mayence, contre Fluentius, Evêque de Florence, qui soutenoit que l'Antichrist étoit né." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. cxlviii.

Their first author of note was Nathan, who began to distinguish himself in A. D. 1050, and died at Rome in A. D. 1106. He wrote a dictionary, to explain the difficult words in the Talmud. After him came Abenezra, who wrote commentaries on the Scriptures. He was a Spaniard, and died at Rhodes in A. D. 1174. At the same time lived in France Solomon Jarchi, who taught at Paris, and wrote commentaries on all the Bible and on the Talmud. He died in A. D. 1181.

But the most famous of all their writers was Maimonides, a native of Cordova, born in A. D. 1135. He was a disciple of Averroes, who was also of Cordova, and one of the greatest philosophers among the Arabians. He wrote a commentary on the works of Aristotle, which having been translated from Arabic into Latin, was afterwards used in the schools of Christians. From Spain Maimonides went into Egypt, where he practised medicine, and wrote many works, among which the most useful is styled *More Nevochim*, in which he explains difficult passages of Scripture.* But the Jews in the East were offended at his writings, not bearing that the philosophy of Aristotle should be used to explain their religion. His principal opponent in the West was Solomon of Montpellier; but his part was taken by other Jews, especially at Narbonne. This occasioned a kind of schism among the Jews, who excommunicated one another for forty years. The reputation of Maimonides was at length, however, universally established among the Jews. He died in A. D. 1201. His principal defender was David Kimchi, a Spanish Jew, and a distinguished grammarian.

The crusades were always injurious to the Jews, the bigotted multitude wreaking their vengeance on them, as the enemies of Christianity, no less than the Mahometans. Also the wealth that many of them had at this time acquired, especially by usury, was another incitement to plunder them; and even the most moderate among the Christians were far from doing them proper justice. On the occasion of the second crusade, in which many Jews were murdered in France and Germany, Peter, abbot of Clugni, exhorted the king of France to prevent their being put to death; but he advised him to punish them by the confiscation of their goods, and making slaves of them, taking from them, he says, their unlawful gains; not only by usury, but by purchasing holy vessels, of men who robbed the churches. Pope

* See this work quoted, Vol. III. p. 440.

Innocent III. in his bull for the crusade, forbade those who took the cross to pay usury to the Jews, though in other respects he favoured them, and prohibited the ill usage to which they had been exposed.

About the year A. D. 1180, there were many reports of children being crucified by Jews, in various parts of France and England, and of miracles being wrought on the deaths of such children, which excited a general hatred of the Jews. Philip Augustus, king of France, conceived the greatest aversion to them. Such at that time were their reputation and number in Paris, that they were in possession of near one half of the city, and in defiance of the laws, they had Christian slaves. They practised usury without bounds, and often had the sacred vessels of churches as pledges. On the representation of this, the king discharged all Christians from their obligation to pay any debt due to a Jew, keeping the fifth part for himself; and in April A. D. 1182, he published an edict, ordering all Jews to quit the kingdom; giving them, however, leave to sell their effects, but confiscating their houses and lands. Accordingly, except some who were induced to make profession of Christianity, in July the same year they actually left the kingdom, with their wives, children, and all their dependents; and the year following the king converted their synagogues into Christian churches. However, in July A. D. 1198, he recalled the Jews.

In A. D. 1189, Richard, king of England, having given an order not to admit any Jews, or women, on a particular occasion at court,* it was reported that he had ordered them to be destroyed; and in consequence of the mistake many of them were put to death, in various parts of the kingdom. All the Jews in York, to the number of five hundred, perished. Being in a castle, surrounded day and night, and unable to defend themselves, they killed one another, their wives, children and domestics. The few who remained were killed by the people, who plundered their houses; and their papers being burned, the Christians thought themselves discharged from all the debts due to them.

In A. D. 1167 an Arabian persuaded many Jews in Spain that he had orders from God to conduct them to the Messiah. Maimonides, being consulted on the occasion, advised them to pay no regard to him. He was, however, followed by great numbers. Being apprehended, he persisted in asserting

* Some Jews attempting to enter the church to see the *cormonation*, several of them were murdered, but Richard appears to have capitally punished some of the assassins. See *Rapin*, L. vii. init. II. p. 239.

his divine mission, and said that if his head was cut off, he should immediately come to life again. He was beheaded, but without his coming to life, and the whole nation was severely punished for their credulity.*

A short time after this, a leprous Jew, being cured, believed that he was the Messiah, and gave himself out for such, to the Jews who lived beyond the Euphrates. This impostor having many followers, gave occasion to a new persecution of that people, though they were soon undeceived, with respect to him.†

Benjamin, a Jew, of Tudela, in Spain, finished his travels into the East, A. D. 1173. His account contains so many improbable things, especially with respect to the numbers that he found of his nation, and their flourishing circumstances, that little dependence can be placed upon it.‡

SECTION XI.

Miscellaneous Articles.

1. THE knowledge of Christianity was extended a little in the northern parts of Europe in this period, and by such means as had been employed for the same purpose before. In A. D. 1125, Otho, bishop of Bamberg, was instrumental in converting the Pomeranians, the prince and the chiefs having been gained in the first place; so that, the historian says, the conversion went on rapidly, especially when the people were promised a diminution of their taxes. It deserves to be noticed, that, among the instructions given to these people relating to their new religion, they were forbidden to eat blood, or animals that had been strangled; from which it appears that at this time, in Europe as well as in all other parts of the Christian world, such food was thought to be unlawful.

About A. D. 1150, Eric, king of Sweden, accompanied by Henry, bishop of Upsal, made an expedition against

* *Pictet*, A. D. 1167. (P.)

† *Ibid.* (P.)

‡ See Vol. II. p. 175. Benjamin professes to have travelled "from the ancient kingdom of Navarre, to the frontiers of China." He names no less than 131 places where he found Jews, whose numbers amounted to 392,215, besides "550,000 independent Israelites, whom he pretends to discover in the kingdoms of Thema and Chebar." His descriptions are sufficiently minute, from "the ancient Luz, where you find a Jew, who is a dyer of wool," to "Samarcand, in which are about 50,000, governed by R. Obadiah, of princely rank." These Travels were first printed in Hebrew, at Constantinople, in 1543. There was a French translation printed at Amsterdam in 1734, with notes and learned dissertations; the whole performed by *Barratier*, at 11 years of age. See Dr. Johnson's Biography of that wonderful boy.

the Finlanders, in order to convert them to Christianity. After a victory obtained over them, the gospel was preached to the rest, when they were baptized, churches were settled in the country, and the bishop remained with the new converts while the king returned to Sweden; but when the bishop would have compelled one of them to do penance, the man killed him.

In A.D. 1168, the inhabitants of the Isle of Rugen, being conquered by Valdemar, king of Denmark, consented to embrace Christianity. And when, by the labours of Meinard, a canon of Sigeberg, many of the Livonians were converted to Christianity, about A.D. 1186, being made a bishop, he established his see in Rugen. Valdemar was greatly assisted in his labours to promote Christianity by Absalom, archbishop of Lunden, who acted at the same time in the capacities of archbishop, general, admiral, and prime minister.*

The Slavonians, who had always shewn the greatest aversion to Christianity, were at length brought over by the endeavours of the neighbouring princes. The most eminent preacher employed by them was Vicelinus, a native of Hamelen, who surpassed almost all his contemporaries, in piety and learning; and who, after having resided many years in a society of regular canons of St. Austin, at Falderen, was made bishop of Oldenburg.†

In this period, a Nestorian priest, whose name was *John*, invaded and conquered a horde of Tartars, and as he was a presbyter before his elevation, he continued to be called *Presbyter*, or *Prester John*. Of this prince, and his dominions, the highest notions were entertained by the Christians in the West, from the letters which he wrote to the emperor Frederic, and also to Emanuel, the Greek emperor. His son David commonly went by the name of his father. But he was conquered and deprived of his life and dominions by the famous Gengischan.‡

2. In this period, literature made a very considerable progress, many persons of distinguished abilities, and indefatigable in teaching and writing, having applied themselves to it; though what they chiefly insisted upon, we should not now think of much value. But it was a great thing to indulge any freedom of speculation, in such an age of high church authority; and the acuteness which was exercised on logic, metaphysics, and such theology as was made to

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 356. (P.) Cent. xii. init.

† *Ibid.* p. 359. (P.)

‡ *Ibid.* II. pp. 361, 362. (P.)

accord with them, prepared the minds of men for making more accurate and more important distinctions in a later period.

In the beginning of the twelfth century, William de Champeaux, bishop of Chalons, and master of Abelard, obtained the title of *column of tutors*, though much inferior to his pupil, of whose success in teaching mention has been made already.* But the most decisive proof of the attention that was paid to literature in this age, and of the reputation acquired by it, is the history of Heloise, whose epistles, written in Latin, are superior to the other productions of that age, and worthy of any.†

At the head of the schools was Peter Lombard, who was made bishop of Paris in A. D. 1159. He composed a work called the *Book of Sentences*, containing a system of theology, extracted from the fathers; and it had the same success with the work of Gratian with respect to the canon law. All the teachers of theology for several centuries afterwards, used this book as a text, and two hundred and forty-four authors wrote commentaries on it. Before this time it had been the custom to explain all questions in theology by the philosophy of Aristotle, which was thought to have led many persons into errors, as Roscellin, Abelard, and Gilbert de Porée. St. Bernard was also a zealous opposer of the scholastics, who were also attacked by the modern mystics, as well as the advocates for the old divinity.‡

Pope Alexander III., in a council held at Rome, A. D. 1179, ordered the erecting new schools in the monasteries and cathedral churches, and restoring to their primitive lustre those which, through the sloth or ignorance of the monks or bishops, had fallen into ruin. But such was the celebrity of the schools established at Salerno, Bologna, Paris and Montpellier, that the episcopal and monastic schools were deserted, and sunk into total oblivion.§

The Arabic schools in Spain were also much frequented by Christians. Peter, the abbot of Clugni, travelled to To-

* Champeaux died in 1121. "Abailard devint son rival, et disputa longuement et vivement avec lui." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 113. See *supra*, p. 355.

† "La meilleure édition des véritables Lettres d'Abailard et d'Héloïse est celle de Londres, 1718, 8vo. en Latin." *Ibid.* I. p. 6. There is an English translation.

‡ Mosheim, II. pp. 427, 428. (P.) "The *Book of Sentences* seemed to be in much greater repute than the Holy Scriptures, and the compilations of Peter Lombard were preferred to the doctrines and precepts of Jesus Christ." Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. viii. Note [I].

§ Mosheim, II. pp. 376—379. (P.) Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Sect. iii. iv.

ledo, and translated into Latin the Koran, and the Life of Mahomet.*

About A. D. 1176, Peter Comestor, a priest of Troyes, and afterwards chancellor of the church of Paris, published an ecclesiastical history from the creation to the time of the apostles, a work which, though very imperfect,† and abounding with false interpretations of Scripture, was for three hundred years considered as a body of positive theology, equal to the works of Gratian and Peter Lombard. Having for some time presided in the schools of theology at Paris, he retired to St. Victor, and died in A. D. 1189.

In this period the study of the *civil law*, or the Roman jurisprudence, came into vogue, in consequence of the discovery of a copy of Justinian's Pandects, at Amalfi, when it was conquered by Roger, king of Sicily, the emperor Lothaire, and the Pisans, in conjunction. This was the best system of the civil law, and being published by the order of Lothaire, it was publicly taught at Bologna and other places; and as all literature was in the hands of the clergy, and they found the general maxims of the civil law favourable to their power, this system was in a great measure adopted by most Christian states, and taught in conjunction with the *canon law*. England was perhaps the only country, that had at any time been subject to the Romans, which retained its ancient laws, without any mixture of the civil.

3. A few particulars relating to the customs and discipline of the church in this period are deserving of notice.

It appears, by the letters of pope Pascal II., that, in his time, young children were not only baptized, but received the communion; and it also appears, by the writings of Hugh Victor, a famous teacher, who died in A. D. 1142, that the eucharist was given to them in both kinds, the wine being given to them by dipping the finger in it, and putting it into their mouths. But at a council held at London, in A. D. 1175, it was forbidden to give the bread dipped in the wine, on the pretence of making the communion more complete; it having by this means become customary, at

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 385. (P.) Peter "found, in Spain, persons of learning, from England, and other nations, who applied themselves with extraordinary assiduity to the study of astrology." About the same time, "Mirmet, a French monk, travelled into Spain and Africa to learn geography among the Saracens." According to *A. Wood*, (*Antiq. Oxon.* I. p. 55,) "Daniel Morlach, an Englishman, who was extremely fond of mathematical learning, went a journey to Toledo, from whence he brought into his own country a considerable number of Arabian books." *Ibid.* Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. *ad fin.* Note [u].

† "Ouvrage plus dogmatique qu'historique—dissertations qui renferment ou des complications bizarres, ou des fables ridicules." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 1053.

least in some places, to give the bread only, that being the natural consequence of the doctrine of this bread being the real body of Christ, which of course could not be destitute of blood.

Gui Paré, the Pope's legate in Germany, being at Cologne, in A. D. 1201, directed the people to prostrate themselves at the sound of a bell during the elevation of the host, and also that a bell should be sounded when it was carried in procession, in order to warn the people to adore it; and in time these practices became universal; having been the natural consequence of considering this host as the same thing with Christ himself in person, and that person no less than God.

In this period, the festival of the *Conception of the Virgin Mary* was introduced by the people of Lyons. Bernard wrote to them to shew his disapprobation of the novelty, at the same time that he approved of the festivals of the *nativity* and *assumption*. She had the privilege, he said, of living without sin, but not that of being born without the taint of original sin, which was peculiar to Christ.

The observance of Sunday, as a day of rest from all labour, was gradually introduced among Christians, and required to be enforced by several orders of councils. Eustache, a disciple of Neuville, a famous itinerant preacher, authorized by the Pope, came to England in this period, and preached at York; persuading the people to have no fairs on Sundays, but to rest from all servile work from noon on Saturdays till sun-rise on Monday; but king John was offended at it, and ordered the markets to be kept on Sundays as before.

In this period, interdicts had been much abused, and even found to be attended with many inconveniences; and in consequence of it, in A. D. 1195, the Pope recommended particular and not general interdicts; because, as he said, when there was no public worship, the heretics took advantage of it to seduce the people.

To give a better idea of the spirit of the religion that prevailed in this period, it may not be amiss to mention the particulars of the penance appointed by pope Innocent III. for the murder of the bishop of Wurzburg, in A. D. 1203, who was killed by two knights, his own vassals, named Boden and Henry. Being driven out of the country, after having been excommunicated, they went and submitted themselves to the Pope, who imposed upon them the following penance: Never to appear in arms, except against the Saracens or for self-defence; never to wear green (*petit gris*) or *ermine*, or

any coloured cloth ; never to attend at any public spectacle ; not to marry again if they should lose their wives ; to go as soon as possible to the Holy Land, to serve there four years against the Saracens, and in going thither to walk barefoot, and clothed in wool, like public penitents ; to fast on bread and water, on Wednesdays and Fridays, ember week and vigils ; to have three fasts, viz. before Easter, Whitsuntide and Christmas, and never to eat flesh but on those festivals ; to chaunt a hundred pater-nosters, and make a hundred genuflexions, every day ; not to receive the eucharist but at the point of death ; when they should be beyond the sea, they should fast on Wednesdays and Fridays, and the other days on which flesh meat was allowed in Easter, and never eat flesh but on Sundays and Thursdays ; when they were in safety in any city in Germany, they should go to the great church, naked, except in drawers, a halter about their necks, and rods in their hands, with which the canons should give them discipline : if any person should ask the reason of it, they were to say, it was for the expiation of their crime. Being returned from beyond the sea, they were to present themselves to the Pope to receive his farther orders. The letter which contains an account of this penance was dated the 18th of April, A. D. 1203.

4. Instances of gross superstition may be expected in this period, the whole history exhibiting little else. I shall, however, give a few of a particular kind. At a council at Beauvais, in A. D. 1114, two brothers having been apprehended on a charge of heresy, one of them confessed, but the other was tried by being thrown into the water ; and not sinking, he was judged to be guilty. The idea was, that the devil, or some evil spirit, being within them, they were thereby rendered specifically lighter than water, and therefore could not sink in it. At the same time, two other persons, who came to see these brothers, were apprehended ; and while the bishops were deliberating on their case, the populace rushed into the prison, and burned them alive, without the city.

So great was the superstitious regard for relics, that they were carried from place to place, as an instrument of raising money. In order to raise a sum to rebuild the cathedral church of Laon, in France, the people carried not only about France, but in England also, the relics which had been saved when it had been burned down ; and miracles being said to be wrought by them, a great sum was collected.

Of superstition leading to the commission of crimes, we

had some remarkable instances, in the preceding period. There occurs one no less so in this. As St. Laurence, bishop of Dublin, was advancing to the altar, in the church of Canterbury, at the time of solemn mass, in A. D. 1179, a man who was present, hearing that he was a saint, thought it would be meritorious to make him a martyr, like St. Thomas Becket; and with a great bludgeon he knocked him down. The prelate, however, recovered, and by his intreaty the pious assassin was spared.

Amidst the lamentable superstition of these times, hurtful no doubt to good morals, we perceive the excellent *stamina* of Christianity in the questions proposed to dying persons, and the answers expected to be made to them, supposed to be drawn by Anselm. We find them in different forms in different authors, but much to the same purpose. One of the forms is as follows:—*Q.* Do you believe all the articles of the Christian faith? *A.* I believe them. *Q.* Do you rejoice that you die in the faith of a Christian? *A.* I do rejoice in it. *Q.* Do you not acknowledge that you have offended God? *A.* I do, and am sorry for it. *Q.* Do you resolve to abstain from all mortal sin for the future? *A.* By the help of God I do. *Q.* Do you believe that you shall arrive at a state of glory by the merits and passion of Jesus Christ, and not by your own works? *A.* I do.*

5. Public tournaments, often ending in bloodshed, were justly offensive to the church. They were forbidden at a council at Rheims, in A. D. 1131, as endangering both the body and the soul. They were also forbidden at the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1139; but though these prohibitions were frequently repeated, they had no effect, the practice continuing four hundred years. At this last-mentioned Council, the use of cross bows, and also of long bows, was forbidden against Christians and Catholics, being probably deemed too destructive weapons.

6. At the same council, those who were then called *Brabançons*, or *Routiers*, who served any prince for pay, and were of different nations, though perhaps principally from Brabant, as their name seems to intimate, men who lived without any religion, were excommunicated; and orders were given that they should not be absolved till they had renounced their pernicious society. It would have been happy if the terrors of superstition had always been employed for such purposes as these.

* Pictet, A. D. 1109. (P.) Among Anselm's works is "xxxii. *Admonitio pro moribundo*, a warning for a sick man." *Biog. Brit.* I. p. 213.

7. The number of lepers was prodigiously increased in the West, by means of the communication with the East in the crusades. At the time of the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1129, the lepers, as they could not attend public worship, in company with other Christians, were allowed to have churches and priests of their own ; and this is the first public act that we meet with concerning lepers.

8. Another effect of the crusades was the union of the Maronites, who lived about Mount Lebanon, and who had been Monothelites, to the Latin church, by the patriarch of Antioch, in A. D. 1182. They were then said to be about forty thousand persons.

9. It will be thought not a little extraordinary, but it was said there were some Pagans in Marseilles so late as in the 13th century.*

As a favourable specimen of the literature and taste, as well as the piety, of this period, I shall present my readers with a poem in Latin rhyme, entitled *Oratio ad Dominum*, written by Hildebert, bishop of Mans,† first published by archbishop Usher, and copied into the *Annual Register* for A. D. 1765.

EXTRA portam jam delatum,
Jam scetentem, tumulatum,
Vitta ligat, lapis urget;
Sed si jubes, hic resurget.

Jube, lapis revolvetur,
Jube, vitta disrumpetur.
Exiturus nescit moras,
Postquam clamas, *Eri foras.*

In hoc salo mea ratis,
Infestatur à piratis,
Hinc assultus, inde fluctus,
Hinc et inde, mors et luctus.

Sed tu, bone nauta, veni,
Preme ventos, mare leni;
Fac abscedant hi piratæ,
Duc ad portum, salva rate.

Infœcunda mea ficus,
Cujus ramus ramus siccus,
Incidetur, incendetur,
Si promulgas quod meretur.

Sed, hoc anno, dimittatur,
Stercoretur, fodiatur,
Quod si necdum respondebit,
Flens hoc loquor, tunc ardebit.

Vetus hostis in me furit,
Aquis mersat, flammis urit.
Inde languens et afflictus,
Tibi soli sum relictus.

Ut hic hostis evanescat,
Ut infirmus convalescat,
Tu virtutem jejunandi,
Des infirmo, des orandi.

Per hæc duo, Christo teste,
Liberabor ab hâc peste,
Ab hâc peste solve mentem,
Fac devotum, pœnitentem.

Da timorem, quo projecto,
De salute nil conjecto.
Da spem, fidem, charitatem,
Da discretam pietatem.

Da contemptum terrenorum,
Appetitum supernorum.
Totum, Deus, in te spero.
Dens, ex te totum quero.

Tu laus mea, meum bonum,
Mea cuncta tuum donum,
Tu solamen in labore,
Medicamen in languore.

* Laval's History of the Reformation in France, I. p. 412. (P.)

† See *supra*, pp. 262, 350, and *Now. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 326.

Tu in luctu mea lyra,
 Tu lenimen es in irâ;
 Tu in arcto liberator,
 Tu in lapsu relevator.

Metum præstas in propectu,
 Spem conservas in defectu,
 Si quis lædit tu rependis,
 Si minatur tu defendis.

Quod est anceps tu dissolvis.
 Quod tegendum tu involvis.
 Tu intrare me non sinas
 Infernales officinas.

Ubi mæror, ubi metus,
 Ubi fœtor, ubi fletus,
 Ubi probra deteguntur,
 Ubi rei confunduntur.

Ubi tortor semper cædens,
 Ubi vermis semper edens,
 Ubi totum hoc perenne,
 Quia perpes mors Gehennæ.

Me receptet Sion illa,
 Sion David, urbs tranquilla;
 Cujus faber auctor lucis,
 Cujus portæ signum crucis.

Cujus claves lingua Petri,
 Cujus cives semper læti.

Cujus muri lapis vivus,
 Cujus custos rex festivus.

In hâc urbe, lux solennis,
 Ver æternum, pax perennis;
 In hâc, odor implens cœlos,
 In hâc semper festum melos.

Non est ibi corruptela,
 Non defectus, non querela;
 Non minuti, non deformes.
 Omnes Christo sunt conformes.

Urbs cœlestis, urbs beata,
 Supra petram collocata;
 Urbs in portu satis tuto,
 De longinquo te saluto.

Te saluto, te suspiro,
 Te affecto, te requiro.
 Quantum tui gratulentur,
 Quam festivè conviventur.

Quis affectus eos stringat,
 Aut quæ gemma muros pingat,
 Quis Chæcedon, quis jacinctus,
 Norunt illi qui sunt intus.

In plateis hujus urbis,
 Sociatus piis turbis,
 Cum Moise, et Elia,
 Pium cantem Alleluia!*

* See a Translation of these verses in an Appendix to this volume. The *Oratio*, by Hildebert, who died in 1132, was first discovered by Usher, among the *Cotton MSS.*, collated with another MS. in the royal library, and published by the archbishop in 1647, at the end of a Latin treatise.

PERIOD XIX.

FROM THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE LATINS, IN A.D. 1204, TO THE TERMINATION OF THE CRUSADES, IN A. D. 1291.



SECTION I.

The History of the Crusades continued.

THE taking of Constantinople from the Greek emperors,* who had always been the secret or open enemies of the crusaders, was thought to be a decisive advantage to Rome, but eventually it proved to be the ruin of the whole scheme. It alarmed the Mahometan powers and united them, at the same time that it divided the Latin powers, by giving them too many objects; and among these the original one, which was the recovery of the Holy Land, (in which there was the most to be gained, and the least to be hazarded,) was neglected.

Pope Innocent III., though he had many objections to the conduct of the crusaders, who had paid no regard to his strict prohibitions not to molest any Christian prince, and especially the Greek emperor, was in reality well pleased with their success, and after some time thought proper to testify his approbation of it. In answer to a letter which the new emperor wrote to him on the occasion, he congratulated him on the event, expressing his ardent wish that the union of the two churches might be promoted by it. With this view he insisted largely in his letter to the bishops, on the chief articles of difference between them, viz. the procession of the

* In 1195 Alexis Angelus had supplanted the emperor Isaac Angelus. Alexis, the son of Isaac, implored the aid of the Franks and Venetians as they passed to the Holy Land in 1203. They joined him with their forces, took Constantinople and seated him on the throne: the next year Alexis Ducas Murtzuffe assassinated the emperor, whom the Crusaders had established, and possessed himself of the throne. On hearing this account, the Franks returning, attacked the city, and took it in three days. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was then elected emperor. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.*, I. p. clxx.

Holy Spirit. If, he observed, this was from the Father only, and not from the Son also, he would not have the same affection for the Son as for the Father, which would be inconsistent with the perfect equality of the divine persons. He expressed his concern, however, to find that even the Christians in Palestine left that country, and went to Constantinople, after making a truce of six years with the Mahometans.

The Latins being now in possession of Constantinople, a Latin patriarch was chosen for that city, and the Greek patriarch retired to Thrace. But this was far from promoting any real union of the two churches. On the contrary, this conquest, and the behaviour of the conquerors, made the breach wider than before.

Amauri de Lusignan, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, dying in A. D. 1205, and Isabella his widow, in whose right he had held the kingdom, dying A. D. 1210, her daughter Mary married John de Brienne, commonly called king of Acre, because that was his place of residence, and his dominions did not extend much farther.

Satisfied with the conquest of Constantinople, it was some time before the Christians in the West thought it necessary to send any forces into the East; but they were excited to it by the zeal of a great number of boys and some girls, who in A. D. 1212 took the cross in France and Germany, but without any chief, or plan of conduct. Many of them were confined by their parents, but others made their escape, and in pursuit of their object, wandering in the deserts, perished miserably. Some, however, passed the Alps, but the Lombards plundering them, they returned with shame to their respective homes.

The Pope hearing of this, said, "Those children reproach us: they run to the succour of the Holy Land, while we are sleeping;" and in A. D. 1213, he published a bull for the convocation of a general council, to meet in two years for the reformation of abuses, and the succour of the Holy Land. The same year he published another bull, which respected the crusade only. In this he says, "We hope that the power of Mahomet will soon come to an end, since he is the beast in the Revelation, whose number is six hundred and sixty-six years, and six hundred years are now nearly expired, reckoning from the time of his appearance." As a farther motive to the expedition, he urged the critical situation of the Christians in Palestine, and promised plenary indulgences to all who would undertake the expedition, with a discharge of all usury from Jews and others. He men-

tioned the forces that each of the princes, civil and ecclesiastical, should furnish, and promised to do in proportion himself. Farther, to unite them in this one object, he recalled the indulgences he had granted to those who served against the Saracens in Spain, or the heretics in Languedoc, except to the natives of those countries. He also excommunicated the pirates who obstructed the navigation of the Levant, and ordered processions every month, and prayers every day in the churches, to receive the alms that were designed for this object. In the last place, he wrote to Safodin, the brother of Saladin, the sultan of Damascus and Babylon, to exhort him to give up the city of Jerusalem, and restore the captives on both sides, to prevent the further effusion of blood.

In consequence of this summons, the council met at the Lateran church in Rome, in A. D. 1215,* when orders were given for a new crusade, to take place in A. D. 1217, when all who should take the cross were directed to meet at Brindisi, or Messina, where he promised to attend in person. That there might be no obstruction to this expedition, peace was ordered to be kept through all Christendom for four years. Notwithstanding all this, only the king of Hungary, and Leopold, duke of Austria, though accompanied by several bishops and counts, and a multitude of common people, set out. At the same time, however, William, count of Holland, and others from Germany, went by sea to Portugal, when they took Alcazar from the Saracens, and spent the winter in Lisbon.

The arrival of the king of Hungary and the duke of Austria, alarmed the Mahometan powers, but without any reason: for, after a successful expedition as far as the river Jordan, and returning loaded with booty, they divided into four parties; and the king of Hungary having spent three months in Palestine, and thereby accomplished his vow, returned to his own country.

The first who arrived the following year were the Germans from Portugal, who went to Damietta, in Egypt, and laid

* For the condemnation of the Albigenses and other heretics, and for the conquest of the Holy Land. There were two patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Jerusalem*; seventy-one archbishops; four hundred and sixteen bishops; eight hundred abbots; the primates of the Maronites, and St. Dominic, founder of the order of preaching Friars. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* l. p. cliii.

According to *Matthew Paris*, the Pope had sent Farentinus to England, in 1206, to raise "contributions for the Holy Land." He "carried away with him such heaps of treasure that king John complained next year to the Pope, *Quod uberi ores sibi fructus proveniant de regno Angliæ, quam de omnibus regionibus citra Alpes*, (That his holiness had greater profits out of England, than from all other countries on this side the Alps)." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 411.

siege to it. But the army was much divided between the Pope's legate, who claimed the command, and the king of Jerusalem, who joined them there. On the 29th of August, A. D. 1219 they came to a battle with the Mahometans, and lost six thousand men, killed or taken prisoners. At length, however, they took the place on the 5th of November, after a siege of nine months: but after this they fell into great disorder, living in the most licentious manner, without even regarding excommunications. Many left the army, and many even went over to the enemy. The king of Jerusalem not agreeing with the legate, went to Acre, in A. D. 1220. The next year he returned, and at the earnest request of the legate, they marched towards Cairo; but being surrounded by the waters of the Nile, they were under the necessity of capitulating with the sultan on condition of giving up Damietta, which they did November 8, A. D. 1221, after they had held it a year and ten months. For this they got nothing but what was supposed to be the true cross, which Saladin had carried from Jerusalem, the Christian captives, and a safe conduct to Acre; agreeing on a truce for eight months. But so much was the sultan irritated by this invasion of his territories, that, recovering the possession of Damietta, he demolished the Christian churches, and greatly insulted and oppressed the Christians in his dominions.

In A. D. 1223, the king of Jerusalem was in England, to get succours for the Holy Land, and thence he went to France; but he complained that he met with little encouragement, and the preachers of this crusade were even ridiculed in Germany and other places, the publishers being persons of no consideration; and, as the emperor Henry observed to the Pope, having but little power of granting indulgences. He, therefore, urged his holiness to remedy this inconvenience, and to remove every other obstacle to the expedition, on which he was much intent, having promised to marry the daughter of the king of Jerusalem.

In return, the Pope sent cardinal Conrad as his legate into Germany, in June, A. D. 1224, with ample powers, and also preachers, for the purpose of publishing sufficient indulgences. In consequence of this, great numbers of persons from all parts of Germany took the cross; but it was not till August, A. D. 1227, that Frederic arrived at Brindisi, where the army of the crusaders was assembled; and there being a great mortality in it, and the emperor himself being ill, the expedition was put off for that year. Pope Gregory IX., however, thinking his illness to be a feint, excommunicated

him for not having kept his word. The non-arrival of the emperor was a great disappointment to those who were in Palestine, and more than forty thousand pilgrims, who were already there, returned in the vessels that had carried them.

The emperor paid no regard to the Pope's excommunication, though it was solemnly repeated, but had divine service performed in his presence, and he celebrated Easter as usual. In June, A. D. 1228, he actually embarked, though expressly forbidden to proceed till he should be absolved from the censure which he had incurred, and he arrived safe in Palestine. During this absence of the emperor, and while he was engaged in a war which the Pope pretended to have much at heart, he employed John de Brienne, the late king of Jerusalem, to oppose Rainald, duke of Spoleto, the emperor's general in the south of Italy, and other commanders, to attack his dominions in the north; and as Rainald employed many Saracens, the emperor's subjects in Sicily, who spared nothing belonging to the churches, much devastation was committed on both sides.

The emperor himself being arrived at Acre, September 7, A. D. 1220, was received as a person in a state of excommunication. However, by a treaty which he made with the sultan of Egypt, he procured the possession of Jerusalem for ten years, and he himself went thither to perform his devotions, notwithstanding the place was laid under an interdict on his account; and there being no bishop to give him the crown, he took it from the altar. So much were the Templars and Hospitallers, his enemies, that when he designed to visit the river Jordan with a few attendants, they gave the sultan notice of it; but he, detesting their perfidy, sent their letter to the emperor. This opposition to him both in Palestine and Italy hastened his return, and accordingly he left the country, May 1, A. D. 1229.

Being arrived in Italy, he soon recovered the places which the Pope had taken from him. So far, however, was this prelate from being discouraged, that he proceeded farther, to absolve the emperor's subjects from their oath of allegiance to him; saying, that "no person ought to keep faith with those who opposed God and his saints, and who trampled upon his commandments." This was August 20. At length the emperor made his peace with the Pope, swearing to submit to the orders of the church, without any condition, and on the 28th of that month he was absolved from his excommunication; and on the first of September following they met, at the Pope's invitation, at Anagni, where they

sat at the same table, and had a long conversation, in the presence of the master of the Teutonic order.

In A. D. 1234, Gregory IX. published a new crusade, repeating the bull of pope Innocent III., and renewing his excommunication of those who furnished arms or ships to the infidels. The Dominicans and Franciscans were employed to preach it, and to collect money for it. But though great sums were thereby raised, the people seeing no good use made of it, their zeal in the cause, says Matthew Paris, was much cooled, and the business proceeded very slowly.

Many who had taken the cross being assembled at Lyons, in A. D. 1229, the Pope, perceiving the distressed situation of the Latin emperor of Constantinople, urged them to go to his assistance. Afterwards, however, he sent a nuncio to forbid them to proceed; and the emperor also desiring them to wait for him, they were thrown into great confusion, and dispersed in different directions, a few only going to Palestine. Richard, earl of Cornwall, arriving at Acre October 8, A. D. 1240, was received with great joy, the affairs of the Christians being then in great disorder; the princes who had arrived before him having acted independently of one another, and some of them having been defeated. Advancing to Jaffa he made an advantageous truce with the Mahometans, they giving up several places which the Christians were allowed to fortify. This treaty was signed at the end of November, A. D. 1240.

In A. D. 1244, the Christians of Palestine were threatened with a new enemy, one of the Tartar princes, driven from Karasm by Jenghis Khan; when the Christians in Jerusalem, finding themselves too weak to defend the place, left it, in order to join their brethren in other places, to the number of more than six thousand. But a party of Saracens with whom they had made a truce, falling upon them, killed some, and sold the rest for slaves. The Karasmians fell upon some who had escaped, so that scarce three hundred were left. The prince entering Jerusalem, found it almost deserted, and going into the church of the holy sepulchre, he cruelly butchered those who had taken refuge in it, and abused the place in a shocking manner. After this, the Christians joining their forces with those of two Mahometan princes, attacked the Karasmians, the 10th of October A. D. 1244, but were defeated, so that of the military orders there remained only thirty-three Templars, twenty-six Hospitallers, and three Teutonic knights, the greater part having been killed or taken. So much of the country was seized by

these Karasmians, that only a few fortresses were left to the Christians ; and it was with much difficulty that they were able to defend them.

Notwithstanding this unpromising aspect of things, the greatest expectations of the Pope and of all the Christian world were raised by the pious king Lewis IX. of France taking the cross ; and though he did it when he was ill, and his life was despaired of, he solemnly renewed his vows after his recovery ; and against the most pressing remonstrances of his mother and all his nobility, who thought his presence necessary at home, he persisted in his purpose. Accordingly, on the 28th of June, A. D. 1248, he embarked, and landing at Cyprus on the 17th of September, was gladly received by Henry de Lusignan, the king of that island, to whom also the Pope had given the kingdom of Jerusalem, vacant in his idea by his deposition of the emperor Frederic, and his son Conrad ; and who, with all his nobility, joined him in the expedition. On the 13th of May they sailed, and arrived at Damietta the 4th of June, A. D. 1249, and the place being abandoned by the enemy, they took immediate possession of it. On the 20th November they marched with a view to attack Cairo, but after some success, they suffered so much through illness and want of provisions, that they began to return. This, however, they were prevented from doing ; for being completely surrounded by the enemy, the whole army was killed or taken prisoners, and among the latter was the king himself. He obtained his liberty by giving up Damietta, all his prisoners, and eight hundred thousand *besants* of silver. He also made a truce for ten years, but going to Acre, and the Mahometans not observing the terms of the treaty with respect to the prisoners, he continued there, fortifying several places, and redeeming captives at a great expense. At length, without attempting any thing farther, he sailed for France the 24th of April, A. D. 1254, and arrived there the 11th of July.

This unsuccessful expedition was only the beginning of misfortunes. The wars between the Pisans and the Genoese, (the former assisted by the Venetians,) were nearly fatal to the interest of the Christians in Palestine, they fighting with one another on the very coast. The Templars also, and the Hospitallers quarrelled, and actually fought at Acre, and the former being defeated, hardly one of their knights remained. The greater part of the Hospitallers perished in the action.

But the greatest disaster, as it was then considered, was the loss of Constantinople. The Latin emperor, Baldwin,

being reduced to a state of great weakness, and his troops being absent on an expedition, the Greek emperor Michael Paleologus, ordered his son Alexis to march near the walls of Constantinople, and alarm the place. But he, perceiving the defenceless state of the city, took it by surprise* in the night of the 25th of July, A. D. 1261, after the Latins had held it fifty-seven years. Baldwin himself made his escape.

They had farther losses in Palestine itself; for in A. D. 1264, the sultan of Egypt took Cæsarea. The next year he took the castle of Asouf, and even prepared to besiege Acre, which was the principal place the crusaders then held; and the year after this he took the castle of Saphet.

The hopes of the Christian world were, however, revived, by Lewis taking the cross a second time, which, after much pious preparation, he did with great solemnity, and on the 1st of July, A. D. 1270, he set sail in Genoese vessels with a great number of his lords, and other persons of less note. Among them was the king of Navarre, his son-in-law, the count of Poitou, his brother the count of Flanders, and John the eldest son of the count of Bretagne. After suffering much by a storm, and rendezvousing at Cagliari in Sardinia, they proceeded to Tunis, in hopes that the king of it would declare for them, and become a Christian, of which they had been led to form some expectation, or else to take the place. In both, however, they were disappointed; and a violent disorder seizing the army, many died, and at length the king himself, on the 25th of August. He made his exit with all the piety of the age, being laid on a bed covered with cinders, and after giving excellent instructions to his son, but among them was a strict charge to extirpate heresy. Judging by the maxims of the times, and this prince's real disposition, no person appears to have better deserved the title of *saint*, which he obtained.

Charles, king of Sicily, arrived at the place just before the king expired; but all that could now be done, was, to make a truce with the king of Tunis for ten years, and they did it on the following advantageous terms: He was to pay the expenses of the armament, to make Tunis a free port, to pay an annual tribute to the king of Sicily, to set at liberty all his Christian captives, and to allow the free exercise of the Christian religion, without exacting the usual tribute. After the treaty was signed, arrived Edward, eldest son of the king of England, with his brother Edmond, and many of the

* "Par l'intelligence des Grecs, qui étoient dans la ville." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. clxx.

English nobility. He was much dissatisfied with the treaty, but went with the army to Sicily, and there passed the winter ; but the new king of France returned to his own country.

Edward, having left Sicily in the spring of A. D. 1271, arrived at Acre the 9th of May, with a thousand chosen men, but he found the affairs of the Christians in a very declining way. The sultan of Egypt had made great progress, having taken Jaffa by treachery during a truce, the castle of Beaufort, and the city of Antioch, where he put to death seventeen thousand persons, and carried away more than one hundred thousand into slavery, which so ruined the place that it never after recovered itself. On the 8th of April he took the castle of Acre, which belonged to the Hospitallers. He then made a truce with the count of Tripoli, took Montfort, which belonged to the Germans, and having laid it in ruins, advanced to the siege of Acre. Here, however, his progress was stopped by the arrival of Edward, who, after resting a month, marched with seven thousand men, and took Nazareth, killing all that he found there. He made several other expeditions in the course of the year, and half that time he continued in Palestine, but without any considerable effect.

At this time Thibaud, archdeacon of Liege, was in Palestine, and being raised to the papal dignity while he was there, by the name of Gregory X., he made it his great object to promote the crusade, and he engaged the maritime powers of Pisa, Genoa, Marseilles and Venice, to assist in it, by sending immediate relief till he could procure more effectual assistance, by means of a general council, which he called to meet the 1st of May, A. D. 1274.

In the mean time he gave the title of patriarch of Jerusalem to Thomas of Leontine, in Sicily, a Dominican friar, who had been bishop of Bethany, that he might attend to the spiritual affairs of the crusade, which, according to the representation of Gregory, who must have known it, was indeed deplorable. Writing to him on the occasion, he says, "You yourself know the enormous crimes that are committed there, and that the wretched slaves of voluptuousness have drawn the anger of God upon Antioch, and so many other places, which the enemy has destroyed. It is astonishing that our brethren should be so little affected by such examples, that they continue in the same disorders without repentance, till they themselves perish."

This patriarch arrived at Acre with five hundred men, in

the pay of the Pope; but in the mean time Edward was very near losing his life, by an assassin sent by a Mahometan emir, who had often brought him letters, pretending a willingness to become a Christian. At length, after waiting in vain for succours, either from the Christian powers, or the Tartars who had promised to join the Christians, he made a truce with the sultan of Egypt for ten years, and left Acre the 22nd of September, A. D. 1272, leaving the troops that were in his pay. Thus terminated another great effort to restore the affairs of the Christians in the East.

The great object of the general Council of Lyons, which met in A. D. 1275, was the relief of the Holy Land, and many orders were given respecting it by Gregory X., who certainly had the cause much at heart; but all the preparations for it terminated in nothing. The principal obstruction arose from the wars in which the Christian powers in Europe were mutually engaged, and especially that between Peter of Arragon and Charles of Sicily, whom the Pope favoured so much, that he granted him part of the tenths of the ecclesiastical revenues destined for carrying on the holy war.

After a considerable interval, an attempt was made to assist the Christians in the East by Henry II., king of Cyprus; who being in possession of what remained of the kingdom of Jerusalem, came to Acre in A. D. 1286 with a fine army. The lieutenant whom Charles king of Sicily (and who likewise claimed the kingdom) had left there, was obliged to depart, and Henry was crowned at Tyre, August 15 the same year.

In A. D. 1288, the sultan of Egypt took Tripoli, and burned it, but Henry made a truce with him, and returned to Cyprus, leaving his brother Aimeri to guard the city; and applying to the Pope, he sent him twenty galleys with every thing necessary to serve for one year. But when they arrived at Acre, so many of the crew went on shore, that only thirteen of them could be armed, and the city not being attacked, as was expected, they were of little use.

In the beginning of the year following, pope Nicolas IV. published a new bull to promote the crusade, with plenary indulgences as usual. At the same time he directed the patriarch to establish inquisitors in all the places subject to him, taking the assistance of the Dominicans; for the disorders occasioned by the war had given impunity to heretics and Jews in that part of the world.

After the loss of Antioch, Tripoli, and other places which

the Christians held in Palestine, the city of Acre, to which they were now in a manner reduced, was much strengthened. The king of Jerusalem, the prince of Antioch, the counts of Tyre and Tripoli, the Templars, Hospitallers, the Pope's legate, and the troops kept by the kings of France and England, all resided there; and they were not long without finding occasion for action. Notwithstanding the truce which king Richard had made with the sultan of Egypt, about sixteen hundred men, who had been sent by the Pope, pretending that they were not bound by it, plundered and killed those Mahometans, who, on the faith of that treaty, brought provisions and merchandise to Acre. They also made excursions to the neighbouring villages, and plundered and killed the inhabitants. The sultan Kelaoun Elasar, not being able to obtain any satisfaction for those outrages, advanced against the place with a great army in October A. D. 1290; and though he died on the march, his son Kalib began the siege on the 5th of April, A. D. 1291, with an army of one hundred and sixty thousand foot and sixty thousand horse, and on the 18th of the same month he took it by assault.

The king fled in the night, and three thousand with him, the patriarch was drowned by overloading the chaloupe in which he was going to a ship, and the master of the temple, who had the command, died fighting. The Mahometans made a dreadful slaughter of most that they found in the place, and carried the rest captive, in number, it was said, sixty thousand. Immense wealth was found in the place, as every thing of value had been brought thither from other places, and it had long been the centre of all the commerce of the Levant. The enemy, having carried away every thing of value, set fire to the city, and totally demolished it.

This event was at that time considered as a just punishment for the wickedness of the inhabitants, who are said to have been the most corrupt of all Christians, especially with respect to impurity, both of men and women. The same day that Acre was taken, the inhabitants of Tyre abandoned that place, and saved themselves by sea, and those of Barut surrendered without making any resistance. Thus the Latins lost all that they had hitherto kept of the country; the greater part of those who were saved, retiring to Cyprus. Such was the termination of the war for the recovery of the Holy Land, after it had lasted near two hundred years.*

* See a large enumeration of the authors who have described this last crusade, in *Mosheim*, Cent. xiii. Pt. i. Ch. i. Sect. viii. *Notes*.

Pope Nicolas, on receiving the afflicting news, made every possible effort to recover what had been lost; and for this purpose appointed a new crusade to take place two years after. In this he published bulls, in which he most pathetically lamented the sad disaster, and earnestly exhorted all Christians to repair the loss. With this view he wrote to all the princes from whom he had any expectations, and especially to the states of Venice and Genoa, whom he exhorted to make peace for this end. But in every country there was some particular obstruction that retarded the business, so that nothing was done; and the death of Nicolas, the 4th of April, A. D. 1292, put an end to every project of the kind.*

SECTION II.

Of the Papal Power, and the Opposition that was made to it in this Period.

IN no period of this history were the claims of the popes more exorbitant than in this, nor did they ever make a more intemperate use of their excommunications and interdicts; and yet in none had they less effect, except when the temporal interest of the secular princes induced them to favour their pretensions.

The authority of the ancient canons was in a great measure set aside in this period by the collection of *Roman decretais*, begun by Innocent III., who employed Petro Benevento his notary, in the work, and who finished it in A. D. 1210. This was the first collection of *Jus Pontificium*, made by authority. Additions were afterwards made to it: but Gregory XI. ordered a new code to be made, leaving out all the old regulations that were not to his purpose, and adding

* It appears from *Matthew Paris*, (An. 1250 and 1255,) that during the execution of these projects, "the Pope sold the crossed pilgrims to others for money, as the Jews their sheep and their doves, in the temple." The kings also would share in the gains till it grew into a proverb "that the King and the Pope were the lion and the wolf."

Those who "listed themselves for this Holy War," according to *Platina*, "in token thereof continually afterwards wore upon their backs or shoulders, the sign or badge of a Red Cross; whence in old English they were called Crouch-Backs." *Hist. of Popery*, I. p. 343, II. p. 411. *Buchanan* relates the following incidents:

"Anno 1220, venit in Britanniam, ad pecuniam in usum sacri belli expiscandam Ægidius Cardinalis. Is cum satis opimum quæstum, in utroque regno fecisset, quod per imposturam ab hominibus nimium credulis exegerat, per luxuriam in itinere profudit. Cum, vacuus, Romam rediisset, mentitus est se à latronibus fuisse spoliatum. Consecutus est statim alter legatus, sed homines jam bis, fraude Romanensium spoliati, publico decreto cum fines ingredi vetuerunt." *Rerum Scottorum Historia*, L. vii. Sect. iv. Ed. 1762, p. 187.

many others of his own. In this work he employed Raymond de Pennaforte, a Dominican. This collection Gregory ordered to be alone made use of, both in schools and in courts of justice. Accordingly the professors of law taught it, and wrote many commentaries upon it. Boniface VIII. made a new collection in A. D. 1299, but this was not much regarded in France.*

According to the now established maxims of the court of Rome, the popes were universal sovereigns, in temporals as well as spirituals. When Honorius III. was applied to in A. D. 1222, for his permission to suffer the Greeks to live in subjection to their own bishop, he would not allow it; saying, that "two bishops in one city was a monster, and that the Greeks should submit to be governed by the Latins." By this means, the power of the Pope would be paramount through all the Christian world. Gregory IX. writing to the queen of Georgia, insisted largely on the necessity of acknowledging "one church under one head;" saying, that "to Peter only was given the care of his flock, and the keys of heaven, but that St. Peter and his successors had called his brethren, the other bishops, to partake with him in his cares;" as if all other bishops had derived their power from the Pope, which, indeed, was the avowed opinion of some divines of this age.

Alexander Hales, † a celebrated divine, who died in A. D. 1244, maintained in his writings, that spiritual authority was superior to temporal, in dignity, antiquity, and the benediction which was bestowed upon it; that the spiritual power instituted the temporal, and is the judge of it, and that the Pope can be judged by God only. He farther advanced, that the powers of all inferior prelates are derived from him, he being the head, and they the members. Thomas Aquinas, who was unquestionably the greatest writer of the age, and whose authority was the highest, maintained that the Pope can change whatever may be decreed in councils with respect to positive law, and according to occasions; that the fathers, assembled in council, can do nothing without the Pope, and that without him they have not even a power of assembling in council at all. These maxims, *Fleury* says, were new, and the last of them taken from the spurious decretals. ‡

* *Giannone*, II. p. 49. (P.)

† A native of Gloucestershire, Professor in the University of Paris, and a great canonist! He acquired the name of the *irrefragable* doctor. See *Rapin*, L. viii. II. p. 533.

‡ *Hist.* XVII. p. 560. (P.)

The popes were not backward to act on such maxims as these. Innocent III. when he called the general council at Lyons, in A. D. 1245, in his letters to the bishops, only asked their advice, and did not consider them as judges along with him. When Otho,* the Pope's legate in England, in A. D. 1237, held a council in London, the bishops desired to examine the decrees that he said he had to pass, before he himself attended, that they might see whether they contained any thing to their prejudice; which shews that those legates not only brought draughts of decrees, ready drawn up at Rome, but that it was not thought decent even to discuss them in their presence.†

The popes paid as little regard to their own decrees as to any others, when it was convenient for them to have them reversed. When John XXI., being desirous to promote the crusade, sent his legate to make peace between the kings of France and Castile, he directed him to employ, if necessary, excommunications and interdicts, notwithstanding any privilege that particular persons or places might have, not to be exposed to such censures; which shewed the insignificance of those privileges, though granted by the popes, since they violated them at their own pleasure.

What was ordered by one pope, even in a general council, was not always regarded by another. At the great council in Lyons, in A. D. 1274, regulations were made about the meeting of the cardinals to choose a pope, the object of

* Or *Othobon*, a cardinal, afterwards Adrian V. "For his reception, vast preparations were made. The king himself [Henry III.] went as far as the sea-side to receive him, and at his first approach, bowed down his head as low as the cardinal's knees, to beg his blessing; to whom also his majesty, and most of the eminent clergy and nobility, made many rich presents of jewels, scarlet, money, plate, curious horses, &c., and in particular, the bishop of Winchester, for his part, gave towards the cardinal's housekeeping, at one time, fifty fat oxen, a hundred quarters of wheat, and eight hogsheds of the best wine." *Hist. of Popery*, II. pp. 52, 63.

† This council was held in St. Paul's church. It appears that Otho expected a vigorous opposition to the canons which he brought from Rome. He therefore obtained from the king a guard of two hundred men. The first canon was against pluralities. This was violently opposed by the clergy. The second established the number of seven sacraments. The third declared that baptism might be administered to infants on the *vigils* of Easter and Whitsuntide, which some persons had scrupled. The twenty-second canon exacted *residence* during the longest part of the year. In 1239, there was another council held in the same place, where the legate in vain demanded money to defray the expenses of the legation. In 1240, he had no better success in requiring from the clergy a fifth part of their incomes, for he could obtain nothing. "Il demanda pour le Pape, la cinquième partie des revenus du clergé; mais il ne put rien obtenir." *Rapin*, L. viii. An. 1237, II. pp. 526, 527.

Another historian says that the clergy "were at last forced to *down with their dust*; Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, paying 800 marks to the legate for his own share; and the rest followed in proportion to their livings." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 53.

which was to prevent any cabals, and accelerate elections, which had been much retarded before. But when Honorius IV. was made pope, in A. D. 1285,* he observed in his circular letter, that he had been chosen without any uncertainty, the cardinals not having been shut up, for the purpose; which he said had, by a condemnable abuse, been practised in vacancies of the church of Rome, so that the former constitution was at that time much disliked and disregarded.

In this period, as in the preceding, the popes exercised the right of confirming titles of royalty. In A. D. 1204, Innocent III. gave the dignity of *king* to Primislas, duke of Bohemia, on his taking the part of Otho against Philip of Suabia. Princes themselves were too ready to acknowledge this power in the popes, without considering that they were liable to suffer in consequence of it. Peter II., king of Arragon, voluntarily went to Rome, to receive his crown from the hands of Innocent III., promising that he and his kingdom would always be faithful to him, and engaging to pay every year, two hundred and fifty pieces of gold. His people, however, were much displeased with his making their kingdom tributary, which before was free.

That the popes, having this immense power, should not hitherto have made any use of it to aggrandize their own families, is rather extraordinary, considering how common it came to be afterwards. Nicolas III., who was made pope in A. D. 1277, is said to have been the first who did this. In a short time, he made his relations the richest of all the Romans, in lands, castles and money.

There is always a point beyond which oppression will not be borne. In A. D. 1226, Honorius III. made a demand of two prebends in all cathedral and conventual churches, both in France and England,† on the pretence of removing the complaints that were then made of the avarice and exactions of the court of Rome; which he said were only occasioned by its poverty, which this grant would remedy. It did not, however, succeed in either of the countries.

The first and the steadiest opposers of the exorbitant demands of the popes, were some of the clergy in the distant parts of Christendom, where the princes were more independent of them. In this period, two English prelates

* "So gouty a pope, that he was forced to make use of an engine in saving mass, that he might act all the postures canonically." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 64.

† And the appointment of two monks in each monastery; these appointments to be sanctioned by an Act of Parliament. See *Rapin*, L. viii. II. p. 376.

distinguished themselves in this way, Sewald, archbishop of York, and Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln. Sewald was excommunicated by Alexander IV., because he would not admit Italians of his arbitrary nomination, to livings in his gift; but, as the historian says, the more maledictions were pronounced against him from without, the more benedictions he had from the people. On his death-bed, in A. D. 1258, he made a solemn appeal to Christ, against the unjust sentence of the Pope, for not admitting unworthy persons, and who knew nothing of the English language, to the government of churches, committed to his care, and he summoned his holiness to that higher tribunal.* He even wrote strong letters of remonstrance to the Pope himself on the subject; but the haughty prelate only expressed the greater contempt and indignation, as he did for Grosthead.

This prelate, a person of the greatest eminence for literature and piety, of the age in which he lived, having received an order from the Pope, which he did not approve, refused to obey it; because it contained the clause *non obstante*, which, he said, would overturn all the bonds of human society, even the decrees of his predecessors, and give an example for violating his own. This, he said, was a manifest abuse of the papal power; that such orders ought not to be obeyed, though they came from the angels, but ought to be resisted by force. Innocent IV. was highly provoked at his conduct, but was advised to pass it over, for fear of the consequences it might have; and the more, says Matthew Paris, "as a revolt will some day come," as if he had foreseen that the yoke of Popery would one day be thrown off.

When Grosthead was on his death-bed, in A. D. 1253, discoursing with some of his clergy of the destruction of souls by the avarice of the court of Rome, he said, "Jesus Christ came to save souls, and therefore he that destroys them deserves the name of Antichrist. Other popes," he said, "had afflicted the church, but this more than any of them, by means of the usurers he introduced into England; men," he said, "worse than Jews. He orders the friars to attend upon persons in dying circumstances, to persuade them to make bequests to the Holy Land, and thereby defraud their natural heirs. He sells crosses to laymen, as they formerly sold sheep and oxen in the temple, and he proportions his indulgences according to the money which

* Notwithstanding the Pope's excommunication, Matthew Paris had hopes of the archbishop's salvation, because he had wrought a miracle on his death-bed. "Ce prélat fit un miracle dans sa dernière maladie." *Rapin*, II. pp. 533, 534.

is given for the crusade." After enumerating many other abuses, he said, that, "in order to secure them, he gives the kings a part of the revenues he draws from their dominions, and that the mendicant friars served him as legates in disguise." *

The encroachments of the court of Rome on the English, in the reign of that weak prince Henry III., were greater than the people could bear; almost all the church livings being then given to Italians, whose only object was to raise all the money they could, so that no care was taken of the parishes, there was no hospitality, nothing given to the poor, no care of the ornaments of churches, or even provision for repairs. The popes, not content with the tax of Peter-pence, levied contributions on the clergy, without the king's consent, and by the use of the clause *non obstante*, in their bulls, set aside all ancient customs, contracts, statutes, privileges, and rights of every kind.

In this state of things, letters were sent in A. D. 1231, by unknown persons, to particular bishops and chapters, as from those who chose to die rather than be oppressed by the Romans, advising them to take no part in favour of them, or they should be treated in the same manner themselves, and have their property destroyed. Other letters were sent to those who received the rents of those foreigners, forbidding to pay them, on the same penalty: and about Christmas in this year, a more open conspiracy against all the Italians broke out. A number of men, with their faces covered, plundered the granaries of a church belonging to a rich Roman, and selling the greatest part of the corn at a moderate price, gave the rest to the poor. Some knights being sent by the earl to put a stop to these proceedings, they produced letters, as from the king, forbidding any persons to molest them, so that in a fortnight these unknown persons sold every thing, and retired with the money.

Roger, bishop of London, hearing of this, excommunicated all who were concerned in the business; but notwithstanding this, the same violences were renewed at Easter, and were extended through all England, while the Romish clergy kept themselves concealed in monasteries, and durst

* Rapin has given an interesting account of Grosthead, whom he calls "un prélat ferme et courageux, qui ne se laissoit ni gagner par les faveurs de la Cour, ni intimidé par les menaces du Pape." *Rapin*, II. pp. 534—538. See also *Mag. Brit.* II. pp. 1466, 1467. Grosthead translated into Latin from the Greek, the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which John of Basingstoke had procured at Athens. See Vol. VI. p. 71, Note §, and *Rapin*, Vol. II. *fin*.

not complain, choosing to lose their property rather than their lives.

It appeared afterwards that the authors of these violences were about eighty men, headed by Robert de Thinge. The Pope hearing of them, wrote to the king to reproach him for not putting a stop to the disorder, and ordering him, under pain of excommunication and an interdict, to make diligent inquiry into it, and punish the authors of it. In another letter to the archbishop of York, and other bishops, he complained of a medal of St. Peter having been trampled upon; that one of his officers had been torn in pieces, and another left half dead. On this, inquiry being made, there were found among the guilty persons, or their accomplices, even bishops, the king's chaplains, archdeacons and deans, besides a great number of knights and other laymen. Also the grand justiciary Hubert appeared to have been the person who had sent letters, as from the king, to forbid any violence to be offered to those who plundered the goods of the Italian clergy. Robert de Thinge came forward with twenty other persons, and declared to the king, that what he had done was out of hatred to the Romans, who had by a manifest fraud deprived him of the only benefice that he had, and that rather than lose it, he chose to live under excommunication for a time. The Pope's commissaries advising him to go to Rome, in order to get absolved, he went, and the king himself gave him letters of recommendation.

Nothing effectual being done for the relief of the kingdom, but, on the other hand, the exactions of the court of Rome continually increasing, the king called a parliament in A. D. 1246, in which the causes of complaint were considered, and an account of them taken under distinct heads, and sent to the Pope.* After enumerating their grievances, they said, that unless they were redressed, the consequence would be a rising of the people against the king, whose duty it was to protect them, even against the church of Rome. On this remonstrance, some mitigation of the evils was obtained; but this was owing to nothing but the impossibility of continuing them. Still the Pope claimed the estates of those of the clergy who died intestate; but the king had the spirit to forbid the payment, and also the levying of taxes on the clergy for the benefit of the Pope.

* Signed by the king, the bishops, and all the temporal lords. *Rapin*, L. viii. II. pp. 429, 430.

At this his holiness was much enraged ; and hearing that the weak king was giving way, he afterwards demanded one-third of the incomes of those who resided on their livings, and one-half of those who did not reside. However, both the clergy and the king opposed this daring imposition.

Scotland took warning by the example of England. Otho, the Pope's legate in the time of Henry III., would have proceeded to that country, but Alexander II., then king of Scotland,* informed him, that there never had been any legate in Scotland in the time of his ancestors, and that he would not suffer it now ; and that if he insisted upon going thither, he would not be answerable for his safety ; for that it was not in his power to restrain his turbulent subjects. On this, the legate refrained from proceeding any farther.

The same legate met with the same opposition in Germany. For, when he proposed to hold a council at Wurzburg, in A. D. 1231, Albert, duke of Saxony, wrote in the name of all the nobles, to the prelates, remonstrating against the usurpations of the court of Rome, advising them to preserve the customs of their ancestors, and to guard against the encroachments of strangers, especially as they were not only bishops, but princes. This had such an effect, that the legate did not hold his council.

Even the pious Lewis IX. of France laid some restraint on the papal exactions, by his ordonnance called *The Pragmatic Sanction*, in A. D. 1268 ; † when, intending to make a second expedition to the Holy Land, after providing for the freedom of elections to all church livings, both with respect to the Pope and the lay lords, and guarding against simony, he says, “ We will not that the pecuniary exactions and heavy charges, which the court of Rome has imposed, or may impose, upon the churches of our kingdom, and by which it is miserably impoverished, be levied or collected.”

These oppressions were severely felt by the lower orders of people, notwithstanding their general ignorance and servility. In A. D. 1251, there appeared a Hungarian of the name of Jacob, who collected a great number of the lower people, and armed them, on the pretence of delivering the Holy Land without the assistance of the nobility. In his progress, he declaimed with great vehemence against the court of Rome and the clergy, and was received with joy

* Who was at York, with Henry III. *Rapin*, L. viii. An. 1237, II. p. 406.

† See *Mosheim*, Cent. xv. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xvi. Dr. Maclaine's Note.

by the common people. The queen of France at first favoured them, thinking they might be instrumental in delivering her son, then a prisoner; but at length committing great disorders wherever they came, the country was armed against them; in consequence of which their chief was killed, and his followers, who had been a hundred thousand, were dispersed.

The behaviour of the Latins in the East, was far from recommending their religion. It was with much difficulty that the king of Armenia brought his people to submit to the see of Rome, after the conquest of Constantinople, though they had not long before been reconciled to the Greek church. They wanted the assistance of the Latins, and their union continued no longer.

When the king of Hungary wrote, in A. D. 1238, to Gregory IX., who had urged him to attack Ason, king of Bulgaria, for joining the Greek emperor against the Latins, he said he would reduce Bulgaria to depend upon himself with respect to temporals, and on the Pope in spirituals, provided he might have the disposal of the church livings; the principal reason for which he said was, that if he entered the country accompanied by the Pope's legate, all the people would think that he was about to reduce them to subjection to the see of Rome, of which they had so great dread, that they would die rather than submit to it: for, says he, they often reproach us, and other Christians, with being slaves to the church of Rome.

When Gregory IX. was endeavouring to bring all the East into subjection to the Roman see, the Greek patriarch of Antioch, supported by the patriarch of Constantinople, excommunicated the Pope and all the church of Rome; maintaining that his church was superior to that of Rome in antiquity and dignity. St. Peter, he said, first established his see at Antioch, and there he was received with due respect; but when he went to Rome, he suffered every injury, and at length a violent death; that he, therefore, left the power of binding and loosing to the Greeks, rather than to the see of Rome, which is constantly defiled with simony, and all sorts of crimes.

The temporal power of the Pope was always a galling circumstance to the people of Rome, and they made many attempts to emancipate themselves from it. In A. D. 1234, Gregory IX. was driven from the city by the people, on the pretence that they had the privilege of not being excommunicated by any pope, or having their city laid under an

interdict. To this he answered, that he was superior to all the faithful, even kings and emperors, and much more to those of whom he was the proper pastor. They had also differences with him of a civil nature, and despising his spiritual censures, they came to an open war with him; but a peace was made between them, the year following. Alexander IV. was also driven out of Rome by the people, who disregarded his excommunication, denying his right to pass that sentence upon them. He retired to Viterbo, in May, A. D. 1257, and did not return till September the year following. This pope durst not live in Rome all the last four years of his life, and he died at Viterbo, in A. D. 1261.

Such, however, was the advantage of which the popes were possessed, that at length they got the better of this, as well as of all their other difficulties. In A. D. 1278, Nicolas III. made a constitution, in which he claimed the sole sovereignty of the city of Rome, from the grant of Constantine; ordering that for the future, no emperor, king, prince, or other lord, should have the government of Rome under the title of *senator*, *captain*, *patrician*, or any other, and that those civil offices should only be held one year. However, the spirit of the citizens was not subdued; for, on the accession of Martin IV., in A. D. 1281, the people of Rome chose him for their civil governor, only for his life, and, as they said, not as pope, but on account of his personal qualities; and the Pope accepted it on those terms.

SECTION III.

Of the Transactions of the Popes with the Emperors of Germany, in this Period.

THE transactions of the popes with the emperors of Germany makes no small part of the ecclesiastical history of this period; and we clearly perceive in the course of them an increasing contempt of papal censures, and that nothing but the state of politics gave the popes any advantage in those contests.

After all the opposition that the popes had made to the pretensions of Philip of Suabia, legates being sent to him, and he writing a submissive letter, he was absolved from the excommunication he had so long lain under, and the peace of the empire was on the point of being settled,* when this

* After a civil war of ten years' continuance. *Mainburg*, p. 477.

prince was murdered in A. D. 1208.* On his death, Otho was unanimously acknowledged emperor, and was crowned at Rome by Innocent III.; but on his quarrelling with the people of Rome, and refusing to surrender to the Pope the estates of the countess Matilda, he excommunicated him, and proceeded so far as to absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him.† Otho, however, made light of the Pope's proceedings against him, though by his express order the excommunication had been repeated by the patriarch of Aquileia and Grada, the archbishops of Ravenna and Genoa, and the suffragans of the church of Milan, that see being then vacant. He continued his conquests in Apulia and Calabria, against Frederic, hoping to drive him out of Sicily; and the Pope, alarmed at his success, sent six ambassadors in order to make peace with him, but the negotiation was without effect.

In the mean time, the affairs of Frederic assumed a better aspect; and he going into Germany, where he had many partisans, Otho went thither too in A. D. 1212; but being defeated by the French in the battle of Bouvines, he was deserted by every body,‡ Frederic was universally received as emperor, and the Pope confirmed his election at the Council of Lateran in A. D. 1215, on his promising to leave the kingdom of Sicily to his son, dependent on the holy see. Otho died May 19th, A. D. 1218.§

Frederic II., whose reign was a long one, was at variance with several popes, in succession. With Honorius III.|| he had a difference about the appointment of bishops in Apulia, and other places; and when the Pope gave the sees to those whom he thought proper, the emperor would not suffer them to take possession. The same, at the same time, was the conduct of Ferdinand III. king of Castile.

Gregory IX. having been offended with Frederic on various accounts,¶ proceeded at length so far as to excommunicate him in A. D. 1239, and to absolve his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him, for not yielding to him the isle of

* By Otho, *Count Palatine. Maimburg*, p. 478. † *Ibid.* pp. 479, 480.

‡ "Ayant perdu son honneur, son crédit, et tout ce qu'il avoit de forces." *Ibid.* p. 480.

§ "De douleur en laissant Frederic II. unique et paisible possesseur de l'empire." *Ibid.* p. 481.

|| "By whom he had been lately crowned at Rome. "Il signala son couronnement par des édits sanglans contre les hérétiques, et par le serment d'aller se battre, dans la Terre Sainte." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 736.

¶ Among others, for delaying his expedition to Palestine. When, however, he set off, the Pope took advantage of his absence: "Tandis qu'il fait une croisade dans la Palestine, le Pape en fait une contre lui, en Italie." *Ibid.*

Sardinia, which he pretended belonged to the holy see. Both the Pope and the emperor published their several manifestoes to the princes of Europe, in justification of their conduct. That of the emperor was very large, and concludes with his saying, that he knew of nothing that he had done to draw on him this persecution from the Pope, but that he declined treating with him about the marriage of his niece to his natural son, king of some part of Sardinia, and desiring all the temporal princes to consider themselves as attacked through him. In answer to the particular complaints of the Pope, which was a separate writing, he mentioned his having withdrawn from the Templars and Hospitallers some estates that had been given to them in Sicily, on condition of their selling them again to other citizens, lest they should, in process of time, get possession of all the lands in the kingdom; which is the first act of *Mortmain*, as they were afterwards called, that we read of.

In reply to the emperor, the Pope published another letter, in which he makes him to be *the beast* in the Revelation which rose out of the sea. He said that the refusal of the marriage came from himself, and not from the emperor; and from his denying the power of a pope to excommunicate him, he said that, being guilty of this capital heresy, it might be concluded that he had no more belief in other articles of Christian faith. But he farther charged the emperor with having said, that the world had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Christ and Mahomet;* that none but madmen could believe that God, the creator of all things, could be born of a virgin; and that man could only be conceived by the union of the two sexes. This writing was published July 1, A. D. 1239.

The emperor, in his reply, said that the Pope was the *dragon* which had deceived the world, Antichrist, Balaam, and the prince of darkness. In answer to the charge of his calling Christ an impostor, he gives the articles of his faith, with respect to the divinity of Christ and the incarnation, and speaks of Moses and Christ as became a Christian. As to the Pope's censures, he considered them as null, and to be revenged by the sword, if the cardinals did not bring him to reason, and put a stop to his violence. After this, the emperor gave orders to send all the mendicant friars out of Sicily, to levy a tax upon all cathedral churches, and to confiscate the effects of all the foreign clergy. He also ordered

* There was an improbable story, in the 17th century, of a book having been published with this title. See *Athen. Oxon.* 1692, II. p. 202, *fin.*

the punishment of death to all persons who should bring letters from the Pope, or pay any regard to them.

Even the German prelates, who were ordered by the Pope to publish the excommunication of the emperor, and were threatened if they did not do it, paid no regard to the injunction, but intreated the Pope to use more forbearance, and make peace with the emperor, and so put an end to the scandal. The patriarch of Aquileia even joined in communion with the emperor, and the Teutonic knights took his part. The Pope, however, unmoved by all this, renewed his excommunication of the emperor, and of his son, who had taken possession of the March of Ancona, which the Pope said belonged to him. At this time, Elias, who had been general of the Franciscans, (and had been a great advocate for a relaxation of the rules of the order, and after being deposed had been restored to his power and greatly abused it,) being again deposed, joined the emperor, and exclaimed with great violence against the court of Rome, as full of usury, simony and avarice. The Pope, he said, encroached upon the rights of the emperor, and thought of nothing but amassing money, and by the most unjust means; and for this he was excommunicated.

The Pope met with as little encouragement from France. Having made an offer of the imperial dignity to Robert, the king's brother, Lewis, with the advice of his lords, replied, that the Pope had no right to depose so great a prince, not convicted of any crime; that if he was deposed, it should be by a general council; and that his enemies, among whom the Pope was the chief, ought not to be heard against him. He is innocent, said the king, with respect to me, and has always been a good neighbour. I will not make war upon him, especially as he will be supported by so many kingdoms, and the justice of his cause. If, said the king, the Pope should by our means subdue Frederic, he will be more insolent, and trample upon all princes. He promised, however, to send ambassadors to the emperor, to make inquiry concerning his faith; saying, if that be orthodox, why should I attack him? Though, if he be in an error, I shall pursue him to extremity, as I would any other person, even the Pope himself.*

The Pope also, without any effect, solicited the princes of the empire to make another election of an emperor. He succeeded, though with much difficulty, in obtaining from

* *Matt. Paris*, An. 1739. See *Maimburg*, pp. 484—486.

Henry III. of England, a fifth of the incomes of the church livings in that kingdom,* for the purpose of carrying on the war against Frederic.

In Italy, the cardinal John de Colonna, the Pope's legate in the March of Ancona, joined the emperor, who, as well as his son, made great progress in his war against the Pope in A. D. 1241. The Pope having called a general council, to be held at Rome, for the purpose of proceeding against the emperor, this prince threatened all who should attend it; and many prelates who had embarked at Genoa, being met by the emperor's galleys from Naples, were taken, treated with much indignity, and carried first to Naples, and then to Salerno. Among them were the abbots of Clugni, Citeaux and Clairvaux, and the bishop of Palestina, who was particularly obnoxious to the emperor. At the intercession of the king of France, the prelates of that kingdom were set at liberty. After this advantage, the emperor approached near to Rome, obliging the churches and monasteries to advance him large sums of money; and though at that time, the Tartars having conquered Russia and Hungary, were making the most dreadful devastations, and were threatening Germany, he did not leave the war in Italy, when the Pope died, the 20th of August, A. D. 1241.

On the accession of pope Innocent IV.,† which did not take place till after a long vacancy, some attempts were made to procure a peace, but they did not succeed; and from this time the affairs of the emperor went backwards. However, in A. D. 1243, commissaries being appointed on both sides, matters were accommodated between them, the emperor restoring all the places he had taken from the Pope, and declaring that it was not from contempt that he had not obeyed the sentence pronounced by pope Gregory, but because it had not been announced to him; and with respect to this he acknowledged that he had been blame-worthy, and promised to expiate his offence by alms, fasting and other pious works. He engaged also to repair all the wrongs that had been done to the prelates who had been his prisoners, and for the future to obey the Pope in every thing, without prejudice to the rights of the empire.

It is remarkable that, as with respect to the similar case of preceding emperors, nothing was said of Frederic being restored to the possession of the empire, though he had been formally deposed, as well as excommunicated. He had

* See *supra*, pp. 391—393.

† In 1254, the Popedom of Celestin IV. having intervened.

always been considered as emperor by all the princes of Europe.

Frederic, however, soon repented of his concessions, and let the Pope know that he would not execute what he had promised, till he had received absolution, which the Pope thinking to be unreasonable, the treaty was broken off, and the emperor's lieutenant endeavoured to get possession of the Pope's person. He, being aware of the design, mounted a swift horse, and from Citta de Castella, whither he had gone on his way to meet the emperor, he rode thirty-four miles on his way to Rome, unknown to any but his own servants. On the 29th of June he went on board a ship at Civita Vecchia, and with some difficulty arrived at Genoa the 5th of July. In this new emergency the Pope again applied for pecuniary assistance, to the king of England. But the emperor writing to him in his own vindication, said, that, if he would be advised by him, he would relieve him from the tribute with which Innocent III. had loaded the nation, and all the other vexations of the court of Rome; and if he would not, he would take his revenge on all his subjects whom he should find in his dominions; and it is probable that the king was influenced by this advice.

The Pope, dreading the power of the emperor, with whom he was now at open war, solicited to be received in France, in Arragon, and in England, but was refused in them all. The advisers of Henry III. said, on this occasion, "We have had already too much of usury and simony from the Romans, without the Pope coming hither himself to plunder the goods of the church, and of the kingdom."

Innocent, however, was not discouraged, but renewed his excommunication of the emperor, and required all other ecclesiastics to do the same. On this occasion, a *curé* in Paris distinguished himself by saying, before the ceremony, "I am ordered to excommunicate the emperor Frederic, but I know not the reason of it, only that he and the Pope are at variance. I do not know which of them is in the right; but, as far as I have power, I excommunicate him of the two who has done the wrong, and absolve him who suffers it." The emperor, hearing of this, sent the *curé* a present; but the Pope, whose conduct was evidently reflected upon, punished him for the liberty he had taken.

A general council being held at Lyons,* Thaddée de Suisse, a knight, and doctor of laws, the emperor's ambassador, boldly

* In 1245. The cardinals now received the honour of the red hat.

defended his conduct ; but perceiving the disposition of that assembly, the emperor did not choose to attend himself. Here a sentence of deposition was pronounced against him ; but it was observed that the Pope made this his own act, pronouncing it as in the presence of the council, and not as with its concurrence, as in all the other decrees of the same council.

The emperor was much disturbed when he heard this sentence, but placing the crown on his head, he said, “ I have not lost it yet, and will not part with it without bloodshed.”* In his letter to the princes, on this occasion, he told them, as before, that his cause was the same with their own ; he complained of the ambition of the court of Rome, and the vices which prevailed in it, some of which he said it was not decent to mention ; that it was the immense wealth of that court which was the cause of all the mischief, and therefore he was determined to reduce it, and bring the popes to the condition of the primitive bishops, who imitated the humility of our Saviour ; whereas these, immersed in the affairs of the world, and swimming in pleasure, despised God ; that the excess of their riches stifled in them all sense of religion, and that it would be meritorious to deprive them of their pernicious wealth ; and he exhorted them to join him in doing it.

To this bold proposal the princes of that age were not prepared to accede, and the letter gave offence ; a great degree of wealth being then generally thought necessary to support the character of the clergy. But another letter, which the emperor wrote to the king of France, to shew the violation of all the forms of regular judicature in his condemnation, and the danger that would arise to other princes from the power which the popes assumed to depose them, gained him many friends.

The Pope, however, did every thing in his power to raise up enemies to the emperor.† At his persuasion, some of the electors made Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, king of the Romans, on the 17th of May, A. D. 1246. He even wrote to the sultan of Egypt, to persuade him to break the treaty which his father had made with the emperor ; but the

* “ Frederic menaçoit de venir à Lyon à la tête d'une puissante armée, ‘ afin,’ disoit-il, de plaider lui-même sa cause devant le Pape. Ce pontife étoit comme prisonnier dans cette ville.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 397.

† “ La croisade que ce pontife fit prêcher contre *Frederic*, nuisit beaucoup à celle de la Terre Sainte ; parceque le Pape accordoit la même indulgence pour y exciter d'avantage.” *Ibid.*

Mahometan prince, with great indignation, replied, "Your envoy speaks to us of Jesus Christ, whom we know better, and honour more, than you do; and my father having made a treaty with the emperor, I think myself bound by it."

Henry being defeated by Conrad, the son of Frederic, and dying of vexation, in Lent, A.D. 1247, William, brother of the count of Holland, was chosen king of the Romans, in his place. But Frederic, not dismayed by these measures, published an ordonnance in A.D. 1248, by which all priests refusing to perform divine service, or administer the sacraments, were banished from their place of abode, and deprived of all their goods. On the other hand, the Pope published fresh bulls of excommunication, and ordered a crusade to be preached against the emperor and his son, with the same indulgences as to those who went to the Holy Land.

In this state of things, the people were much divided, some taking part with the Pope, and some with the emperor. At Ratisbon the people rose against the bishop who obeyed the Pope, and who had excommunicated them, and laid the city under an interdict, and they continued to bury in the church-yard as before. They even took out of the grave the body of a countess who had submitted to the Pope, and, after dragging it about the streets, threw it to the dogs. They also made it death for any person to take the cross against the emperor.

On the other hand, the Pope ordered the bishops to add to the sentence of excommunication of the partisans of the emperor, the deprivation of all fiefs held of the church, and all church benefices, to the fourth generation, with other punishments, which the historian says he had no power to execute. In Suabia, some people preached openly against the Pope, the clergy and the monks; saying, that the Pope was a heretic, and the bishops simoniacs, without the power of binding and loosing; that they had deceived the world too long, that no bishop had power to forbid the celebration of divine service, that the Dominicans and Franciscans perverted the church by their preaching, and lived bad lives, as well as the Cistercians and other monks.

Had the emperor continued successful in the field, he might have humbled the Pope; but being defeated before Parma, which he had besieged, his authority was much diminished. He also suffered in the opinion of many, by his harsh treatment of the bishop of Arezzo, who was taken in arms against him. But the clergy, who took part with the Pope,

also hurt his cause, says *Matthew Paris*, by their avarice, their simony, usury, and other vices.

In the mean time, William, being assisted with money from the Pope, and his cause being zealously espoused by the preaching friars, besieged and took Aix-la-Chapelle, and was there crowned in A. D. 1248. Frederic being seized with sickness, offered honourable terms of peace to the Pope; but the haughty prelate would not listen to them, which offended many, and disposed them to favour Frederic. At length, the death of this emperor, in A. D. 1250,* put an end to this long contest.

On this event, his son Conrad, though opposed by the Pope, gained strength, while William was obliged to retire into Holland, and live at the expense of his brother, whom he had made count of it. In this state of things, the title of *king of the Romans* was offered to several persons, all of whom refused to accept of it. Among them was Haquin, king of Norway, who, in answer, said publicly, that he was ready to fight the enemies of the church, but not those of the Pope. This, says *Matthew Paris*, I myself heard him declare, with a great oath.

In consequence of the advantages which Conrad gained over the Pope and his partisans in Italy, the Pope published a crusade against him, with greater indulgences than to those who went to Palestine; for they extended to the fathers and mothers of the crusaders. This gave great offence, especially as at this time the king of France was in Palestine, demanding succours. The queen resented it so much, that she ordered the lands of all these new crusaders to be seized, so that the expedition came to nothing.

But the cause of the Pope was now, as on many other occasions, wonderfully favoured by events; Conrad dying in A. D. 1254, and leaving a son, generally called Conradin, only two years old, under the care of Mainfroi, regent of the kingdom, who submitted to the Pope, and was received into favour. But the legate, whom on this occasion the Pope sent into Sicily, behaved in such a manner as lost him many friends, and Mainfroi taking advantage of it, left the Pope, and gained a victory over his troops; and in this

* "Par le parricide, à ce qu'on dit, de Mainfroi, son fils naturel, qui le voyant surmonter, peu-à-peu, par la force de sa complexion, celle du poison qu'il lui avoit donne, l'étoüfa dans son lit." *Mainburg*, p. 488. This emperor appears to have been accomplished above the general character of his age. "Il cultiva les beaux arts et les fit cultiver; il fit traduire de Grec en Latin divres livres, en particulier ceux d'*Aristote*; et il auroit plus fait-encore, sans les traverses qui troublerent sa vie et hâterent sa mort." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 737, article *Fred. II.* *fin.*

situation of things, Innocent IV. died, December 4th, A. D. 1254.

The first care of his successor, Alexander IV., was to stop the progress of Mainfroi; and with a view to this, he gave the kingdom of Sicily to Edmund, the second son of the king of England,* and released him from his vow to go to the Holy Land, on condition of his marching against Mainfroi in Apulia; and a crusade was preached against him in England, with the same indulgence as for Palestine, which shocked the people very much; the same pardon being given for shedding the blood of Christians as for that of infidels. And Mainfroi in A. D. 1256 having made himself master of almost the whole of Apulia and Sicily,† was crowned king at Palermo the 11th of August, A. D. 1258; and though the Pope excommunicated him in A. D. 1259, he was joined by the people of Lombardy. Continuing to make great progress in Italy in A. D. 1263, the Pope not only repeated his excommunication, but laid the kingdom of Sicily under an interdict. No regard, however, being paid to it, he thought proper to moderate his censures.

Events, however, as before, wonderfully favoured the popes. Clement IV. having given the kingdom of Sicily to Charles, count of Anjou and Provence, Mainfroi was killed in a battle he fought with him the 26th of February, A. D. 1266,‡ and in consequence of this victory, the greatest part of Italy reverted to the obedience of the Pope. Also Conradin, the grandson of Frederic, who had been received as emperor in Italy, and even at Rome, though in a state of excommunication by the Pope, coming to a battle with Charles, was defeated August 23rd, A. D. 1268, and, being afterwards taken prisoner, was beheaded.§

It was in this period that the two parties distinguished by the names of *Guelphs* and *Gibellines* became famous in Italy, the former taking the part of the popes, and the latter that of the emperors. The distinction began in Germany in A. D. 1139, the Gibellines being so called from Gibel, a city

* To whom it had been promised by Innocent IV. for a sum of money paid by Henry III. See *Rapin*, L. viii. pp. 455—459.

† “Si l'on confronte ensemble les Histoires d'Angleterre et de Sicile, on trouvera que, dans le tems même qui ce Pape épuisoit l'Angleterre d'argent pour la conquête projetée, il laissoit *Mainfroi* jouir tranquillement de sa couronne sans faire presque aucun effort pour le détrôner. Ainsi la conquête de Sicile n'étoit qu'un leurre dont le Pape se servoit, pour tirer de grosses sommes de Henri, sur l'espérance friyole qu'il lui donnoit de mettre Edmond son Fils sur le trône.” *Ibid.* p. 461.

‡ “Dans les plaines de Benevent, et la terre fut délivré d'un monstre. Sa femme, ses enfans, ses trésors furent livrés au vainqueur.” *Novv. Diet. Hist.* IV. p. 282.

§ “Au milieu de le place de Naples en 1269.” *Ibid.* II. p. 277.

in which Henry the son of Conrad III. was born, and the Guelphs, from Guelph, duke of Bavaria.*

SECTION IV.

Transactions of the Popes with Peter, King of Arragon, and John, King of England.

THE transactions of the popes with Peter of Arragon, were the sequel of those with the emperor and Mainfroi; Peter having, in right of his wife, the daughter of Mainfroi, invaded Sicily† when in possession of Charles of Anjou, whom the popes favoured. Martin IV. in A. D. 1283, published a crusade against him, on pretence that the war with Charles hindered the relief of the Holy Land, and also that his attacking Sicily was an invasion of the property of the church, since Sicily belonged to the holy see. However, these censures against the king of Arragon, and the countries subject to him, which were laid under an interdict, produced no effect. They were despised not only by the king himself, his lords, and other laymen, but even by the bishops, and the monks of all orders. His partisans did not consider themselves as really excommunicated, and paid no regard to the interdict; appealing from the sentence of Martin to that of a future pope. In contempt of the king not being allowed the title of king of Arragon, he called himself “knight of Arragon, father of two kings, and master of the sea.”

Philip *the Hardy*, king of France, having received from the Pope the title of *king of Arragon*, took the cross against him: for the Pope, not content with his censures, had published a crusade against Peter; and he set out on the expedition the 25th of June, A. D. 1285. But the crusaders, of whom his army was chiefly composed, committed as much disorder as the other troops. They profaned churches by the effusion of blood, and committed other impurities in them. They even violated nuns, and carried away sacred vessels, crosses, images, books and ornaments, and sold them. They took down the bells, and either broke them, or carried them away. Thus they conducted themselves during the whole campaign, pretending to gain the promised indulgence.

* Giannone, I. p. 669. (P.)

† “Après le massacre des Vêpres Siciliennes dont ce Prince avoit été le promoteur.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 396. For an account of this general massacre of the French, called the *Sicilian Vespers*, see Crutwell’s *Gazetteer, Sicily*, An. 1282.

Some, who had not even an arrow, took up stones, and throwing them said, either in jest or earnest, "I throw this stone against Peter of Arragon, in order to gain the indulgence." At length his army was seized with a disorder which obliged them to retreat, and the king himself died of it.*

Peter of Arragon died the year following, and in the article of death was reconciled to the church. But he left the kingdom of Sicily to his son James, who, treading in his father's steps, was excommunicated, and an interdict was laid on every place where he should come. Two bishops, who had crowned him, were ordered by the Pope to appear before him, but neither the king nor the bishops paid any regard to the excommunication, though it was repeated presently after.

On the death of Alfonso, king of Arragon, in A. D. 1291, pope Nicolas IV. forbade his brother James meddling with the government of Arragon, or any of its dependencies, and ordered him to resign Sicily to king Charles, or he would proceed against him both temporally and spiritually. He also wrote to the bishops, abbots, and all the clergy of Arragon, forbidding them, under severe penalties, to acknowledge James as king. But these prohibitions and menaces had no effect; for as soon as James heard of the death of his brother, he left Sicily under the government of another brother, and landing at Barcelona, went to Saragossa, where he was solemnly crowned king of Arragon the 24th of September, A. D. 1291.

The orders of the Pope were as little regarded in Castile as in Arragon, when they were thought to be unreasonable. Pope Martin ordered Sanches king of Castile to quit his wife, as being in the third degree of relationship to him, threatening him with excommunication, and other punishments, temporal and spiritual, in A. D. 1263; but no regard was paid to them. The king kept his wife, and had many children by her, and among them Ferdinand, who succeeded him.

In order to give an account of the transactions of the court of Rome with king John of England, I must go back to the time of Innocent III., who had an advantage in the greater ignorance and superstition of the English nation, which he had not in the more southern parts of Europe; but notwithstanding this, such was the spirit and obstinacy of this prince, that nothing but the dread of an invasion of his kingdom brought him to submit.

* See *New. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 397, article *Martin*, IV. *fin.*

The Pope having, in A. D. 1206, nominated Stephen Langton to the archbishopric of Canterbury, against the will of the king, who proposed the bishop of Norwich,* the Pope threatened him with excommunication, and an interdict on his kingdom, if he did not consent to it.† But the king, being in a great rage, swore, as his custom was, by the teeth of God, that if the Pope should lay an interdict on his lands, he would send him all the prelates in England, confiscate their effects, and put out the eyes of all the Romans among them, that they might be distinguished from all other men; and he ordered three bishops, viz. of London, Ely, and Worcester, who brought him the Pope's orders, to be gone from his presence, if they would retire with safety. They accordingly withdrew; and presently after, in obedience to the orders they had received from the Pope, actually laid an interdict on the whole kingdom [A. D. 1208]; and notwithstanding the king's orders to the contrary, it was so strictly observed, that no religious service was performed, besides confession, the *viaticum*, and the baptism of infants. As to the dead, the historians say they were buried like dogs, in the highways.‡ The three bishops having done this, privately left the kingdom.

In these circumstances, there being no fresh consecration of oil on the next Holy Thursday, so that there was none for the baptism of infants, the Pope gave orders that the old might be used, or that fresh oil might be consecrated for the purpose; and as there were no consecrated wafers with which to give the *viaticum* to the dying, he said their faith must supply that deficiency, since Austin had said, that if they believed that they partook of it, they virtually did so.

* On the death of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1205, a few of the monks of the monastery of St. Augustin, had privately elected to the archiepiscopal see their sub-prior, who hastened to Rome to receive the Pope's confirmation. The king, on hearing this, commended the whole body of the monks to make a new election, and recommended the bishop of Norwich, who, of course, was chosen, enthroned, and put in possession of the temporalities. Fourteen monks were sent to Rome to notify his election, and procure the confirmation. At the same time, the suffragan bishops of the province of Canterbury sent deputies to complain of the monks, who had interfered with their right to elect an archbishop. These different deputies warmly supported their several pretensions, before the Pope, who annulled both the elections; commanding the monks to elect cardinal Langton, who was then resident at Rome. With this demand, all the monks except one, at length unwillingly complied, "Licet inviti," says *M. Paris*, "et cum murmuracione, assensum præbuerunt." See *Rapin*, L. viii. ll. pp. 302—304.

† The Pope had previously attempted to conciliate the king by a present of four rings, accompanied with a letter, in very mysterious terms. *Ibid.* pp. 305, 306.

‡ "Dans les fosses comme des charognes, sans qu'aucun prêtre osât ou voulût assister aux enterremens." *Rapin*, L. viii. ll. p. 309.

Though this interdict had continued a year, the king was so far from making any concessions, that he violently persecuted the clergy; and this fresh provocation led the Pope, on the 12th of January, A. D. 1209, to give the three bishop a commission to excommunicate him, which accordingly they did.* A theologian of the name of Masson, encouraged the king in his resistance, teaching that the Pope had not received from St. Peter any authority in things of a temporal nature, and in consequence of this, obtained several church livings. But the Pope being informed of the maxims that he taught, deprived him of them; so that, as the historian says, he begged his bread from door to door.

In A. D. 1211, the Pope sent his legate Pandolf, and others, to persuade the king to give satisfaction to the church; but he not agreeing to the Pope's terms, his subjects and vassals were declared to be absolved from their oath of allegiance to him; all persons were forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to have any intercourse with him, even at table, or so much as to speak to him. But some of the bishops encouraging the king, he persevered in his obstinacy.

On this, the Pope wrote to the king of France, exhorting him, for the remission of his sins, to undertake the dethroning of John, and seizing his kingdom. He also addressed a letter to the lords and knights of other nations, urging them to take the cross for the invasion of England; promising that they who engaged in this expedition, should receive the same protection from the holy see as if they had gone to the Holy Land. In consequence of this, the king of France, having long wished for such an excuse, actually declared war against John; and at this time it was, that, to recommend himself still more to the Pope, he took back his wife Ingelburga, from whom, notwithstanding the repeated orders of the Pope to the contrary, he had been separated sixteen years.

This conduct of the king of France gave John so much alarm, that he was persuaded at length to submit to the Pope, as the only way to preserve his kingdom. Accordingly he signified his intention to do so on the 13th of May, A. D. 1213; and on the 15th of the same month, he even made a formal surrender of the kingdoms of England and

* According to *Rapin*, the bishops delayed to execute their commission, and the sentence was pronounced by the two nuncios who arrived in England from the Pope in 1211. *Hist. L. viii. ll. pp. 311, 313.*

Ireland, holding them from that time as a vassal of the Pope; and besides Peter's pence, he promised to pay to the Pope every year a thousand marks of silver, and to oblige all his successors to do the same, on pain of forfeiting his crown.* In the presence of the legate Pandolf, he laid aside his crown, and took the oath of fealty, receiving it again from his hands. A piece of money being delivered as a pledge of the fealty, the haughty prelate trampled upon it.†

From England the legate went to France, and ordered the king to desist from his invasion of the dominions of king John, now a vassal of the Pope; at which, having been at a great expense in his preparations, he was much enraged; and so far was he from rejoicing at the conversion of his brother, as a Christian king ought to have done, that he would have proceeded, but that his vassal, the count of Flanders, abandoned him. The exiled bishops then returned, and having all their property restored to them, they took off the king's excommunication; and the interdict on the kingdom was taken off the 25th of June A. D. 1214, after it had continued six years and three months.

So far was it from being thought that the king acted from a principle of conscience in this business, that, according to Matthew Paris, he made an offer of the subjection of his kingdom to the Mahometan king of Morocco,‡ promising to renounce Christianity, in order to obtain his assistance, but that the Musselman treated the offer with contempt. As a farther evidence that he was no believer in Christianity, it is said that, seeing a stag which he had taken in hunting to be very fat, he observed, that he had thriven very well, though he had never gone to mass. The Pope, however, on the idea of his being a true penitent, and faithful son of the church, wrote to him, saying, that what he had done was without doubt from the spirit of God, and that he now possessed his kingdom in a more sublime and solid manner than ever, since it was become, in the language of scripture, a sacerdotal kingdom.

After this, the king having been compelled to grant his lay-barons a charter of liberties, and repenting of what he

* See the remarkable prediction, and the execution of the hermit Peter of Pontefract. *Rapin*, L. viii. II. pp. 315, 319.

† "Et garda la couronne et le sceptre cinq jours." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 458. The archbishop of Dublin has the reputation of *singly* protesting against these indignities. *Ibid.* p. 319.

‡ "Miramolin, Roi de Sarasins, et se faire Mahométan." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 459.

had done, the Pope not only absolved him from his oath,* but forbade his observance of it on pain of excommunication. He also ordered the barons to renounce their claims; and as they paid no regard to this, he excommunicated them: but as this excommunication was only general, they made no account of it. At the Council of Lateran in A. D. 1215, this excommunication of the refractory English barons was repeated, and now some of them were mentioned by name. An interdict was, moreover, laid on their lands, and also on the city of London; but the citizens despised it, and maintained that the barons ought not to regard it, nor the clergy to publish it, since the Pope has nothing to do with temporal affairs, but that the cowardly Romans wished to rule the world by their excommunications.

The barons continuing their opposition, made an offer of the kingdom to Lewis, the son of the king of France, but the Pope forbade him to accept of it, as it belonged to the holy see. In answer to this, the king of France and his lords said that no king had a right to dispose of his kingdom without the consent of his lords; and Lewis, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Pope's legate, who excommunicated him and all his adherents, and especially Simon de Langton, brother of the archbishop of Canterbury, went to England; and the war was carried on with various success. After the death of John, in A. D. 1216, and the accession of Henry III., the affairs of Lewis declined, and the legate joining the army of the young king, excommunicated Lewis, and published a plenary indulgence to those who fought against him. Being, after this, defeated by the army of Henry, he left the kingdom in May, A. D. 1217.†

SECTION V.

Of the State of the Clergy, in this Period.

THE spirit of the clergy continued as high in this period as in the preceding, though the spirit of the laity rose in opposition to them, and though many of their usurpations had been of so long continuance, that they were not disputed.

* John had sent a letter to the Pope, thus expressing his pious confidence in the protection of the Holy See: "Pro certo habentes, quod, post Deum, personam vestram, et auctoritatem Sedis Apostolicæ habemus unicum et singulare presidium, et sub vestri confidentiâ patrocinii respiramus." *M. Paris apud Rapin.* L. viii. H. p. 333.

† See *Rapin*, L. viii. H. p. 367.

It appears from what passed at the Council of Milan, in A. D. 1225, that the king of France allowed the jurisdiction of the clergy to extend to all cases respecting oaths, fealty and homage, wills and marriages. The bishops had also claimed the cognizance of all causes in which the vassals of the church were concerned against any person whatever.

In A. D. 1232, Maurice, archbishop of Rouen, being cited to appear before the king, refused, saying, that after God he had no other judge than the Pope, both in things temporal and things spiritual. On this the king ordered all the domains of the church to be seized; but the archbishop laid all the estates of the king, in his diocese, under an interdict; and on his complaining to the Pope, the king was obliged to restore what he had taken, after the interdict had continued thirteen months.

In the same year the king going with an armed force, in order to put a stop to a sedition in the city of Beauvais, which had arisen from a quarrel between the mayor and the common people, and in which many lives had been lost, the bishop opposed him, saying, that himself was the only person who had any jurisdiction in that place. The king taking possession of the city, and putting a garrison into it, the bishop appealed to a council held at Noyon, and on inquiry being made into the state of the facts, the king was summoned to make restitution, and not complying, the archbishop laid all his diocese under an interdict, and the other bishops extended it to the whole province. An appeal was then made to Rome, but the archbishop dying soon after, peace was made with his successor.

In A. D. 1237 many of the lords of France wrote to the Pope, to complain of the clergy refusing to obey any summons to the king's courts in things of a temporal nature, though they held their baronies of him, and in time past had always been accustomed to do it. King Louis IX. interposed his authority in favour of the laity, making an ordonnance to authorize his vassals and lords not to appear in the ecclesiastical courts, for matters of a temporal nature; and if they were to be excommunicated for their contumacy, the ecclesiastical judge should be obliged to take off the excommunication, by seizing his temporalities, and that the clergy and their vassals should submit to the judgment of the king's courts in all civil causes. Gregory IX. remonstrated against this ordonnance of the king, saying, that God had given the Pope the rights of both ecclesiastical and terrestrial empire, that the king and the lords would reduce the church to a state

of servitude, but that they ought to fear the excommunication of pope Honorius, against all those who should make ordinances against the liberties of the church. However, the king would not revoke his ordinance, and continued to be attentive to repress the encroachments of the clergy.

Nothing perhaps exceeded the high tone in which pope Honorius resented some insults offered to his legate by the scholars of the university of Paris in A. D. 1225. He published a constitution inflicting the heaviest penalties on any person who should offer his legates any kind of violence. He should, he said, be considered as infamous, as if guilty of high treason, be treated as a public enemy, be incapable of making a will, or receiving any inheritance, his house should be pulled down, and his estates confiscated, with many other penalties. If the prince or magistrate did not execute this order, he was to be excommunicated, and if the people did not oppose him, the country was to be laid under an interdict.

There appeared in this period to be little wisdom in these violent church censures, the laity in general having, in many places at least, begun to consider the natural equity of them, and, if they thought them unjust, to pay no regard to them; so that it was thought necessary to add civil to ecclesiastical punishments. It appeared particularly at the Council of Narbonne, in A. D. 1227, when it was ordered that, as the laity of that province despised excommunication, every excommunicated person should be fined nine livres and one denier, and that if he remained in a state of excommunication a whole year, his goods should be confiscated.

In A. D. 1253, the clergy of France applied to Louis IX. for his order to confiscate the effects of those who refused to be absolved after being excommunicated a year and a day; since, as they said, no regard was paid to their excommunications, and persons even chose to die in that state. The king replied, that he would willingly grant it with respect to those who were justly excommunicated; but the bishops replying that they were the only judges of that, he refused, mentioning the case of the count of Britany, who, after having been seven years excommunicated by the bishop of his province, was judged by the Pope himself to have been treated unjustly, and absolved. About the same time it was agreed at the Council of Bourdeaux, that if any person in a state of excommunication did not get absolved within a year and a day, he should be considered as a heretic, and subjected to temporal punishment as such.

In A. D. 1247 there had been a more serious alarm given to the clergy of France, by a general conspiracy of the barons of that kingdom against them, expressing their determination not to submit to their jurisdiction, except in cases of heresy, marriage, and usury. They took an oath to stand by one another, appointed the duke of Burgundy, and three others, to act for them, and taxed themselves for the support of the common cause. Pope Innocent IV. was much disturbed when he heard of this, but advised the clergy to oppose the measures of the barons with all their power. Perceiving, however, that church censures had no effect, he gained many of the principal of the barons by giving church livings to their relations, and granting them other favours, and by this means warded off the blow for that time.

If it had not been for the spirit that now began to be roused by the encroachments and exactions of the clergy, it is not easy to say where they would have ended. At the Council of Lyons in A. D. 1245, the English ambassador complained that the Italian clergy, who were non-resident, drew from the kingdom more than sixty thousand marks of silver annually, which was more than the king's revenue.*

In the East the clergy never had the power, or the immense revenues, of those in the West; but while Constantinople was possessed by the Latins, some steps were taken towards bringing them into the same situation. It had not been the custom in the East to pay tithes, but it was decreed at the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1215, that they should be levied in all parts of the Christian world before any other tax, as a mark of the universal dominion of God. The provision for the bishops in that part of the world not being thought to be sufficient, the Pope was requested to reduce their number; but he chose rather to give two of them to one person, that in future time it might be more easy, if it should be convenient, to separate them again. This, says *Fleury*, was the origin of the personal union of church livings during the life of the incumbent, which was much abused afterwards.

The disorderly lives of many of the clergy, the natural consequence of their wealth and power, no less than their exactions and usurpations, contributed to make them odious, and make their censures little regarded. It appears from the

* See *Rapin*, L. viii. II. pp. 426—428. A few years before, "the Pope agreed with the citizens of Rome, that if they would aid him against the emperor Frederic, he would bestow what benefices should happen to fall in England, upon their children." See *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 53.

Council of Wurzburg, in A. D. 1287, that the clergy of Germany were in general very disorderly. Some of them were not sufficiently modest in their dress; they frequented taverns, played at dice, visited the nuns, chatted and played with them in their own rooms, exercised themselves at tournaments, kept concubines, got possession of livings by fraudulent entry, or violence, and some said mass every day merely for hire. Some of the prelates alienated the goods of the church on the pretence of debts. In the wars, which were then frequent in that country, they who took possession of the churches made fortresses of them, which gave occasion to the enemy who took them to destroy or burn them. Bishops so neglected visitations, that some persons were not confirmed at the age of sixty.

But the most extraordinary character of a clergyman that occurs in the course of this period, is that of Henry, bishop of Liege, brother of Otho, count of Guelderland, and cousin of William, count of Holland. He had been promoted to that bishopric by Innocent IV., who wished to support that count in his pretensions to the empire. Gregory X., who had been archdeacon of Liege in the time of this Henry, on being made pope, wrote him a letter of expostulation, from which we have the following particulars: "We learn," he says, "with grief, that you are addicted to simony and incontinence, so that you have had many children both before and after your promotion to the bishopric. You have taken an abbess of the order of St. Benedict for your public concubine, and at a public entertainment, boasted before the company that in twenty-two months you had fourteen children, to some of whom you have given or procured benefices with cure of souls before they were of age, and you have given to others of your children the goods of your bishopric, and thus married them advantageously. In one of your houses called the Park, you have long kept a nun, together with other women. A nunnery in your diocese having lost their abbess, you have annulled a canonical election, and put in a daughter of a count, to whose son you had married one of your daughters; and they say that this abbess is delivered of a child which she had by you. You are so negligent in the exercise of your temporal power, that you exempt from punishment thieves, murderers, and other malefactors, provided they give you money. You never recite the liturgy, or even hear it, being wholly illiterate; and you often appear in a secular habit, with scarlet, so that you are more like a knight than a prelate." After this remonstrance, the Pope

exhorted him to repent, and not to trust to his youth, which promised him a long life. This friendly letter, however, produced no effect, and at the Council of Lyons, in A. D. 1274, he was deposed, and lived twelve years after it.

So many of the clergy in this period rendering themselves odious by their profligacy and rapacity, we cannot wonder that in some of the less civilized parts of Europe they were exposed to great violence. They suffered much in Denmark, as appears from the acts of a council confirmed by Alexander IV. in A. D. 1257, where it was ordered that, if any bishop should be seized, deprived of any limb, or any other injury be done to him in the kingdom of Denmark, by the order or with the consent of the king, the country should be laid under an interdict. In the remote parts of Germany the persons of the clergy were no more spared than their goods; no respect was paid to the envoys of the bishops, or the legates of the church of Rome. They were often arrested, beaten and stripped, and the letters they carried, torn.

In this, as also in a former period, the clergy were sometimes guilty of great violence to one another. In A. D. 1222 the bishop of Caithness, in Scotland, having a difference with his clergy about tithes, and other rights of his church, they murdered him, and burned him in his own kitchen.*

SECTION VI.

Of the Monks in this Period, and the Rise of the Franciscans and Dominicans.

IN this period of our history, we find a new and most important era in the affairs of the church, viz. the rise of the *mendicant orders*, who, when the preceding orders of monks were in general fallen into disrepute, on account of the relaxation of their discipline, acquired the greatest reputation, not only for their austerity and abstractedness from the world, but for their activity, and real services to what was then called *the church*, and especially the church of Rome, to which they were particularly devoted.

The disorders into which the monks in general, not even excepting those of Clugni, or Mount Cassin, formerly so famous,

* "An. 1222, Cathanesiensis; Adami, Episcopi sui, cubiculum ingressi nocte, monachum, quem de more comitem habebat, et ministrum cubicularium occiderunt. Ipsum graviter vulneratum in culinam attractum unâ cum domo cremarunt. Causam tantæ crudelitatis fuisse aiunt, quod Episcopus acerbius solito decimas exigeret." *Buchanan*, L. vii. Sect. lvi. p. 187.

had fallen, appeared from the proceedings of the Council of Lateran in A. D. 1215. In the former, the prior of La Charité revolted from the abbot, and an open war was carried on between them. At this council, orders were given for the reformation of the monks in general, but more especially those who had no *general chapters*, as they appeared to be more dissolute than the rest. All the orders of monks were, therefore, now required to have general chapters, for the express purpose of the reformation of abuses; and as the multiplicity of the orders was found to be a great source of abuse, it was decreed that there should be no new ones formed. So little effect, however, had this regulation, that more new orders were founded after this council than had existed before it.

The monasteries in England being in a state of great disorder, the Pope in A. D. 1234 sent visitors to all of them that depended upon him. They were chiefly abbots of the Cistercian order, and that of Prémontré, but they acted with so much harshness and indiscretion, that there were many appeals from them to the Pope, and other visitors were appointed. On the whole, however, according to Matthew Paris, more harm than good resulted from the visitation, which extended to all the kingdom.

Sunk, however, as the monks were in the general esteem, there were some instances in this period, as well as the preceding, of persons of distinction thinking there was some advantage in dying in that character. James I., king of Arragon, surnamed *the Conqueror*, on account of his many victories over the Moors, but remarkably addicted to women,* finding himself dangerously ill, put on the habit of a Cistercian monk, and made a vow that if he recovered he would spend the remainder of his life in a monastery. He died A. D. 1276.

We find, however, much of real religion, though mixed with superstitious rigour, in the society of the *Beghards*, who were men, and of the *Begutes*, who were women, who appeared about this time. The terms signify *beggars* in the German language. They distinguished themselves by the meanness of their appearance, as well as their earnestness in prayer; and for this reason the appellation was often given, without proper discrimination, to very different kinds of religionists. The same persons were sometimes called *Lollards*, and in France *Beghines*. In Flanders they were

* "Son excessive foiblesse pour le sexe lui causa de violens chagrins, de la honte et des remors, sans jamais le corriger." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. pp. 421, 422.

sometimes called *the fraternity of weavers*, as they were chiefly of that occupation. The first regular society of these persons was formed at Antwerp in A. D. 1228. They agreed to live according to a certain rule, and in subjection to a chief, but with liberty to return to their former mode of life. These societies never obtained the sanction of the popes, though they were often protected by them from the violence of their enemies.*

After giving this unfavourable account of the monks in general within this period, I proceed to relate the extraordinary histories of St. Francis and Dominic, each the founder of a distinct order, though much resembling one another, both professedly mendicants, and both preachers, in which respects they were exceedingly different from the preceding order of monks, who were confined to one place, and with whom begging was disreputable; and who, far from preaching, devoted themselves to solitary meditation, or joint prayer. Francis appearing a short time before Dominic, I shall give his history, and that of his order, in the first place.

St. Francis, as he was afterwards denominated, was born at Assisi, in Umbria, in A. D. 1182, his father being a merchant.† At the age of twenty-five, he discovered a turn of mind so wholly religious, and so unfit for business, that his father was much displeased, and threatened to disinherit him. To this the young man was so far from having any objection, that, in the presence of the bishop of Assisi, he solemnly disclaimed all expectations from him, and declared that from that time he would acknowledge only his father in heaven.

From this time he devoted himself to works of charity, and those of the most humiliating kind, such as attending upon lepers. He repaired, and chiefly with the labour of his own hands, two churches, which were in a ruinous condition, the latter about a mile from Assisi, and in this he lodged, and passed two years. One day, as he was hearing mass in this place, he was so forcibly struck with the following expressions in the charge that our Saviour gave to the twelve apostles previous to their mission, Matt. x. 9, *Provide neither gold nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet*

* Mosheim, III. pp. 82—87. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xl.—xlii.

† “On le nomma Jean au baptême; mais depuis on y ajouta le surnom de François, à cause de sa facilité à parler la langue François, nécessaire alors aux Italiens pour le commerce, auquel son père le destinoit.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 727.

staves, &c. that he cried out, "This is what I seek;" and immediately he threw away his shoes, his staff, his wallet, and all his money, and kept only one coat. He also laid aside his girdle, which was of leather, and made use of a piece of rope in its place.

From this time, in imitation of the apostles, he began to exhort other persons to repent, and he did it in a very forcible manner, and with wonderful success, always beginning his discourses with saying, "God give you peace." When he had got three disciples, they dispersed themselves to preach in different places; when some persons received them with great humanity, looking with astonishment on their extraordinary dress and austerities, but in other places people made a mock of them, and abused them. This, however, they bore with the greatest patience. When he had seven disciples, he exhorted them to go to different countries, preaching repentance, without regarding any treatment they might meet with; assuring them that in a short time many of the learned and the noble would join them, and that they would preach to kings and princes, as well as to the common people. When he had eleven disciples, one of whom was a priest, he wrote out a rule for them, taken wholly out of the gospels, and presented it to pope Innocent III., who, after making some objections, approved of it, in A. D. 1210.

Francis having obtained this confirmation of his institute, went with twelve disciples, and established himself in a church which he had repaired at Pontremoli, and this was the first house of his order, which by way of humility he called that of the minor brethren, *Fratres Minores*, in French *Frères*, and in English, by corruption, *Friars*, as the Dominicans had at the same time assumed the appellation of *Preaching Brothers*, or *Friars*; and this term it will be convenient to use, to distinguish these two orders from the *monks*.

From this place they went forth preaching in the neighbouring towns and villages, not with studied harangues, but in a manner that impressed their hearers in an extraordinary manner, as they had the appearance of men of another world, having their faces always turned towards heaven, whither they were continually directing their audience. Proceeding in this manner, they soon had more followers, and in A. D. 1211, they founded several convents, the most considerable of which were those of Cortona, Pisa, and Bologna; and Francis himself, having preached through all Tuscany, returned to Assisi in Lent, in A. D. 1212.

In such veneration was he at this time held, that when he

went into any city, they rung the bells, and the clergy and people went to meet him, bearing branches of trees, and singing, thinking themselves happy who could kiss his hands or feet. That Lent he preached at his native place, where he had many converts, and among them St. Claire, a young woman of a noble family, who by his direction, though only at the age of eighteen, abandoned the world, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of her relations, fixed herself in a monastery, first at St. Ange de Pansa, where she was joined by her sister Agnes, and then at St. Damien of the order of the Benedictines, which was the first church that St. Francis had repaired. Here she continued forty-two years, many disciples joining her; and thus was formed the order of *Poor Women*, or that of *St. Claire*,* being the second order of Franciscans.

At this time Francis was in doubt whether he should continue to preach, or apply to prayer, and he consulted one Silvester, who lived wholly occupied in prayer, on a mountain near Assisi, and also St. Claire, that they might inform him what was revealed to them on the subject; and both their answers agreeing that he should apply to preaching, he did so. Thus determined, which was about A. D. 1216, he gave instructions to his disciples to go in pairs, as the apostles had done in their mission, behaving with all humility and good order, and preaching peace wherever they came. He sent them thus instructed into Spain, Provence and Germany, into which country he sent no less than sixty brothers. He himself intended to go to France, but by the advice of his friend cardinal Hugolin, bishop of Ostia, he sent another person, and continued himself in Italy. But his preachers being often insulted, and the whole order exposed to violence, he got a *protector* of his order, fixed at the court of Rome, and the first of them was cardinal Hugolin.

So rapidly did this order of Franciscans increase, that at a chapter general held near Assisi, the 26th of May, A. D. 1219, when Dominic was present, there appeared to be not less than five thousand in it,† though they had not been established more than nine or ten years. At this time some of the order wished to have a power of preaching indepen-

* “ Appellé en Italie *Delle Povere Donne*. Elle mourut en 1253. Son corps fut porté à Assise. Ce convoi, honoré de la présence du Pape et des Cardinaux, se fit comme un triomphe, au son des trompettes, et avec toute la solennité possible.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 207.

† “ Au premier Chapitre général qu’ il tint près d’ Assise en 1219, il se trouva près de cinque mille Frères Mineurs.” *Ibid.* p. 727.

dently of the parochial clergy, but Francis opposed it; saying, that by their humility and useful services, they should gain the good will of the clergy; that they should cover their faults, and supply their defects.* And, June 11th of that year, pope Honorius III. issued a bull, addressed to all bishops and the higher orders of ecclesiastics, recommending the Franciscans, as apostolical men, but not giving them any independent powers.

About this time many women were converted by his preachers, and formed themselves into monasteries; but he refused to take the charge of any of them, except that of *St. Claire*, and expressed his wishes that his brethren might have no connexion with them. He used to say, "I fear that while God takes women from us," (for the Franciscans took the vow of continence,) "the devil should send us his sisters."

After this, Francis sent his chief disciples into distant countries, with a number of companions, taking for himself and twelve others, the mission of Syria and Egypt: and they went forth with the spirit of confessors and martyrs; for when men expose themselves to almost certain death, there cannot be a doubt of their being in earnest. Two of his missionaries going to Africa, endeavoured to go into a mosque; and preaching in the streets, and putting themselves in the way of the king, he first ordered them to be confined; but as they continued their importunity, he was so much enraged, that he struck off their heads with his own hands, while they suffered with the greatest resignation. Francis himself went to Egypt, during the siege of Damietta, and getting access to the sultan, he offered to go into the fire in proof of the truth of his religion. But the sultan, who heard him with great patience, did not choose to put him to that test; but admiring his courage, dismissed him with much good humour, desiring him to pray to God that he would shew him which religion was most agreeable to him.

In A. D. 1221, seven Franciscans went to Ceuta, to preach to the Moors; but they were soon apprehended, and not yielding to the command of the king to turn Mahometans, they were all beheaded.

In the same year, a third order of Franciscans, called *Brothers of Repentance*, was instituted by St. Anthony of

* "Tâchons de gagner les grands, par l'humilité et par le respect, et les petits, par la parole et le bon exemple. Notre privilège singulier doit être de n'avoir point de privilège." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 727.

Padua. His original name was Ferdinand, and he was a native of Lisbon, in Portugal. Many persons expressing their desire to embrace the order, he was unwilling to dissolve so many regular marriages, and dispeople the country; and therefore he gave them a rule, according to which they might serve God in a similar manner in their houses, living in some measure like monks, but without austerity. This was confirmed by pope Nicolas IV., sixty-eight years after.

St. Anthony was many years minister provincial of the Franciscans in Romania, and greatly distinguished himself by preaching on the subject of morals, and in the controversy with the heretics. It is said that the society of *Flagellants* began from his preaching. In A. D. 1221, he fixed himself at Padua, where he sometimes preached in the open air to thirty thousand persons, who came from all the neighbouring towns. His discourses had a wonderful effect in converting prostitutes, delivering prisoners, reconciling enemies, procuring the restitution of usury, and the remission of debts. He preached every day.* He died this year at the age of thirty-six, ten of which he had passed among the Franciscans, and he was canonized the year following.

The rule of the Franciscans was not fully confirmed till the 9th of November, A. D. 1213, when it was done by a bull of pope Nicolas III. Besides engaging to live in obedience to their superior, in chastity, and without any property, they vowed obedience to the Pope and his successors. And certainly, both the orders of mendicants were of much greater use in the support of the papal hierarchy, and combatting heretics, than all the orders of monks had ever been. Indeed, such was the number of persons in this period disaffected to the see of Rome, that it is very doubtful whether, without this seasonable assistance, it could have been supported at all.

St. Francis pretended that the particulars of his rule were dictated to him, word for word, by God himself. But even this is not near so extraordinary a circumstance as what is related of him in the last period of his life. In A. D. 1224, two years before his death, he retired to Mount Alverne, in the confines of Tuscany, in order to pass the Easter, when

* Gregory XI., who was one of his hearers, entitled him the ark of the covenant and the secret depository of holy learning. "L'arche d'alliance, le secret depositaire des lettres saintes." Yet one of his biographers complains, that in his sermons, printed with his other works in 1641, the meaning of Scripture is perverted by mysticism: "Le sens littéral de l'écriture y est sacrifié à des subtilités mystiques." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. pp. 163, 164.

he pretended to see in a vision the appearance of Christ upon the cross,* descending from heaven. But being awoken from his vision, he found all the marks of crucifixion on his own body. His hands and feet were actually pierced with nails, or something resembling nails, the heads being within, and the points clenched on the other side; and on his right side was a red scar, as by a lance, from which there often oozed a quantity of blood, which stained his clothes. This remarkable history is contained in the life of St. Francis, written by Bonaventure,† who declares that pope Alexander IV. asserted in a public discourse, which he himself heard, that he had seen those marks. Many other persons are said to have attested the same on oath, though while he lived he endeavoured, through modesty, to conceal them. But when he died, which was October 4, A. D. 1226, many persons saw and examined the wounds, when the nails were still in them, and moveable in the flesh.‡

In A. D. 1257, one Ecchard, a Dominican preacher in Moravia, asserted in a public discourse, that St. Francis had never received the *stigmata*, as these marks of crucifixion were called, that the Franciscans were liars and impostors, who invented the story to assist their begging, and that by the Pope's authority he had a power of excommunicating them. But the Pope hearing of this, wrote to the superior of the order to suspend that preacher. He also wrote to the church at Olmutz, and all the faithful in Germany, to certify the truth of the *stigmata*, as having been the principal motive for the canonization of St. Francis.

Dominic (de Gusman) was born at Calahorra, in Arragon, or according to others, at Calarvega, in the diocese of Osma, in Castile, in A. D. 1170. He was the son of Felix Gusman, of a noble and ancient family. After studying at Palencia, he was made canon, and afterwards archdeacon, of Osma, and then professor of theology at Placentia. But this employment he quitted to go to preach after the manner of Francis, which he did in several parts of Spain, in which he gave proof of great zeal and charity, relieving the poor and afflicted. Coming into France with the bishop of Osma, he greatly distinguished himself by preaching against the Albigenes, and there he formed the design of instituting

* "Un séraphin crucifié, qui perça ses pieds, ses mains et son côté droite. C' est l' origine du nom de *séraphique* qui à passé à tout son ordre." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 728.

† A Franciscan, who died in 1274. *Ibid.* I. pp. 443, 444.

‡ *Fleury*, XVI. p. 578. (P.) *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 728.

an order of *Preachers*; and for this purpose, Fulk, bishop of Thoulouse, brought him to the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1215, that he might be examined by the Pope. But before this, he had given him and his companions possession of a handsome house in Thoulouse. He also gave him the sixth part of the tithes of his diocese, for the purchase of books, and subsistence.

The scheme of Dominic being approved by the Pope, he consulted with his followers, when they agreed to adopt the rules of St. Austin, but with several additions; and that they might have no impediment in their preaching, which was their chief object, and from which they were denominated *Preaching Brothers*, or *Predicant Friars*, they resolved to have no estates in land, but only revenues. They were then sixteen in number, and the bishop of Thoulouse gave them their first church, viz. that dedicated to St. Romanus, in that city; and near to it he built cloisters with cells over them, where they might study and sleep. Honorius III. confirmed the order in A. D. 1216, exempting them from paying tithes of their possessions, and ordering that they should depend upon the diocesan for episcopal functions; and the prior was to be chosen by the free votes of the brethren; so that the Dominicans, at their first institution, were not *beggars*, nor exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, but canons regular.

The next year Dominic sent out his followers in pairs, after choosing a superior, to whom he gave the title of *abbot*; but all the succeeding ones were called *masters*, and the superiors of particular houses, *priors*. He sent four to Spain, four to Paris, and two more to study there; and obtaining the house of St. James for their church, they were called *Jacobines* through France. Hearing of the death of Simon de Montfort, at the siege of Thoulouse, Dominic went thither to comfort his brethren. Thence, in A. D. 1218, he went into Spain, and founded two monasteries, one at Madrid, and the other at Segovia. Thence he went to Paris, where he found thirty brethren, and thence to Bologna, where Arnould, who joined him at Rome, had been very successful, and had formed a large society. From this city he went to Rome, and at Parma he met St. Francis; when, after conferring together, they agreed not to accept of church livings. Dominic proposed to unite the two orders; but Francis thought it would be better that they should keep separate, but in perfect harmony.

In A. D. 1220, Dominic, by the direction of Honorius III.,

removed all the nuns in Rome, to the number of forty-four, from their several houses, much against the will of their relations, to the church of St. Sixtus, where they received from his hands a new habit, and promised obedience to him; and from this time their relations had no access to them without witnesses, which sufficiently implies that those visits had been the cause of much disorder.

The same year Dominic held the first chapter general of his order, at Bologna, when it was resolved that the preaching friars should profess perfect poverty, and make that the fundamental principle of their order; that they should renounce for ever all estates in land and rents, even those which they had at Thoulouse, the possession of which had been secured to them by the Pope's bull. In this chapter, *definiteurs* were appointed, with power even over the *generals*, during the holding of chapters, and it was agreed that these chapters should be held every year, at Paris and Bologna, alternately. At the second chapter general, held at Bologna, eight *provincials* were chosen, to superintend the preachers in the eight provinces of Spain, France, Lombardy, Romagna, Provence, Germany, Hungary, and England. Presently after this, viz. August the 26th, A. D. 1221, Dominic died, in the 51st year of his age, with great marks of piety; and lest his order should be hurt by the maxims of worldly prudence, he forbade, under the curse of God and his own, the introduction of temporal possessions into the order. In A. D. 1223, he was canonized.

These preaching friars had so much zeal at the first, and considered preaching as so essential to their institution, that they were not satisfied, if they did not exhort at least one person every day. Each of them carried with him a copy of the gospel of Matthew, and of the seven canonical epistles, according to the express order of Dominic.

On the retreat of the students and professors from the university of Paris, the Dominicans established a chair of theology in that city, to the success of which the high character of their *general*, Jourdan, contributed not a little, as also the great number of doctors and students who had entered into the order. For, though they had changed their habits, they still gave lectures.

Among the Dominican preachers, one of the most distinguished in this early period was John of Vicenza. He gained so much upon the people of Bologna, that he became master of the city. So great was his reputation, that the Pope wished to employ him to reconcile the cities that were at

variance, and he was obliged to threaten the citizens with ecclesiastical censures, to compel them to let him go.

Another order of mendicants owes its origin to pope Alexander IV., who united two sects of hermits, viz. those of *William* and those of *St. Austin*, giving them both the appellation of *The Hermits of St. Austin*. These, with the *Carmelites*, made four orders of mendicants.*

SECTION VII.

Some Particulars relating to both the Orders of Mendicants, and others of a miscellaneous Nature, concerning them and the Monks.

BOTH the Fransiscans and Dominicans were soon found of great use to the see of Rome, on which account, the popes gave them every encouragement, and many privileges ; but the secular clergy taking umbrage at it, it was some times found necessary to restrict them.

In A. D. 1254, Innocent IV. forbade confession to any priest who was a stranger, without the permission of the *curé*. The friars were also forbidden to preach during the hour of mass, lest they should draw the people from the parish churches. If the bishop himself chose to preach, no friar must preach in the same place at the same time. If any of them buried a person, the bishop, or the *curé*, was to have a third, or a fourth of the fees. This bull, however, was revoked by Alexander IV. in A. D. 1255 ; at the same time that he restored to the university of Paris those doctors of the mendicants who had been excluded by his predecessor. However, the scholars and the ancient members of the university remonstrated against this, and many of them left the university ; but the Pope paid no regard to their opposition. In A. D. 1256, arbitrators were chosen, who decided that the mendicants should have no more than two schools there, separate from those of the secular masters and scholars, and that they should renounce all particular privileges. But the Pope cancelled this accommodation, and obliged the university to receive the mendicant professors, especially Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventure. They ordered, however, that in all the public acts, they should rank after the other professors.

* *Mosheim*, III. p. 52. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xxii.

By a bull of pope Martin IV., in A. D. 1282, those persons who confessed to a friar, were ordered to confess at least once a year to their *curé*.

The bishops soon took great offence at the privileges granted to the friars, and a council being held on the subject at Rheims, in A. D. 1287, it was agreed not to allow them those privileges till they had a second order from Rome; and they settled the contribution of each clergyman for prosecuting the affair at Rome.

Lewis IX. of France was so much attached to the mendicants, that he was determined to resign the government of his kingdom to his son, and become one of them; but his queen dissuaded him from it. He wished that two of his sons, and his daughter, might embrace that mode of life, and took measures for that purpose, but they did not succeed.

In A. D. 1243, there was a great dispute between the two orders of mendicants, which occasioned a great scandal, like that between the Knights Templars and Hospitallers in Palestine. The Dominicans said, "We wear a more decent dress." The Franciscans replied, "We have for the love of God, embraced a more austere and humble life, and are consequently more holy." The Dominicans answered, "It is true that you go barefooted, ill dressed, and girded with a rope, but you are not forbidden, as we are, to eat flesh meat, even in public, and to make good cheer."

The great favour shewn to the mendicants, especially by Lewis IX., excited the jealousy of the secular clergy, and of the monks, who said, they loved the tables of princes and prelates, and to get posts of honour; that they meddled with public business, entering into the councils of lords and prelates, and sitting with them in courts of judicature. On the other hand, the superior zeal and literature of the mendicants, made them despise the monks, as idle and useless.

In the letters of Peter de Vignes, secretary of the emperor Frederic,* there is one, written in the name of the clergy, and seemingly addressed to the emperor, containing heavy complaints against the mendicants. "They declaim against us," they say, "in their sermons, and have diminished our rights so much, that we are reduced to nothing. Whereas, before, we commanded princes, and made the people fear us,

* Who put out his eyes, on an improbable accusation of having attempted to poison him. See *Vignes*, in *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 746.

we are now a laughing-stock to them; they engross all our advantages, from penances, baptisms, the anointing of the sick, and the burial of the dead."

According to Matthew Paris, the mendicants abused their privileges of preaching and confessing, exposing the ignorance of the secular clergy; and the parishioners choosing to confess to these itinerants, rather than to their own clergy, sinners were under less restraint. The superiority assumed by the mendicants had, however, one good effect. The monks being despised by the friars for their ignorance, Stephen de Lexington, an Englishman, established a college for the Cistercian monks in Paris, which was the origin of the college of Bernardines there.

Before the year A. D. 1289, the Franciscans had fallen into great disorder, when Raimond Goffredi, of Provence, was made their *general*, the preceding *general*, after he was made a cardinal, having lived like a prince; so that they were far removed from the state of poverty recommended by their founder. They received money at the first masses of new priests, they had chests placed in churches to receive money for masses, they attended anniversaries for the dead, for a certain sum, like the secular priests; they placed at the doors of their churches little boys, who took money of passengers, and offered them little candles to sell, and burn them in honour of the saints: the friars themselves trafficked in the streets, and markets, taking with them little children, who received the money; they abandoned their solitary, and poor houses, to build handsome ones, at a great expense in cities, in which those of the place lived to the exclusion of strangers, and none of them would remove far from their country, or relations.

In A. D. 1256, William de St. Amour wrote a book, entitled, *The Dangers of the latter Days*,* in which, without naming them, he inveighed bitterly against the mendicants, as unauthorized preachers, and dangerous to the church. But pope Alexander IV. condemned the book, ordering it to be burned within eight days, by any person who had a copy of it, under pain of excommunication. This work of St. Amour, was answered at large by Thomas Aquinas.

In A. D. 1269, there arose a controversy of some note, between Gerard of Abbeville, a doctor in Paris, and Bona-

* *De Periculis novissimorum Temporum*, printed in 1632, with two other pieces *De Pharisæo et Publicano* and *Collationes Scripturæ sacræ*. The mendicants called, him a heretic. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* l. pp. 121, 122, article *Amour*.

venture, about the principles of the mendicants ; the former objecting to them, and the latter defending them. Gerard said, it was ridiculous to pretend to have no property in things which are consumed in the use. "To whom," says he, "belongs the money which you amass from all quarters, if you have nothing even in common?" Bonaventure replied, "It is to the Pope, and the church of Rome, that the property of all that is given to us, belongs. We have nothing but the use of it. We are with respect to the Pope, what children in the family are with respect to their father, who receive nothing, but the property of it passes immediately to him."

In A. D. 1279, pope Nicolas III. published a declaration of the institute of St. Francis, answering the objections that had been made to it, and authorizing the reasoning of Bonaventure ; saying, that the property of what was given to the friars, belonged to the Pope, and the church of Rome ; that the places allotted them for their habitations, always belonged to those who gave them ; and that the property of money given them, is in the same state, till it be actually converted into necessities. In answer to the objection that had been made to them, as not labouring as at the first, he said, that bodily labour might be dispensed with, in the case of those who applied themselves to higher duties. He observed, however, that friars must not preach without the leave of the diocesan bishop, except by order of the holy see. Lastly, he forbade any person to write, or preach against the rule of St. Francis.

In this period, there arose a kind of spurious mendicants, calling themselves *Apostolics*, the founder of whom was Gerard Sagarelle, a native of Parma, wholly illiterate, and of little understanding. Not being able to get admitted among the Franciscans, and seeing the pictures of the apostles, as they are commonly drawn in churches, he imitated their dress ; and selling all that he had, gave the money to the poor. Numbers joining him, they spread themselves through all parts of Europe ; but being charged with many disorders, and also with holding heretical opinions, though they are not named, they were suppressed by pope Honorius in A. D. 1285, and again by Innocent IV. in A. D. 1290 ; and Sagarelle being apprehended, was burned at Parma, in July, A. D. 1300.

Notwithstanding repeated decrees of councils against the appointment of *new religious*, as they were called, or new

orders of persons peculiarly devoted to what was then called religion, several new orders, and some of note, besides those of the mendicants, were instituted in this period.

In A. D. 1206, Albert bishop of Riga instituted a military order called the *Brothers of Christ*, also *Brothers of the Sword*, the object of which was, the defence of the newly-converted Christians of those parts, against their heathen neighbours. But after a great defeat of these knights, and of many crusaders who had joined them, in A. D. 1236, they united themselves to the Teutonic knights, and the Pope published a bull for that purpose in A. D. 1237. To these Teutonic knights, duke Conrad, in A. D. 1226, had given the territory of Culm, and all the lands they should conquer from the infidels in Prussia.

During the crusades against the Albigenses, many women in Flanders, at the head of whom was Mary de Oigres, devoted themselves to works of labour and charity; those of them that were married, persuading their husbands to live in continence, at least in part; and this they did, notwithstanding the ridicule to which they were exposed. An account of them is given by Philip de Vitri, who assisted them by his preaching.

In A. D. 1213, the order of *Mercy* was founded, for the redemption of Christian captives.

At the Council of Lyons, in A. D. 1274, new orders of monks were forbidden, and some that had lately been formed were suppressed; but this was expressly said not to include the two orders of Dominicans and Franciscans, on account of their evident utility to the universal church. However, the order of *Servants of the Virgin Mary*, commonly called *Servites*, instituted at Florence thirty-seven years before, was confirmed.

The mendicants, it is supposed, devised the scenical representation of religious subjects in churches, intended to give the common people some knowledge of scripture history, and interest them in it; but they served to turn the whole subject into ridicule with persons of sense.*

SECTION VIII.

The History of the Albigenses.

IN the preceding period of this history, we have seen the great progress that was made by persons who held several

* Mosheim, III. p. 107. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. iv. init.

Manichean principles, together with others that were hostile to the church of Rome, aiming at the subversion of the whole hierarchy, in the southern provinces of France. As they were most numerous in the neighbourhood of Albi, or as some say, because their tenets were condemned in a council held in that city ; (but the greatest part of Narbonne Gaul was sometimes called *Albigesium* ;)* they at length got the appellation of *Albigenses*,† though there were among them, others who held none of their Manichean principles, and who were called *Waldenses*, having come chiefly from the valleys of Piedmont. These heretics, as they were called, were now become so numerous and powerful, supported by the lords of the country, and among them, by Raimond IV. count of Thoulouse, and Raimond Roger V. count of Foix, that the court of Rome was seriously alarmed ; and hence arose a religious war, the most destructive of men, of any that we read of in the annals of the Christian church, the particulars of which I shall now recite.

In order to oppose the progress of these heretics, pope Innocent III. first sent two legates, Peter de Castelnau, and Raoul, both Cistercian monks, in A. D. 1204 ; who, coming to Thoulouse, endeavoured to persuade the people to drive the heretics out of the city. This they promised, but very little was effected, as the heretics held their assemblies by night. And it soon appearing, that they were not to be suppressed without force, the Pope applied to Philip Augustus, king of France, to assist his legates, and employ his arms, in defence of the church. In the mean time, the persecution was carried on against the heretics in various parts of France, and in A. D. 1205, several were burned at Braine, in the diocese of Rheims, and among them, one Nicolas, a famous painter.

* *Mosheim*, III. p. 119. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. vii. Note [o].

† To the account of the Albigenses, (p. 347,) add the following particulars : After a ceremony, corresponding to that of *extreme unction*, but in which no use was made of oil, they thought it necessary that the subject should die ; and therefore, when he might have recovered, they enjoined what was called *endura*, or a voluntary death, generally by refusing all food. This savoured of their Manicheism.

After another ceremony, which was generally termed *spiritual baptism*, by which some of them were admitted into the class of the *perfect*, it was deemed unlawful to touch, or to be touched by a woman, even the nearest relation.

They had a peculiar mode of salutation, and peculiar ceremonies at their meals, by which they were distinguished from other Christians.

They maintained, that all bodily punishment, and especially that of death, was unlawful. See *Limborch's History of the Inquisition*, by Chendler, pp. 42, &c. Though these circumstances, and others, were made use of in courts of judicature, in order to ascertain whether any person belonged to the sect, little account would have been made of them, if they had not denied the authority of the church of Rome. (P.)

The legates were afterwards joined by the bishop of Osma, from Spain, accompanied by Dominic, whose history has been given in a separate Section. But one of the legates, viz. Peter de Castelnau, having excommunicated the count of Thoulouse, was murdered as he was leaving the country, but it was never discovered by whom. The Pope being informed of it, wrote on the 1st of March, A. D. 1208, to all the lords in the southern parts of France, treating Peter as a martyr, informing them, that he had ordered the clergy to redouble their zeal against the heretics, and that he had excommunicated the murderers, and all their accomplices. But the proper object of his letter was, to urge them to join their forces against the heretics; and for this purpose, he promised remission of sins to all who should revenge the innocent blood that had been shed. He farther said, that, as the count of Thoulouse had been justly suspected of the murder, he had ordered him to be again excommunicated; adding, that since, according to the canons, "faith is not to be kept with those who keep no faith with God," he absolved from their oath of fealty all persons who had taken it to him, and permitted any Catholic to seize his lands, with a view to purge them of all heresy. Not content with this exhortation, addressed to the neighbours of the count, the Pope published a plenary indulgence to all who would take the cross, in order to exterminate the heretics of Languedoc. Accordingly, it was taken by great numbers, who wore it on their breasts, to distinguish themselves from the other crusaders.

In the mean time, the count sent to the Pope, to inform him that his legates had acted with too much harshness; that, however, he was innocent of the murder, and ready to make any submission that should be required of him, if he would send a proper person for the purpose. Accordingly, the Pope sent Milon, one of his clergy, who ordered the count to attend him at Valence, and there made him promise to deliver seven of his castles, which he did, from a dread of the great army of crusaders which he saw was ready to pour upon him; and having done this, he was absolved, but in a manner that was very humiliating, having been brought, June 18, A. D. 1209, to the door of the church, in his shirt, and taken an oath to obey all the orders of the Pope, with respect to every thing for which he had been excommunicated. He also thought it necessary to desire the legate to give him the cross.

By this time, the crusaders were assembled from all

quarters, at the festival of St. John, and at the head of them was Peter, archbishop of Sens, and several other prelates, Eudes III., duke of Burgundy, Simon of Montfort, and other lay lords. Taking the count of Thoulouse along with them, they proceeded to Beziers; and the inhabitants despising their summons, they took it by assault, and after putting all they found in it to the sword, they set fire to the city, July 22. It was supposed that seven thousand persons were slain in the churches in which they had taken refuge. In the next place, they went to Carcassone, the inhabitants of which surrendered to them, on condition of leaving the place in their shirts, which accordingly they did, August 5.

On the 6th of September, a great council was held at Avignon, where it was ordered that the bishops should preach oftener than they had done, since to their negligence was attributed the increase of heresy, and the corruption of manners. The citizens of Thoulouse were excommunicated for not having expelled the heretics from their city, and the count, if he should revive certain taxes which he had renounced. At the same time, all the relations of the murderers of Peter de Castelnau, to the third generation, were rendered incapable of any ecclesiastical benefice.

The next year, towards the end of June, Simon de Montfort besieged the castle of Minorbe, in the diocese of Carcassone, promising those who held it, their lives, on condition of their conversion. But those of them who were of the rank of *perfect*, men and women, rejected the proposal with great indignation; and when the fire was lighted to burn them, they went into it of their own accord. These were about a hundred and forty: the rest abjured their heresy. Many of the bishops of France engaged in this war, and with them was William of Paris, an excellent engineer, who contributed materially to the taking of the castle of Carcassone. Towards the end of this year, the count of Thoulouse applied to the Pope with great humility for the restoration of his seven castles; but being still suspected of the murder of Peter de Castelnau, and also of heresy, two persons were appointed to receive his justification; and after a public hearing before a council assembled in Provence, his sincerity being suspected, he was again excommunicated.

About the middle of Lent, A. D. 1211, the bishop of Paris went to Carcassone, with many other crusaders, and soon after, the bishops of Lisieux and Bayeux, during the siege of Lavour, which was taken by assault, May 3. They took out of it, Aimeri of Montreal, and other knights,

to the number of eighty, whom the count of Montfort ordered to be hanged; but the gallows breaking, he ordered them to be put to the sword, which the pilgrims were eager to execute. At the same time, they burned three hundred, and by the order of the count, they threw into a pit the sister of Aimeri, called an obstinate heretic, and buried her with stones. They then took a castle called Cuper, and the bishops not being able to convert any of them, the pilgrims burned about sixty with great exultation.

At this time the bishop of Thoulouse would have had an ordination in the city, but he could not do it because the count was in a state of excommunication. He, therefore, requested that he would go out till the ceremony was over; but he not only refused, but insisted on the bishop leaving the place under pain of death, and with this order, he was, after some time, obliged to comply. His clergy also left the city, walking barefoot, and carrying the host. The bishop afterwards formed the citizens into confraternities, for the extirpation of heretics and usurpers, in order that they might have the benefit of the same indulgences that were granted to the crusaders. The inhabitants of the suburbs also formed a separate confraternity, and favouring the heretics, they often fought with each other. At length, however, though with some difficulty, the count engaged both of them (though those of the city had been concerned in the siege of Lavour) to unite, and defend the city against Montfort, who threatened it with a siege; and in consequence of this, the bishop excommunicated them all.

In July, Montfort, with the assistance of a large reinforcement, by the arrival of the count of Bar, in Lorrain, and many of the German nobility, actually laid siege to Thoulouse; but not having troops enow, he soon raised the siege. After this, the bishop of Cahors invited Montfort to take possession of his city, which belonged to the count, and there he was received. But many of the places which he had taken, revolted from him, and many of the crusaders, after they had served the forty days, which was all that their vow engaged them to do, left him, and both those inconveniences frequently happened in the course of this war.

In the following winter, William, archdeacon of Paris, and James de Vitri, and of Argenteueil, joined by the bishop of Thoulouse, preaching the crusade through France and Germany, gave the cross to prodigious numbers. Also Gui, bishop of Carcassone, and many other bishops, were

indefatigable in promoting the war, calling it the war of Jesus Christ.

In A. D. 1213, the count of Thoulouse, finding that he could not do better, made over his estates to his brother-in-law, Alphonso, king of Arragon, who thereupon wrote to the Pope, complaining of the harsh treatment of the count, and begging that his estates might be reserved for his son, then only fifteen years of age; and also that he would accept of the penance of the count himself, who was ready to serve against the Saracens, either beyond sea or in Spain. Upon this, the Pope, unwilling to have any difference with the king, wrote to count Montfort, to restore to the king what he had taken from the count; and a council was held at Lavour for the purpose of making terms with the king. But not coming to any agreement, Alphonso acted openly in defence of the Albigenses, though appealing to the Pope. On the representation of the legates, the Pope required the king to abandon the people of Thoulouse, in the mean time ordering a truce between him and the count of Montfort, who, however, paying no regard to this requisition, challenged the count, so that the war continued all the summer.

In February this year, Lewis, the son of the king of France, took the cross against the Albigenses, and after his example, many knights; but his war with the king of England obliged him to assist his father; and the crusade for the Holy Land took off so many, that Montfort was almost abandoned, when he was joined by two brothers, Manassey, bishop of Orleans, and William, bishop of Auxerre, with as many troops as they could collect. With this reinforcement he marched to Carcassone, and on the 10th of September, having made preparations to besiege Muret, the crusaders made a peculiarly solemn preparation for battle. The bishop of Thoulouse, advancing with his mitre on his head, and what was supposed to be the true cross of Christ in his hand, all the crusaders alighted from their horses, and one by one adored it; when the bishop of Comminges, seeing that this method would take up too much time, took the cross in his hand, and from an elevated situation, gave the whole army his solemn benediction, saying, "Go in the name of Jesus Christ, I will be your surety at the day of judgment, that whoever dies in this battle shall receive the eternal glory of martyrdom, without passing through purgatory;" and the other bishops present confirmed what he said. Inflamed by this ceremony, and these declarations, the army,

previously arranged in three bodies, in honour of the trinity, advanced against the enemy, while the bishops and the rest of the clergy went into a neighbouring church, where they prayed with a loud voice for the combatants. These measures had the desired effect: they obtained a complete victory, and the king of Arragon was killed in the battle.

In the middle of April, A. D. 1214, there arrived a fresh army of crusaders, conducted by the bishop of Carcassone, the general rendezvous being at Beziers, in Easter. And in the course of this summer the count of Montfort took several castles in Quercy and Agenois, and among them Muriac, where they found seven of the Waldenses, whom the crusaders burned with great joy. These conquests being made by the crusaders, the Pope's legate claimed them, as belonging to the Pope; and the son of Lewis not objecting to it, the Pope gave the guardianship of all the conquered places to Montfort, till the meeting of a general council in November following. In the Christmas of this year, count Baldwin, brother of the count of Thoulouse, was taken by treachery, and after cruel usage was hanged by the order of his brother.

At the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1215, the count of Thoulouse, accompanied by his son, and the count of Foix, claimed the restitution of their estates, of which they had been deprived by the crusaders; but they were confirmed to the count of Montfort, and Raimond was only allowed a pension of four hundred marks of silver. It was, however, agreed that the places which had not yet been conquered should be reserved for his son, when he should be of age. This youth being thus favoured, several cities revolted from Montfort, particularly Avignon, Marseilles, St. Gilles, Beaucaire, and Tarrascon.

In the mean time, the father, who had been in Spain, had taken possession of Thoulouse, while Montfort had been engaged in the war against the revolted cities, in September, A. D. 1217. The Pope, alarmed at this, exerted himself to the utmost to recover it, and wrote to the king of France to engage his assistance. Accordingly, Montfort advanced to the siege of Thoulouse, but after lying before it nine months, he was killed in a sally of the besieged, June 25, A. D. 1218. Amauri, his son, who succeeded him in the command, raised the siege a month after, many of the crusaders having returned home, and many of the people of the country having quitted his party, and joined the enemy. Dominic, hearing

of the death of Montfort, left Rome, to go and comfort his brethren.

This event was severely felt by the crusaders, and the Pope, who immediately sent legates to the king of France, to engage him to compromise his differences with the king of England, and march against the heretics. But nothing was effected for a considerable time, and the count of Thoulouse died in peaceable possession of the city, and with all the marks of a good Catholic, though in a state of excommunication. He was succeeded by his son, Raimond VIII. then twenty-five years of age, who continued the war against Amauri de Montfort ; but being afraid of Lewis, the son of Philip Augustus, he made his peace, and was absolved from his excommunication ; promising, at a council held at Montpellier, August 26, A. D. 1224, to adhere to the Catholic faith of the church of Rome, and cause it to be professed in all his states, also to repair the injury that had been done to the church, and pay twenty-five thousand marks of silver, provided the Pope would discharge him from the pretensions of the count de Montfort. This he confirmed by oath, which was also taken by Roger, count de Foix, and the count of Beziers.

In A. D. 1226, Amauri, having now no other resource, surrendered to Lewis VIII. all his right to the estates of the count of Thoulouse, and then the king took the cross, with almost all the bishops and barons of his kingdom, in order wholly to exterminate the Albigenes. At the same time preachers were sent into all the provinces, to publish a plenary indulgence to all who would go on the expedition ; and the Pope's legate, with the consent of the bishops, promised the king a hundred thousand livres a year for five years, with a tenth of the levies upon the clergy, and that if this should not be sufficient, the remainder of his expenses should be paid out of the treasury of the church.

Encouraged by this, the king appointed a meeting of the crusaders, at Bourges, the fourth Sunday in Easter, and in the spring of the year, A. D. 1226, he attended at the place, from which he proceeded to Lyons. Every place received him till he came to Avignon, which he besieged, and took after two months by composition, when there had been a great mortality both in the city and among the besiegers, who lost there two thousand men. After this the king went to Montpensier, in Auvergne, where he died November 8. However, the army, now commanded by Imbert de Beaujeu,

marched to Thoulouse, and made such destruction in the neighbourhood, that the count listened to a proposal of peace, agreeing to meet at Meaux the year following to settle the terms of it. There the count was reconciled to the church, promising to make strict inquiry after the heretics within his estates, and drive them out of them; and for a penance, he took the cross to serve five years against the Saracens. He gave his only daughter in marriage to the brother of the king of France, who, if he had no children, was to inherit all his estates. In April, the count received absolution at the hands of the Pope's legate, after being led to the altar barefooted, with only his shirt and drawers on.

Thus ended this destructive war, to the extirpation of the Albigenses, as far as outward force could do it; and what was left undone in this way was immediately taken up by the inquisition, more destructive than the war itself. By an ordonnance of the king of France, heretics condemned by the bishops of any place were to be punished without delay. It was declared to be infamous, and punishable by confiscation of goods, to conceal them, and two silver marks were promised to any person who would apprehend one of them.

One castle, however, Montsegur, in the diocese of Thoulouse, afforded a retreat for some of the Albigenses, and was looked upon to be impregnable. But in A. D. 1243 it was taken by Durand, the bishop of Albi, and the seneschal of Carcassone; who finding in it two hundred persons who refused to recant, burned them all; and this was properly the last exploit in the war.

In A. D. 1249 this last count of Thoulouse died, the family being then extinct, which was considered by the Catholics as a judgment for the protection they had given to the heretics. However, a little before his death he had caused more than eighty heretics to be burned at Agen.*

SECTION IX.

Of the Progress of the Inquisition, and the State of Heresy in other Countries besides France.

A MORE effectual engine for the extinction of heresy than open war, was the *court of inquisition* which was gradually introduced into a great part of Europe; but it was not till after this period of our history, that it was fully established, and the forms of proceeding in it settled; nor was it wholly

* On the subjects of this Section, see *Limborch*, pp. 58—79.

independent of the temporal powers, as it afterwards came to be. It will be proper, however, to give an account of the progress that was made towards the establishment of this horrid tribunal, in the methods of proceeding against heretics during the course of the preceding war, and for some time subsequent to it.

At the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1215, the most rigorous decrees were made against heretics, and all who favoured them, and also against those princes and lords who did not purge their estates of them.

In A. D. 1224, the emperor Frederic II. published a severe constitution against heretics, engaging to execute the sentence of the church against them. They who recanted through fear of death were to be imprisoned for life, and they who relapsed after recanting, were to be put to death. The heretics were allowed no appeal from their sentence; and as in this ordonnance it is said that, "this crime, which attacks God himself, is greater than that of high treason," the children of heretics to the third generation were to be excluded from all benefices temporal or spiritual, unless they informed against their parents. It was also ordered that the preaching friars, who were sent against the heretics, should be under the emperor's special protection. In a second constitution of the same emperor, the Paterins were condemned to the flames.* In a third, he copied four canons of the preceding council of Lateran, inserting temporal punishments instead of excommunication.

As it was probable that many persons did not care to inform against their neighbours, it was provided at the Council of Narbonne, in A. D. 1227, that in every parish the bishops should have synodal witnesses, whose business it should be to make inquiry concerning heresy, and report it. After this, another council was held at Thoulouse, the object of which was, the extirpation of heresy. Among other provisions that were here made for that purpose, all men above fourteen years of age, and women above twelve, were required to swear before a bishop, or his delegate, that they renounced all heresy, and that they would inquire after, and inform against, all heretics. This oath was to be renewed every two years. All persons also were required to come to confession, and receive the eucharist three times in every year; and if any persons did not do this, they were to be suspected of heresy. By a decree of the same council, lay-

* This, F. Paul says, was the first law that enjoined the punishment of heretics by death. *History of the Inquisition*, p. 10. (P.)

men were not allowed to have any copy of the Scriptures, but only a *psalter*, a *breviary*, and the *hours of the blessed Virgin*, and these in Latin ; which is the first instance of any prohibition of the kind.

The first persons who were commissioned to make this inquiry concerning heresy, were two Dominicans, who conducted themselves with so much rigour in the condemnation of some heretics at Thoulouse, that they were obliged to leave the city, together with all of the same order, and the bishop himself. Afterwards, in order to moderate their violence, they had a colleague given them, of the Franciscan order ; but this not answering the purpose, orders were dispatched from Rome, suspending this inquisition a long time.

However, the business of the extermination of heretics did not stop. In May 13, A. D. 1239, one hundred and eighty-three heretics were burned at Monthemé, in Champagne, in the presence of the king of Navarre, and the barons of the country, the archbishop of Rheims, and seventeen bishops. "It was," says Alberic, an author of that time, "a burnt-offering well pleasing to God." Robert, a Dominican, who pronounced the condemnation of these heretics, was formerly one of them. He afterwards discovered many others ; but at length imposing upon the goodness of king Lewis, and abusing his authority as an inquisitor, accusing the innocent with the guilty, his commission was taken from him by the Pope, and he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

It was not till the Council of Beziers, in A. D. 1246, that such regulations were made as served for a foundation for the proceedings of the inquisition, afterwards. The preaching friars, or Dominicans, who were the inquisitors, were then ordered to make proclamation in certain places, for all heretics to come and make their submission for themselves, and inform against others within a limited time, under the penalty of death, perpetual imprisonment, exile, or confiscation of goods, according to circumstances ; but those who being accused would not confess their faults, were to be condemned without mercy, even though they submitted to the will of the church. At the same time it was ordered that all the prisoners should be confined separately, and that all the goods of prisoners were to be confiscated. At the same council it was decreed that none of the laity should have any books of divinity, not even in Latin, and the clergy none in the vulgar tongue.

At the request of Lewis IX. of France, pope Alexander IV.

appointed two mendicant friars to be inquisitors for the kingdom of France, except the estates of the count of Toulouse ; but they were not to sentence to perpetual imprisonment, without the consent of the diocesan bishops. By a constitution of the same pope, addressed to the inquisitors of the mendicant orders, they were to demand of those heretics who returned to the church a pecuniary security that they would remain there. He also ordered that the goods of all heretics that were confiscated should be reserved for the use of the church of Rome.

It is evident that heretics abounded in the northern parts of Italy, almost as much as in the southern provinces of France, especially during the contests between the popes and the emperors of Germany, who always claimed that part of Italy. At Viterbo, in A. D. 1207, two of the consuls, and also the treasurer, who had long been in a state of excommunication, were Paterins ; but then pope Innocent III. went to that city on purpose to drive them out. The citizens complied with his wishes, and having assembled a great council of bishops, abbots, counts, barons, &c. &c. from all the cities of Tuscany, and the estates of the church, he published a constitution, by which all heretics, especially the Paterins, who should be found in the patrimony of St. Peter, should have their goods confiscated ; the houses which had received them were to be demolished, so as never to be rebuilt, and their adherents to be punished with the confiscation of the fourth part of their goods. It was also ordered that they should have no access to any court of justice, be incapable of any public employment, and be deprived of the rights of Christian burial.

In A. D. 1225, pope Honorius III. complained that in the city of Bresse the heretics were so insolent, that they armed themselves against the Catholics, fortified some castles, and burned the churches. They even threw down lamps by way of excommunicating the church of Rome, and those who favoured its doctrines. He therefore ordered their castles to be demolished, so that they should not be rebuilt.

About A. D. 1250, Peter of Verona, who had been born of heretical parents, becoming a Dominican, was peculiarly active in the discovery and prosecution of heretics in Italy. At Florence he engaged several of the nobility to take a standard marked with a cross, and coming to an engagement with a number of heretics, near the river Arno, he defeated them and drove them out of the city. This Peter, Innocent IV. made inquisitor for Cremona, Milan, and all that neigh-

bourhood ; but some time after this he was murdered by a person who afterwards entered into the order of the Dominicans himself. At this time, the contest with the emperors being over, the popes exerted themselves without obstruction for the suppression of heresy in Italy.

It was not till A. D. 1251, that the tribunal of the inquisition was fully established, when it was contrived by Innocent IV. to take the cognizance of heresy out of the hands both of the bishops and the civil magistrate, the bishop being associated with the inquisitor, but so as to have no real power, and the civil magistrates being allowed one third of the fines. The prisons were kept at the expense of the public. This court was first established in Lombardy, Romagna, and Marca Trevisana, which abounded with heretics, and where the popes had most power. The establishment of this court, however, met with much opposition, even in Italy, and much more in other countries.*

The bull of Innocent not being easily received, Alexander IV., in A. D. 1259, renewed it, but with some modification. It was again renewed by Clement IV. in A. D. 1265. But even then it was not fully executed, so that four succeeding popes were employed in overcoming the difficulties that prevented its being carried into effect. These arose from the excessive severity of the inquisitors, and the objections of the laity to bear the expense of this new tribunal. In order to remove these difficulties, the Pope gave more power to the bishops, and had the expense borne in some different manner.†

The proceedings in this court were at first very simple, and resembled those of other tribunals ; but they were afterwards entirely new-modelled by the Dominicans, who were generally made inquisitors, and who, knowing nothing of the common law, regulated all their proceedings according to the rules of *penance*, which were framed so as to correspond with the maxims of the government of God, to whom every sinner must confess his sin before he can expect to be forgiven.‡

Besides the case of heresy, the inquisitors took cognizance of magic, sorcery, witchcraft, and Judaism where it was not tolerated.§

* Giannone, II. p. 60. (P.) Limborch, I. pp. 87—89.

† F. Paul's *History of the Inquisition*, p. 12. (P.)

‡ Mosheim, III. p. 116. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. v.

§ Ibid. p. 115. (P.) Ibid. Sect. iv.

SECTION X.

Of the Intercourse between the Greek and Latin Churches.

THE conquest of Constantinople by the Latins,* was as far from promoting any proper union of the two churches, as it was from being any assistance towards recovering the Holy Land. Insignificant as were the points in dispute between them, their antipathy to each other was great, and had now been of long standing. The war, or the consequences of it, had not contributed to lessen this animosity; and least of all on the side of the Greeks, whose abhorrence of the Latins was much increased by the insolence and licentiousness of both the laity and clergy among them. They also despised them for their barbarous manners, and want of literature; and this effect continued after the cause was now in a great measure removed: for certainly, in this period, the Latin church produced more able and learned writers than the Greek; but the latter had no knowledge of them. Since, however, a desire on the part of the Pope and the Latin clergy to derive a revenue from the East, and a desire of assistance on the part of the Greek emperors, made both parties frequently wish for a compromise of their differences, and a good deal was done with a view to it, it will be proper to relate the particulars.

The first attempt that was made in this period to bring the two churches to greater union, was occasioned by some friars visiting Germanus, the Greek patriarch, in A. D. 1233; and as John Ducas, the Greek emperor at Nice, was then in fear of an attack from the Latin emperor at Constantinople, and the crusaders, he favoured a conference between them for that purpose; and in consequence of this, some letters passed between pope Gregory IX. and Germanus, each vindicating his own church; and the next year, two Dominicans and two Franciscans arriving at Nice, to treat concerning the union, they were honourably received, and entertained at the expense of the emperor.

After several days passed in formal conference, and much subtle disputation about the procession of the Holy Spirit, the Greeks, being much surprised at the acuteness of the friars, and especially their ready quotation of the Greek

* In 1206. See *supra*, p. 375.

Fathers, desired to refer the treaty to a regular council, and that till this could be convened, the nuncios should remain at Constantinople; and the Greek emperor, unwilling to give up all expectation from the conference, with some difficulty persuaded them to wait for it. Accordingly it was fixed for Easter, at Nympeum. In the whole of this previous conference, the nuncios behaved with all the newly-acquired haughtiness of the court of Rome, considering the Greeks as having, without any just reason, withdrawn themselves from their obedience to the Pope, and requiring absolute submission to the doctrine and discipline of the Latins, in order to their re-union; while the Greeks, though in humiliating circumstances, could not help discovering their contempt for the Latins, and their antipathy to them. Even during the conferences, a Greek priest laid a person under ecclesiastical censure for attending mass while it was celebrated by the Latins. All the indulgence the nuncios would allow the Greeks was, that they should not be obliged publicly to chaunt the creed with the addition of the clause *Filioque*, though it was insisted that it should be inserted in it.

When the council was assembled, nothing passed in it but mutual accusations, at which the emperor expressed much concern; saying that, if they had met in his presence, the conference would have been conducted in a more amicable manner. Perceiving the impatience of the nuncios to return, he observed to them, that a schism which had continued now three hundred years could not be expected to be composed in a very short time, reckoning from the patriarchate of Photius. They, therefore, met once more at the palace, the 28th of April. There the Greeks maintained that the eucharist could not be rightly celebrated with any other than leavened bread, such as they said our Saviour himself used. This opinion, at the requisition of the nuncios, they expressed in writing; and on the other hand, at the requisition of the Greeks, the nuncios expressed in writing their opinion, that, without believing that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father, a person is in the way of perdition. The next day these writings were publicly delivered, and regularly signed. In that of the Greeks on the subject of the eucharist, their opinion only was expressed, without the authorities on which it was founded; but that of the nuncios on the subject of the creed, was a treatise of some length. Having delivered this, the nuncios declared that the writing of the

Greeks contained a heresy, and haughtily demanded to know whether it was through malice or ignorance. This led to a dispute about the meaning of the word *apros*, which the Greeks maintained must signify *bread completely made*, and of course with leaven; whereas the nuncios said it might signify bread without leaven; and that as, during the pass-over, the Jews were not allowed to have any leavened bread, our Saviour must have used that which was unleavened. Thus this whole day passed in mere wrangling.

Afterwards, the nuncios being in private conference with the emperor, he observed to them, that when princes had a difference, and wished to make peace, they relaxed a little on both sides, and therefore he proposed that, as there were two principal points of difference between the two churches, viz. that concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, and that concerning the bread used in the eucharist, the Greeks should give up the latter, and the Latins the former. But the nuncios having no idea of this kind of policy in matters of religion, replied, that the church of Rome would not give up one *iota* of its faith; and, therefore, that if the Greeks wished for an union, they must firmly believe themselves, and teach to others, that the body of our Saviour may be consecrated with unleavened bread, as well as leavened, and must, moreover, condemn and burn those of their books which contained a contrary doctrine: and that, with respect to the procession of the Holy Spirit, they must believe and teach the people that it is from the Son, as well as from the Father, though they should not be obliged to chaunt it in public; but the books containing the contrary doctrine must be burned. At this arrogance the emperor was much offended, and when he reported this conversation to the Greek priests, they were no less so.

There was, however, another meeting, in order to conclude the business in some proper form; but this was conducted with the same pertinacious disputation, and ended with more ill humour than the preceding. The nuncios, after reciting the faith of the Greeks with respect to the eucharist, said, "This is heresy, and finding you heretics, and excommunicated, we leave you such." Having made this declaration, they left the council, the Greeks shouting after them, "You are the heretics." The emperor, however, was much mortified at this termination of the business.

The Greeks not being entirely satisfied with what they had delivered in writing, desired that the writings on both sides should be given up; but the nuncios said, they would

leave theirs, wishing it to be made known to all the world as the faith of the Roman church, and that they would keep that of the Greeks, as an evidence of their heresy; but said, as we are in your power, you may do as you please. A public officer then signified to them, that they must give up the writings. They, therefore, took with them such books as they could carry, and set out on their journey on foot; but the Greeks sent after them, and searching their baggage, took away the writing they wished to withdraw, and in its place put another, containing a fuller explanation of their faith on the procession of the Holy Spirit. It was evident from the whole conduct of this business, that there was no disposition on the part of the Greeks to any union, and that the emperor only wished it for political purposes.

Many years after this, when the Greeks had recovered the possession of Constantinople, the emperor Michael Paleologus, being afraid of Charles, king of Sicily, expressed a desire of the reunion of the two churches, acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope; and Gregory X., who had much at heart the recovery of the Holy Land, and hoped that this union would contribute to it, was very desirous of promoting it: but the Greek patriarch and the clergy were not to be brought to accede to it; though, knowing the situation and wishes of the emperor, they seemed to favour the project. The emperor, however, being determined to be obeyed, partly by intreaty, and partly by force, engaged almost all the bishops to subscribe a paper, in which they expressed their readiness to acknowledge the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the right of appeals to him, and that his name should be recited with those of other orthodox bishops at the eucharist.

Having gained this point, the emperor sent ambassadors to the great council assembled at Lyons, in A. D. 1274, where the Pope himself was present, attended by five hundred bishops, seventy abbots, and a thousand other prelates, with James, king of Arragon, and ambassadors from all the Christian courts in Europe. On the arrival of the Greek ambassadors at Lyons, which was the 24th of June, they were introduced to the Pope; and in presenting the letters they brought, said, they were come to render obedience to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the faith which it held. In the public service which they attended, the Liturgy was recited both in Latin and Greek, and in reciting the creed the addition of *Filioque* was repeated three times. In the fourth session, which was the 16th of July,

the union of the two churches was solemnly announced by the Pope, and the confession of faith, which had been sent by the Greek emperor, (which was the same *verbatim* with that which had been sent by pope Clement IV. in A. D. 1267,) was read, with this addition, that he would persevere in that faith. He only requested that the Greeks might be permitted to recite the creed as they had been used to do it, and continue the same customs, which were not contrary to the decisions of general councils, or the traditions of the Fathers, and which had been approved by the church of Rome. The letter of the Greek bishops, which was also read, mentioned the obstinacy of their patriarch in refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of the church of Rome; but they added that, if he persisted in those sentiments, they would depose him, and choose another who would be more compliant. At the return of those ambassadors, the patriarch Joseph not consenting to the union, he was deposed, and retired to a monastery; but this caused a new schism in the Greek church, and the two parties considered each other as excommunicated.

In A. D. 1277, there arrived at Rome ambassadors from the Greek emperor, and the new patriarch Veccas, expressing their joy in the union of the two churches, acknowledging in the fullest manner the supremacy of the Pope, and his right to decide in all articles of faith. The patriarch, in his letter, recited all the distinguishing articles of the Roman church, but on the article of the procession of the Holy Spirit he used many words, which was afterwards the occasion of a dispute among the Greeks, on the subject. This patriarch also published an excommunication against those Greeks who did not accede to the union. This violence, however, had no good effect. The more intelligent of the schismatics were quiet, but they resolutely persisted in their opposition, and many of the lower people went to reside in places not subject to the emperor.

After the Greek ambassadors had left Rome, the Pope sent four to Constantinople, in A. D. 1278, and doubting the sincerity of the Greek clergy, he exhorted the patriarch to procure from every bishop a profession of his faith, an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the church of Rome, and an abjuration of the schism. The ambassadors were also desired to require of the emperor that he should insist upon the patriarch and other prelates sending a confession of their faith in the very same form with that which he himself had sent, and that the creed should be recited with the

addition of *Filioque*. Particular customs, to which the Greeks had been used, were to be tolerated, provided they were not contrary to the faith, and the canons. The Pope also desired to have the confessions of the faith of the Greek prelates to be publicly registered, and that they should apply to Rome to get absolved from the censures which they had incurred during the schism, and for a confirmation in their dignities; and also to have a cardinal legate to reside at Constantinople. The ambassadors were at the same time charged to get an exact knowledge of the real disposition of the Greeks, and a positive answer to all his demands.

But in the East, things were by no means in so favourable a situation as the Pope wished. The Greeks in general, and even the emperor's own relations, were so much offended at his submission to the Pope, that they revolted from him, calling him the Pope's patriarch, and all who joined him, heretics. Thus the two parties, being at open variance, excommunicated one another. The disaffected party invited Alexis Comnenus, who had established himself at Trebisonde, on the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, to assume the title of emperor, promising to join him, which they did.

In the mean time, the emperor, in order to gain the Greek bishops, assured them that he would not swerve an *iota* from their faith or their customs, and least of all with respect to the creed, but that in his circumstances it was necessary for him to temporize with the Latins.

In answer to the demand of the Pope, to send a great number of subscriptions to the particular confession of faith required of the Greek clergy, many were sent; but they were all in the same hand-writing, and still the expressions concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit were not clear, but such as left the question undecided.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, the emperor was obliged to have recourse to very cruel and harsh measures in order to enforce the union, and these rendered him very unpopular. Besides, it appearing to the court of Rome that he was not able to carry his point, and even that he himself was not sincere in it, his next ambassador to pope Martin IV. was very ill-received, and at the solicitation of Charles, king of Sicily, he was himself excommunicated in A. D. 1281, as a promoter of the ancient schism and heresy of the Greeks. Michael did not long survive these proceedings against him, dying in A. D. 1282; and his son Andronicus, who succeeded him, thought so ill of his conduct in promoting

the union, that he did not allow him the rites of Christian burial.

The members of the proper Greek church being now the masters, they summoned a council to meet in A.D. 1283, and then they condemned and burned the writings of Veccas in favour of the union. He was banished to Prusa, in Bithynia, and afterwards almost all the bishops who had favoured the union were deposed.

The year following, the two parties in the Greek church, in the interest of the two patriarchs, agreed to draw up in writing their several pretensions, and throw them into a fire at the same time; persuaded that, if either of them should not be burned, that party had the sanction of heaven, but if both were burned, they promised to unite. This taking place, they did unite, but afterwards repenting of this agreement, the difference was resumed. The emperor was very desirous of promoting peace, and for that purpose he summoned a council in which Veccas was heard; but it produced nothing besides altercation about the terms in which the procession of the Holy Spirit should be expressed, and at the termination of it, Veccas was remanded to his place of banishment.*

Still the Greeks suffered much by factions among themselves, and several patriarchs of Constantinople were appointed and displaced. The chief cause of their contentions, the particulars of which would not now be at all interesting or instructive, was an attempt of the patriarch Gregory of Cyprus to explain what John of Damascus had advanced concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, in a work which, for the sake of peace, he afterwards retracted; but the difference had no very material consequence.

SECTION XI.

Of the State of Infidelity, and various Heresies, in this Period.

THIS being an age of much and subtle speculation, at the same time that the abuses of the church of Rome were glaring and enormous, we cannot wonder that the reason of many persons should revolt at them, and that many should

* "Où ce grand prélat mourut de misère en 1298. Il avoit composé plusieurs écrits pour la défense de la vérité, et il inséra dans son testament une illustre déclaration de sa croyance sur l'article du Saint-Esprit, conforme à la doctrine de l'église Latine sur ce point." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 687, article *Veccas*.

begin to suspect that the whole system of Christianity had its origin in imposture, and had no other object than the emolument of the clergy. The rise of this infidelity, as far as we are able to trace it, was from the writings of Averroes, a Spaniard,* a man of great genius, who wrote commentaries on Aristotle, and pretended to find authorities for his opinions in his writings.

As far as we can collect the outline of this system from the various condemnations of it, the disciples of Averroes held that the world was eternal, creation out of nothing being impossible; that intellect is one principle, diffused through all intelligent beings, and consequently that all separate consciousness ceases at death, which was a fundamental principle in the ancient Greek philosophy, derived from the East; and that all the motions of the intellectual principle are virtuous. Since all sin arises from the affections of the inferior part of man, they seem to have made light of some actions that have been so denominated, especially as it was their opinion that all the actions of men were necessary, being determined by, or connected with, the motion of the stars and other heavenly bodies. Considering the whole system of things as a chain of causes and effects, which has subsisted unchangeably from all eternity, they probably considered all deviations from it by miracles to be impossible, and the accounts of them incredible, and unworthy of examination.

In A. D. 1270, the following opinions were condemned by Tempier, bishop of Paris: "The understanding is the same in all men. The will of man acts by necessity. Every thing below is governed by the celestial bodies. The world is eternal. There was no first man. The soul is formed of matter, and decays with the body. God knows nothing but himself. The actions of men are not conducted by Divine Providence. God cannot give incorruptibility and immortality to that which is corruptible and mortal."† Many of these questions were discussed, and the opinions refuted, by Thomas Aquinas.

Such were, or seem to have been, the prevailing opinions of those who were generally called *philosophers* in this period, and in the time of Petrarch, who met with many of them at Venice, and in other parts of Italy. At the same time,

* Of a noble family at Cordova, where he died in 1226. See "*Averroes*, surnommé le *Commentateur*," in *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* 1. pp. 259, 260.

† *Fleury*, XVIII. p. 137. (*P.*) *Mosheim*, Cent. xiii. Pt. i. Ch. ii. Sect. ii. Note.

these philosophers made no scruple of declaring their belief of all the doctrines of the church of Rome, and conforming to its discipline; saying, when they were interrogated, that, though the principles above-mentioned were true in philosophy, they were false in theology; so that there were no martyrs to them. However, the tendency of this system of philosophy to overturn that of theology was so evident, that it could not pass unnoticed by those who were interested in its support, and the first censures that we meet with of it, were from the university of Paris, which was the great school of divinity in those times.

In A. D. 1276, the university of Paris made a decree, that nothing but grammar and logic should be taught in private; and the reason given for it was, that many errors had been introduced among the students, derived from the writings of heathens, which they said were true according to philosophy, meaning that of Aristotle, but not according to the Catholic faith. In enumerating the opinions they condemned, they mention the following: "In God there is no trinity. God cannot engender his like. God knows nothing but himself. He cannot make any more souls. He cannot make a man without a proper agent, that is, another man. He cannot know future contingencies, or particular things. He cannot produce any thing from nothing, or any thing otherwise than as it is, because there are not in him different wills. The human intellect is eternal. When separated from the body, it cannot suffer by fire. Intellect is one in all men. The soul is inseparable from the body, and dies with it. The will and the intellect do not move of themselves, but by the influence of the stars. The will is determined by desirable good, as matter by an agent. The world is eternal, because there cannot be novelty in the effect, without novelty in the cause. To suppose the world not to have been eternal, is to suppose a *vacuum*, since empty space must divide the things to be put into it," and it was a received axiom, that nature abhorred a *vacuum*. "The universe can never end, because the first agent must eternally make matter pass from one form to another. The celestial bodies are moved by an internal principle, which is a soul. Divers signs in the heavens indicate the different dispositions of men, and by these signs the intentions of men, and the events of their lives, may be known. Theological discourses are founded on fables, and men are not wiser for knowing them. There is no occasion to pray, or to be concerned

about confession, or the rites of burial, except for appearance. Simple fornication is no sin. The resurrection is impossible. Our happiness is in this life.”*

Religion was not, however, without advocates in this early period of infidelity. Bernard Moneta, who wrote against the Cathari and Waldenses, also wrote with great ability against the unbelievers.†

It was the study of the works of Aristotle to which these opinions were generally ascribed. From the same source it was also thought that the doctrines of Amalric, or *Amauri*, a professor of logic and theology at Paris, about A.D. 1210, were derived. “It is certain,” says Mosheim, “that he taught that all things were the parts of one substance, or, in other words, that the universe was God, and that not only the *forms* of all things, but also their *matter*, or substance, proceeded from the Deity, and must return to the source from which they were derived.” From these principles he deduced a system of devotion, pretending “to demonstrate the possibility of incorporating or translating the human nature into the divine, and rejected all kinds of external worship, as insignificant and useless.” His disciples, Mosheim says, “were men of exemplary piety, distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their lives and manners, and suffered death in the most dreadful forms with the utmost resolution and constancy.”‡

The opinion of the origin of all things from God, I have observed to have been a principle in the oriental philosophy; and that of the union of souls to God by abstract meditation, was held by the later Platonists, and has been adopted with some modifications by many persons of a speculative and devotional turn in all ages of Christianity, and by some of the zealous members of the church of Rome, as we shall see hereafter. But these exalted ideas of devotion, which rendered external forms of less value, were naturally regarded with a jealous eye by the political and ruling Catholics.

According to *Fleury*, Amauri held that, in order to be saved, every person must believe that he is a member of Jesus Christ, but that the Pope condemning this opinion, he retracted it before his death. *Fleury* also ascribes to the followers of Amauri an opinion which is said to have taken its rise from a book entitled *The Everlasting Gospel*, viz. that

* *Fleury*, XVIII. p. 230. (P.)

† *Mosheim*, III. p. 13. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. i. Ch. ii. Sect. ii. Note.

‡ *Ibid.* III. p. 129. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. xii. See articles *Amauri* and *David de Dinant*, in *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 113, II. p. 403.

Jesus Christ abolished the old law, and that, in his time, commenced the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, in which confession, baptism, the eucharist, and other sacraments, would have no place; but that persons might be saved by the interior grace of the Holy Spirit, without any external acts. He moreover says, that he denied the resurrection, said that heaven and hell were in men's own breasts, that the Pope was Antichrist, and Rome Babylon. His disciples had among them a prophet named *William*, a silversmith, who gave out that four great plagues would come in five years. Being examined in a council of bishops and doctors of theology, they were condemned, and burned alive, except four, who were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. At the same time they condemned the memory of Amauri, who was considered as the founder of the sect; and being excommunicated after his death, A. D. 1209, his bones were dug up, and thrown upon a dunghill.

Amauri, Mosheim says, entertained the sentiments of those who were called the *Brethren and Sisters of the free Spirit*, and they were sometimes called *Beghards*. They frequently ran about with an air of lunacy and distraction, begging their bread with much clamour, rejecting labour, as inconsistent with that contemplation which they supposed united the soul to God; in consequence of which they said they enjoyed a state of freedom from all laws, and had the same union with God that Christ himself had: for they were said to hold that all rational souls are portions of the Divinity. But among them there were many persons of eminent piety, often called *Mystics*, who only thought themselves exempt from the forms of external worship, and the positive laws of the church; though others of them are said to have abandoned all decency, and to have lived in sensual indulgence, as not affecting the purity of the soul.*

At the same time also, Aristotle's treatise of metaphysics being supposed to have led men into these errors, the council ordered all his works to be burned, and forbade the transcribing them, reading them, or keeping copies of them, under pain of excommunication. As to his books of natural philosophy, the reading of them was forbidden for three years; but they forbade for ever the reading of the books of one David Dinant, an eminent disciple of Amauri, who saved himself by flight. The council also condemned all French books of theology. This is said in the notes to

* Mosheim, III. pp. 124, 129. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. v. Sect. x. xii.

Mosheim to have been done at a council at Paris in A. D. 1210.*

In this period much attention was excited to a book entitled, as I have observed, *The Everlasting Gospel*, ascribed, but without reason, to Joachim of Calabria, who died in A. D. 1202, and was considered as a saint in his own country. He wrote commentaries on the prophetical books of Scripture, with conjectures about the speedy accomplishment of some of the prophecies.† According to this treatise, whoever was the author of it, the Father operated from the creation to the coming of Christ, as he said, *My Father worketh hitherto, and now I work*; but at the expiration of the thousand two hundred and sixty years, mentioned in the Revelation, the Holy Spirit is to operate, who was to come, and *lead men into all truth*. They also said, that the first dispensation was to consist of married persons, living according to the flesh as under the Old Testament; that the reign of the Son was to be that of priests, living according to the flesh and spirit, some being married; but that the third dispensation would be that of monks, living according to the spirit only. The first was the age of the Old Testament; the second that of the New, and the third that of the Everlasting Gospel, in which there was no occasion for sacraments, or visible signs. These principles having spread very much, chiefly by means of the Franciscans, who flattered themselves that their institute was the third, and most perfect state of Christianity, they were condemned in a council held at Arles, in A. D. 1260.

There was another book, entitled, *An Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*, ascribed with great probability to John of Parma, a general of the Franciscans, who explained the obscure predictions of the former work, and applied them to his own order.‡ The principles of these books began to be publicly taught in A. D. 1254; but in A. D. 1256, pope Alexander IV., though a great favourer of the Franciscans, could not help condemning them, and the books were burned, though privately, at the same time that he made some decrees in favour of that order.

Those who distinguished themselves the most by the acuteness of their speculations, and nice distinctions, were the mendicants. The clergy, who never liked them, and

* *Mosheim*, III. p. 23. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Sect. vii. Note [u].

† “L'Abbé Joachim étoit ou bien imbécille, ou bien presomptueux de se flater d'avoir la clef des choses dont Dieu s'est réservé la connoissance.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 487.

‡ *Mosheim*, III. p. 67. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xxxiv. Note [w].

who wished to have all study confined to the Scriptures, the ancient fathers, and the canons, took umbrage at the liberty they took in speculation, and thought the opinions they adopted sometimes bordered on heresy. To give some idea of the questions they agitated, and the opinions then formed, I shall select the following, which were condemned in an assembly of the clergy at Paris, in A. D. 1243: "The divine essence cannot itself be viewed either by glorified men, or by angels. Though the divine essence is the same in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, nevertheless with respect to *form*, it is not the same in the Holy Spirit, as in the Father and the Son taken together. The Holy Spirit, as he is love, or a bond of union, doth not proceed from the Son, but from the Father only. Neither bodies nor souls, in a state of glory, not even the blessed Virgin, will be in the empyreal heaven along with the angels, but in the aqueous or crystalline heaven, above the firmament. The wicked angels were so, from the instant of their creation. There are several truths which have been from eternity, and yet are not God. An angel may be at the same moment in different places, and even every where, if he choose it. The first instant of time, the beginning, and also creation and passion, are neither creature nor creator. The wicked angel has never had wherewith to support himself, any more than Adam, in a state of innocence. He who has the best natural dispositions will necessarily have most grace and glory."*

In A. D. 1278, some opinions of Roger Bacon, an English Franciscan (but what they were are not specified), were condemned by the legate of pope Nicolas III. at Paris, and he was committed to prison, where he lived ten years; but obtaining his liberty, he spent the remainder of his life in peace, in the college of his order at Oxford, and died in A. D. 1294.† He was indefatigable in his pursuit of knowledge, and seems to have been master of all that was known in his time, especially in mathematics and philosophy. It is probable that he either discovered, or had learned, the composition of gunpowder, and was acquainted with many wonderful discoveries in optics, mathematics, and chemistry.

Peter Lombard, having said that there was a distinction between the *divine essence*, and the three persons in the Godhead, the abbot Joachim denied that there was any essence common to them; by which it was said that that which constitutes their union was taken away. On this account

* *Fleury*, XVII. p. 265. (P.)

† *Biog. Brit.* I. pp. 424, 425.

his opinions were condemned by Innocent III. in the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1205, but without any reflection upon Joachim himself.*

At a council held in London, in A. D. 1286, the following opinion among others of a similar nature was condemned: "The sacramental bread is changed into the living body of Jesus Christ, so that the matter of the bread is changed into the matter of the body, and the form of the bread is the form of the body, which is the reasonable soul." It is possible, however, that these, and other opinions, might have passed without censure, if the espousers of them had not maintained that, "with respect to them, they were not obliged to yield to the authority of the Pope, of St. Gregory, or St. Austin, or any doctor whatever, but only to the authority of the Bible, and demonstrative reason." However, *Fleury* says the principle on which all the opinions hinged, was, that the reasonable soul is the substantial form of man, a principle, he says, advanced by Thomas Aquinas.

I would observe in this place, that the term *transubstantiation* is first used, in any instrument of authority, in the canons of the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1215.

The last of the curious opinions that I shall recite as occurring within this period, is, that at the same council it was mentioned as a thing allowed by all, that the Virgin Mary was taken up into heaven in the body; since Gilbert of Nogent says that in his time, which was a century before, the church did not assert it, but that persons were allowed to be of that opinion.†

SECTION XII.

Some Particulars concerning the Superstition, and fabulous Histories of this Period.

IF I had thought proper, I might have given my readers abundant entertainment on the subject of this Section, in every period of this history; but I confine myself to such narratives as serve to give what ought not to be omitted, viz. a just idea of the state of prevailing opinions and practices, which cannot fail to be instructive. We may often perceive the best dispositions and intentions in the most wild and absurd practices; but to form a just estimate of them we must take into consideration the prevailing principles and

* *Mosheim*, III. p. 134. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. fin. † *Fleury*, XVI. p. 256. (P.)

maxims of the times. The first account I shall give will be that of the *Flagellants*.

In A. D. 1259, Italy being in a state of great distraction, a spirit of devotion seized a great number of persons in a very sudden and extraordinary manner, but probably arose from the preaching of the mendicants, who, in imitation of John the Baptist, and Jesus Christ, called upon all men *to repent*. It began at Perusia, whence it passed to Rome, and the rest of Italy. Old and young, even children of five years of age, went through the country, as naked as decency would permit, two and two, whipping themselves with leathern thongs, till the blood flowed out, with groans and tears imploring the mercy of God, and the assistance of the blessed Virgin. They made these processions even in the night, with lighted torches, and also in the winter, by hundreds and thousands, preceded by priests, with crosses and banners. Wherever they came they went into the churches, and prostrated themselves before the altars. They did the same both in the villages and the towns, so that the mountains and plains echoed with their cries. Their devotion did not, however, terminate here. Enemies were reconciled, usurers and thieves restored what they had unjustly taken, other sinners confessed their crimes and reformed, and good works of all kinds were performed; and in this we see the difference between Christian and Heathen superstition, the latter having no connexion whatever with moral virtue.

This practice, it was observed, did not arise from any order of a pope, or the recommendation of any person of particular eminence, but began with the common people, and others followed their example. It extended to Germany, Poland, and many other countries. Their custom was to whip themselves every day for thirty-three days together, because Christ, they thought, lived so many years upon earth; and they sung hymns concerning his death and passion. No person, they said, could be absolved from their sins if they did not perform this penance, at least one month, and they confessed to one another, and gave formal absolution, though they were laymen. They even pretended that this practice was useful to the dead. This company of *Flagellants*, as they were called, at length gave alarm to several princes, so that they were suppressed by force; and in a short time the practice ceased. But we shall find it renewed in a later period.*

* See *Mosheim*, Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. iii. *Lenfant's Constance*, II. pp. 480—490.

Perhaps the person the most distinguished for his habitual devotion in this period, was Lewis IX., king of France, if we may depend upon the account of his confessor and chaplain, both Dominicans. Every day he heard the canonical mass, even the *hours of the Virgin*, with the *chaunt*. If he was travelling on horseback, he contented himself with reciting it along with his chaplain. Every day, also, he recited the office of the dead, at nine lessons, even on the most solemn festivals. He never failed to hear two masses every day, and sometimes three or four. He was fond of hearing sermons, and when they pleased him, he retained them in memory, and repeated them to others. Having heard that some of his lords complained of his hearing so many masses and sermons, he said, "If I had spent twice as much time in playing at dice, or hunting, nobody would have spoken of it."

It was his custom for some time to rise at midnight, to assist at the matins which were chaunted in his chapel, and at his return to have leisure to pray by his bed-side, saying, "If God should then give me any pious motion I am not afraid of being interrupted." But this exercise weakening him too much, he was persuaded to omit it. After supper *complines* were solemnly chaunted in his chapel, and when he retired to his chamber, a priest came and sprinkled the room, and especially the bed, with holy water. With the consent of the queen he abstained from any matrimonial intercourse, according to the ancient custom of the church, during the whole of Advent and Lent, also on certain days in the week, on the vigils and grand festivals; and when he was to receive the communion he abstained several days before and after the service. His abstinence with respect to food was very great: he fasted every Friday, he ate no flesh meat on Wednesdays, and for some time on Mondays also, till on account of his weakness he was advised to omit it. On Fridays in Lent and Advent he ate neither fruit nor fish. On Holy Friday he fasted on bread and water, and also on the vigils and principal festivals of the Virgin, and some other days in the year. He confessed every Friday, and after confession he always received the discipline, at the hand of his confessor, with five iron chains, fastened to the bottom of a little ivory box, which he carried in his purse, and he sometimes made presents of such boxes to his children and particular friends. He wore haircloth on Fridays in Lent, Advent, and at the vigils of the Virgin, but by the advice of his confessor he left this off.

On Good Friday, after assisting at matins, which began at midnight, he returned to his chamber, where, either alone, or accompanied by a chaplain, he repeated the whole psalter. Then, without going to bed or sleeping any more, he went out at sunrise, barefooted, and meanly dressed, walked through the most frequented streets, on the pavement and in the dirt. He went into the churches, and prayed in them, followed by an almoner, who gave liberally to the poor. After his return, though generally much fatigued, he heard the sermon of the passion, then he assisted at the office, which was celebrated in a solemn manner; and when he came to the adoration of the cross, he rose from his place, bareheaded and barefooted, and meanly dressed, and went a good distance on his knees, followed by his children, with such marks of humility, that those who were present shed tears. The service being over, he took a slight repast of bread and water.

On Holy Thursday he washed the feet of some poor people, and those of three poor old men every Saturday. After this I need not mention his alms, and benefactions of every kind, especially his liberality to the *mendicants*. When the expense attending these things was complained of, he said, "Since I must be at some expense, I had rather do it for God, than for the world and vanity, and thus balance the excessive expenses that are unavoidable in temporal things." Can we doubt the real piety and virtue of this man, even though he was a persecutor of heretics, and would without remorse have shed the blood of all the infidels in the East? He would, however, have received more pleasure from their conversion. When this prince was dangerously ill, in A. D. 1244, they brought out the relics of the martyrs belonging to the church of St. Denis, placed them on the altar, carried them in procession through the church, and the cloisters, walking barefoot, and shedding many tears; and from that time it was observed that he began to recover.*

The history of the conveyance of what was supposed to be the *crown of thorns*, that was put on the head of Jesus, from Constantinople to France, in A. D. 1247, will serve to give an idea of the spirit of the times, as well as of the religion of this particular prince. The probability is, that the crown that was really put on the head of our Saviour, was not of thorns, but of the herb *acanthus*, the intention of the soldiers, in this as well as in putting on him the purple

* *Fleury*, XVII. p. 289. (*P.*) *Novv. Dict. Hist.* I. pp. 163, 164.

robe, having been to mock, and not to torture him ; and none of the ancients speak of this as painful to him. In after times, however, it was supposed that this crown was of real thorns, and being thought to have been actually found, as well as the cross, and every thing else belonging to the crucifixion, it was kept at Constantinople ; and when that city was taken by the Latins, it was considered as one of the most valuable articles found in the place. This crown, the lords, being much in debt, had pawned to the Venetians for a large sum ; but the emperor Baldwin, willing to lay an obligation on Lewis, to whom he had pawned the county of Namur, proposed to make a present of it to the king. Accordingly two Dominicans were sent to receive the sacred deposit, and the box in which it was contained was delivered to them, carefully sealed ; and though those who had the care of it put to sea in the most dangerous season, and the Greek emperor lay in wait to intercept them, they arrived without any accident at Venice. The king and the emperor Baldwin then sent ambassadors to Venice, with money to redeem the sacred pledge, and other precautions were taken for the safe conveyance of it ; and it was observed that during their journey, though they had heavy rains in the night, not one drop fell upon them while they were on the road. When they were arrived at Troyes, in Champagne, they sent to inform the king, who immediately set out, accompanied by the queen-mother, his brothers, the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Auxerre, and some other lords, and met the relic at Villeneuve.

Having opened the outer box of wood, and verified the seals of the French lords and the doge of Venice, which were fixed to a case of silver, they opened that, and in it found another of gold, which contained the sacred crown. This being shewn to the king and his suite, they shed many tears, imagining they saw Christ himself crowned with thorns. This was St. Lawrence's day. The next day, August 8, it was carried to Sens, and at the gates of the city the king, and Robert, count of Artois, the eldest of his brothers, took it on their shoulders, both of them being barefooted, and in their shirts, and carried it to the metropolitan church of St. Stephen, in the midst of all the clergy of the city, who came in solemn procession to meet them.

The next day the king set out for Paris, and the eighth day after he arrived there, and near the abbey of St. Anthony, a scaffold was prepared on which were many prelates in their robes, and from this the box was shewn to the people. Then

the king and the count of Artois, barefooted, and in their shirts, carried it on their shoulders to the cathedral church of Notre Dame, and thence to the palace, when it was placed in the royal chapel.

But some years after this, the king having received from Constantinople a considerable part of the true cross, and several other relics, built another chapel of the richest and most elegant architecture then known, and there founded a chapter to recite the office before these holy relics. The church of Paris celebrates the festival of the reception of this holy crown on the 11th of August, and the history of it was then written by Gautier, archbishop of Sens.*

The history of the reception of some of the *blood of Christ* by king Henry III. of England, is as curious as the preceding. This prince wrote to all his lords to meet him in London the 13th of October, A. D. 1247, to hear "the pleasing news of a new favour that God had granted them." Accordingly they met at Westminster on the day appointed, when they were informed that the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers had sent them a portion of the blood of our Saviour, in a very ancient crystal vase, with the attestation of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and that of the bishops, abbots and lords of the Holy Land. On this occasion the king, desirous of imitating what St. Lewis had done to honour the true cross, fasted on bread and water the eve of the festival, which was that of the translation of St. Edward; and on that day he carried the relic in solemn procession from the cathedral church of St. Paul to that of St. Peter at Westminster, where it was deposited. The bishop of Norwich then performed mass, and delivered a sermon, in which he said that this relic was more precious than any other, even that of the true cross, which was only valuable on account of this blood that was shed upon it. He then declared, in the name of all the prelates, that six years' and one hundred and forty days' indulgence would be granted to those who would honour the precious blood.

Some, however, who were present expressed their doubt of the reality of the relic. To this the bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grossthead, answered in a discourse, in which he said, though on the authority of a book which he owned to be apochryphal, that Joseph of Arimathea, when he loosed the body of Christ from the cross, carefully gathered up the blood from his wounds, and especially that from his side,

* *Fleury*, XVII. p. 200. (P.)

and even the water with which he washed the body ; that he gave part of it to Nicodemus, who had assisted him in conveying the body to the sepulchre, and that thus this treasure had been preserved from father to son till it came into the possession of the patriarch Robert, who then held the see of Jerusalem.

To this fabulous relation I shall add another, composed in this period, by Bonaventure, from apochryphal writings, as *Fleury* says, which then passed for true, or revelations not much to be depended on, of the delivery of the Virgin Mary, which is as follows : When her hour was come, which was Sunday at midnight, the Virgin got up, and leaned against a pillar, while Joseph was sitting, concerned that he could not provide what was required in her circumstances. However he rose, and taking some hay from the manger, laid it at her feet ; and then as he was looking another way, the Son of God came out of the womb of the Virgin without giving her any pain, and lay on the hay that was at her feet. She then took him up, embraced him tenderly, placed him on her knees, and washed him with her milk which flowed from her in great abundance, then wrapped him in a veil, which she took from her head, and placed him in the manger. After this an ox and an ass, falling on their knees, put their mouths to the manger, and breathed on the child, to warm him, as if they had known who he was. The mother then fell on her knees, and adored him, giving thanks to God, and Joseph did the same. Bonaventure said he had these particulars from a friar of his order, to whom the Virgin herself had revealed them.*

I shall close this Section with an account of an instance of superstition in the Greeks. On February, A. D. 1284, a Greek priest found the consecrated bread which had by accident been left in the place where it was kept from the last year, then quite corrupted, and not having the appearance of bread. On seeing this he was terrified and trembled ; and, consulting with those who were present, they agreed to throw it into what they called the *sacred furnace*, and which *Fleury* says the Latins called *piscina*.†

SECTION XIII.

Of the Jews in this Period.

IN this, as in the preceding period, the Jews were exposed to much and various ill usage. At the Council of Lateran,

* *Fleury*, XVIII. p. 122. (P.)

† *Hist.* XVIII. p. 366. (P.)

in A. D. 1215, they were required to wear a badge, to distinguish them from Christians. In A. D. 1234, the kingdom of Hungary was laid under an interdict for admitting Jews as well as Mahometans into public employments, and having Christian slaves; and it was not taken off till the king and his son engaged to allow of that abuse no longer; but, says the historian, it was ill observed.

In A. D. 1236, there was a great carnage made of the Jews in many places, especially in Spain. In France, the crusaders against the Albigenses killed them in great numbers, without sparing children or women with child; many were trampled to death by horses, and their bodies exposed to the beasts. Their books were burned, their goods plundered, and great mischiefs were threatened because they refused to be baptized. On this occasion, the Jews applied to the Pope, who wrote in their favour; saying, that no person should be compelled to receive baptism; that as man fell by his free will, he ought to recover by the same means, with the assistance of grace. He also wrote to the king, desiring that he would restrain those cruelties.

John, king of England, harassed the Jews with the most grievous exactions, applying corporal punishment when they refused to give him money. It is said that he demanded of a Jew of Bristol a thousand marks of silver, and on his refusal to pay he ordered a tooth to be drawn every day till he should pay; and this, it is said, he bore till he had lost seven of them. The historian Trivet says, that he confiscated the property of all the Jews in his kingdom, and banished them by a public edict.*

The crusades furnished Henry III. of England with a pretence for taking from the Jews what remained of their property from former exactions. Having demanded eight thousand marks, they represented to him that, being unable to raise that sum, they wished to leave the kingdom. This provoked him so much, that he sold them to his brother Richard, who advanced a large sum on that account.† But when it was expected that he would have reimbursed himself by exacting twice as much, he was so moved by the representations of their poverty and distress, that he forbore to do it.

In A. D. 1239, the Jews of Norwich being accused of

* *Basnage*, IX. p. 619. (P.)

† According to *Rapin*, An. 1229, Henry III. exacted of the Jews a third part of their estates; "une taxe de la troisième partie de leurs biens." *Hist. L. viii. II.* p. 384.

intending to murder a Christian child, they were all apprehended, and four of them were torn in pieces by horses, and their limbs exposed on a gibbet.*

The Jews of Lincoln being accused of the same crime, eighteen of the richest of them were put to death, at the solicitation of the mother.† At length, however, giving the king a sum of money, they obtained a proclamation, forbidding to use them ill.‡

After the death of the king, [A. D. 1272,] the nation being visited with the plague, it was said to be owing to the indulgence shewn to the Jews; and after pretending to give them liberty to choose which religion they preferred, all that did not adopt the Christian were put to death. Though there is something that has the air of fable in the circumstances of this story, as related by the monkish historians, it is certain that the Jews were banished the kingdom by Edward I.,§ who allowed them to go to France, but confiscated their property. Their number in England was then very great, and they did not obtain leave to return till the time of Cromwell.||

In A. D. 1238, a converted Jew informing the Pope concerning the Talmud, as the principal cause of keeping his brethren true to their religion, orders were given that in all Christian countries the Jews should deliver up their books, and that those of them that contained any errors should be burned. In consequence of this, and the examination of some of them, twenty cart loads were burned in France, in

* *Basnage*, IX. p. 621. (P.)

† *Ibid.* p. 634. (P.)

‡ *Fleury*, XVII. p. 129. (P.) Rapin thus remarks on these abominable charges against the Jews: "Pour ce qui regarde l'accusation qu'on intentoit contre eux, qu'ils crucifioient de temps en temps des enfans Chrétiens, on peut presque tenir pour certain que ce n'étoit qu'une calomnie inventée par leurs ennemis." *Hist.* L. ix. An. 1290, II. p. 22.

§ In 1290. They were permitted to carry with them their *moveables*, but not to dispose of their estates. They had, not many years before, been allowed the privileges of a synagogue in London, a priest, and judges of their own nation: yet in 1276 they were restrained from excessive *usury*, and obliged, both men and women, to "wear a badge upon their upper garment, in the shape of the two tables of Moses's law." See *Rapin*, L. ix. III. p. 22, and *Parl. Hist.* Ed. 2, I. pp. 80, 95.

|| The first proposal made to the Protector, in Dec. 1655, by the Jews of Amsterdam, appears to have been rejected, after much discussion. See *Parl. Hist.* XX. pp. 473—476. *Whitelock*, *Mem.* Ed. 1682, p. 618.

It is, however, certain that they afterwards settled in England, secured from oppression by the *tolerant* policy of the *Protectorate*. They were thus described in 1674: "Touching the *Jews*, which by the late Usurper were admitted at London, and since continued by the bare permission of the King, and suffered to hire a private house, wherein to hold their synagogue; they are not considerable, either for number, making not above thirty or forty families, nor for their wealth or abilities, being for the most part poor and ignorant." *Angliæ Notitia*, "or the present State of England," Ed. 8, 1674, I. pp. 39, 40.

the presence of the university, the clergy, and the people of Paris. Many Christians at this time were able to read Hebrew. Besides those in France, mention is made by Matthew Paris, of Robert Arundel, probably an Englishman, as well skilled in that language.

In A. D. 1247, pope Innocent IV. wrote to the bishops of Germany in favour of the Jews, who were cruelly treated, and sometimes put to death, on pretence that they had killed the children of Christians, eaten their hearts, and been guilty of other crimes, of which they were innocent, desiring that their wrongs might be redressed, and that they should not be condemned without reason.

In A. D. 1248, John, duke of Tuscany, at the request of the bishops and lords, drove all the Jews from his territories.

At the Council of Vienne, in A. D. 1267, the Jews were required to wear a cap of horn, to pay tithes to the *curé*, and all other duties that were exacted of the Christians who lodged with them.

In A. D. 1291, it was said that a Jew at Paris, getting possession of a consecrated wafer, pricked it with a pen-knife; that on this blood came out of it; and that, though he abused it various ways, it always shewed marks of sensibility; that at length it took its place on a crucifix, in the form of Christ upon the cross. The consequence of this ridiculous notion was very serious; for the Jew was apprehended and burned, and the people called the house in which this scene was supposed to have been transacted the *house of miracles*, and a chapel was afterwards built on the spot.

Notwithstanding the great odium under which the Jews generally lay, there is abundant evidence, that in some of the southern parts of France, the common people were prejudiced in their favour, and leaned to their rites. In Provence, and the neighbouring places, the intercourse with the Jews had introduced many superstitious practices. Many persons in their illnesses held lamps and lighted candles in the synagogues, and made offerings there, to procure good journeys, and safe deliveries for women with child; and they shewed the same respect that the Jews did to the book of the law, which Christians in general considered as a kind of idolatry. The Pope, to put a stop to these abuses, wrote to the Franciscans, who exercised the office of inquisitors in that part of the country, to proceed against those who were guilty of those things, as against idolatry and heresy. This letter is dated February 20, A. D. 1290.

SECTION XIV.

Miscellaneous Articles.

LITTLE was done in this period towards extending the bounds of Christendom, and that little, not very solid. In A. D. 1255, a great army of German crusaders, about sixty thousand, attacked that part of Prussia which continued Pagan, and, killing all who refused to be baptized, reduced the whole to the profession of Christianity. In the same year, Mondag, whom the Pope on his profession of Christianity had made king of Lithuania, turned his arms against the Christians; so that there was nothing, as the historian says, in his conversion, and his successors continued heathen, one hundred and thirty years after.

This was an age in which much attention was given to *literature*, and which produced many eminent men. At the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1215, an order given in a council of A. D. 1179, under Alexander III., mentioned in the preceding Section, that in every cathedral church there should be a master, who should teach *gratis*, but which had not been observed, was confirmed. He was to teach not only grammar, but any branch of science that he was capable of teaching; and in every metropolitan church there was to be a theologian to teach the priests the Holy Scriptures, and what related to the cure of souls: each of these masters was to have the salary of a prebend, as long as he taught, but without becoming a canon.

Frederic II. was well versed in the Latin, Greek and Arabic languages, besides Italian and French, his native tongue being the German. He composed poems in Italian. He was a great promoter of literature in his dominions, especially by the establishment of an university at Naples, and procuring many books to be translated from Arabic into Latin.* Also Alphonsus, king of Castile and Leon, distinguished himself both by his own attainments in literature, and his zeal in promoting it. He is particularly famous for his astronomical tables.†

Lewis IX. hearing, when he was in Palestine, of a Mahometan prince getting all useful books transcribed for the

* *Giannone*, I. p. 729. (P.) "Il polizza, il embellit les royaumes de Naples et de Sicile, ses pays favoris. Il décora quelques villes, et en bâtit plusieurs autres; il fonda des Universités." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 737. See *supra*, p. 403.

† *Mosheim*, III. p. 17. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Sect. ii.

use of learned men, did the same on his return to France, especially all books relating to religion, and from them Vincent de Beauvais composed his *Grand Mirror*, which was a collection of every thing that he thought useful to a student.

This was the period in which the Aristotelian philosophy was most triumphant, being taught in all the schools, till its tendency to favour infidelity was perceived. It was particularly adopted by the Dominican and Franciscan friars, among whom the most distinguished teachers were, Alexander Hales, a Franciscan and an Englishman, who taught at Paris, and obtained the title of the *Irrefragable Doctor*;* Albert, surnamed *the Great*, a Dominican and a German, bishop of Ratisbon, the dictator, as it were, of all literature in his time; but especially his disciple Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican likewise, and surnamed *the Angelic Doctor*. In the pontificate of Clement IV. he composed his *Sum of Theology*,† which was considered in the schools as the most complete system, for doctrine and method. It is indeed a wonderfully elaborate work.‡

The college for the study of divinity, in Paris, was erected and endowed, in A.D. 1253, by Robert de Sorbonne, a friend and favourite of king Lewis, and it retained his name ever after.§ In all the universities, in this period, it was necessary to go through a strict examination, before any person could be entitled to teach the sciences, and then arose the custom of giving academical degrees, as that of *master* and *doctor*, in all the *faculties*, as they were called; an institution which had its use in these times, while it might be fairly considered as a mark of real merit; but it is now no longer so, and therefore ought to be discontinued.

But the whole system of Aristotelian philosophy, as taught in these schools, was severely censured by Roger Bacon, Peter de Abano, a physician of Padua,|| and other sensible men. The former, in one of his writings, says, “There never was such an appearance of learning, or so much time given to study, as in these last forty years. There are doctors in every city, camp and village, especially of the two orders of

* See *supra*, p. 387, Note †.

† See Vol. III. pp. 350, 365.

‡ “Solide dans l’établissement des principes, exact dans les raisonnements, clair dans l’expression, il pourroit être le meilleur modèle des théologiens, s’il avoit traité moins de questions inutiles.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 554.

§ *Mosheim*, III. p. 19. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Sect. iii. Sorbonne added another college of *humanity* and *philosophy*. He died in 1274, aged 73. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 428. *Descript. of Paris*, 1687, II. p. 71.

|| “Surnamed the Reconciler, from a book he wrote, entitled ‘*Conciliator Differentiarum Philosophorum et Medicorum*.’” *Mosheim*, Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Sect. ix.

mendicants, but never was there so much ignorance and error. The generality of students spend their time and their money on bad translations," (meaning from the Arabic). "They are deceived by appearances, not caring what they know, but only what they may seem to know, in the opinion of the stupid multitude."*

Several things occurred, in this period, relating to the discipline of the church, which deserve to be noticed.

At the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1215, it was ordered, that every person should confess all his sins, at least once a year, to his proper priest, discharge the penance enjoined him, and receive the eucharist at Easter, or be excommunicated and deprived of Christian burial. Raimond de Pegnafort, general of the Dominicans, who died in A. D. 1274, published a *sum* of cases of conscience, for the use of confessors, which was the first work of this nature.

It appears, from the decrees of the Synod of Exeter, in A. D. 1287, that after baptism children were confirmed, at least within three years. But it appears from the decrees of the Council of Arles, in A. D. 1260, that confirmation was given to children at the breast, as *Fleury* says they still did in many churches.

A superstitious respect for the elements of the eucharist appears in this period to have begun to take the cup from the laity. We find in the writings of Alexander Hales, who died in A. D. 1244, that in his time the laity commonly communicated with the bread only. At a council held at Lambeth, in A. D. 1281, it is said that, in giving the communion, they informed the communicants, that what they received in the cup was only simple wine, to enable them to swallow with more ease the precious body; and in the inferior churches it was permitted only to those who celebrated, to take the precious blood; but in cathedral churches the communion was still administered in both kinds. At a council of Bourdeaux, in A. D. 1255, it was ordered that infants, instead of the consecrated wafer, should only have *pain beni* given them; a remains, says *Fleury*, of the ancient custom of giving the eucharist to children, which is still kept up in the Greek church.†

The cup was not wholly laid aside till the Council of Constance.‡

The use of wafers and unleavened bread was not known

* *Mosheim*, III. p. 26. (P.) Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. Ch. i. Sect. ix.

† See Vol. II. pp. 337, 338, Vol. V. pp. 238, 266, 267.

‡ *Bingham*, p. 789. (P.) *Lenfant*, L. iii. Sect. xxx. l. p. 253.

in the church, till the eleventh or twelfth century, when the oblation of common bread began to be left off by the people. Then the clergy provided the elements themselves, and gradually brought it to a nice and delicate wafer, in the form of a *denarius*, to represent, they said, the pieces of money for which our Saviour was betrayed; and the people were ordered to offer a *denarius*, to be given to the poor, or to be applied to some sacred use.*

The mendicants introduced the custom of keeping the consecrated elements for private persons to communicate out of the time of public service in the church. This is acknowledged to be a novelty, and against the rule of the Roman ritual, which orders the elements to be kept in the church only for the sick.†

It was not till the twelfth century, that the custom of communicating infants was discontinued in France.‡

The *missa sicca* was the communion without the consecration of the elements. St. Lewis had this service performed in this manner on board his ships. It was sometimes called *missa nautica*, and was approved by Leo X. §

Missa bifaciata, or *trifaciata*, &c. was, when a priest, for the sake of getting the price of more masses than one, in a day, recited the service several times, till he came to the words of consecration; which, by using only once, he made to serve for them all.||

In A. D. 1264, pope Urban instituted the festival of the *holy sacrament*, from a vision of one Juliana, a nun in the neighbourhood of Liege, where Urban had been archdeacon. It was to be celebrated the first Thursday after the octave of Whitsuntide. This Juliana declared, that whenever she prayed, she had before her an image of the full moon with a fissure in it, and was informed by the Holy Spirit, that this fissure signified the want of this annual festival in the church, which was represented by the moon. The office was composed by Thomas Aquinas.

Till the twelfth century, the fast of Lent was kept by abstaining from all food till evening. ¶

In this period, we find the origin of *indulgences*. They began with the bishops, and were afterwards adopted by the popes. When the bishops wanted money, they remitted the usual penances, for certain sums to be applied to religious uses. This power of the bishops was restricted by the

* Bingham, pp. 737, &c. (P.) † Ibid. p. 782. (P.) ‡ Ibid. p. 776. (P.)

§ Ibid. pp. 772, &c. (P.) || Ibid. p. 773. (P.) ¶ Ibid. II. p. 347. (P.)

popes, and in time they appropriated it to themselves; and going far beyond what the bishops had ever done, pretended to release men from the penalties due to sin, even in a future state. The great pretence for the papal indulgences was, to promote the crusades, but it was afterwards extended to every purpose that the popes thought subservient to their views.*

At the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1215, superfluous indulgences granted by some bishops, were forbidden, and it was ordered that, in the dedication of churches, the indulgence should not be for more than a year, whether the ceremony was performed by one bishop, or more; and that for the anniversary of a dedication, or any other cause, the indulgence should not be for more than forty days.

By this time, great abuses had been made of indulgences. They who preached the crusade in Germany, in A. D. 1225, advanced such things, says the historian, as encouraged persons in their crimes. For some of them said, "I will commit crimes; for on taking the cross I shall be innocent, and even make satisfaction for the crimes of others;" and some persons who had died impenitent, and had been buried in the high-ways, were by this means taken up, and buried like Christians.

During the twelfth or the thirteenth century, religious plays were introduced into churches, and these prepared the way for sacred oratorios. The first was a spiritual comedy, in the church of Padua, in A. D. 1243. About twenty years after was instituted at Rome, the *Fraternity of Gonfalone*, whose principal business was, to represent the sufferings of Jesus in the passion week. The same subject was acted at Friuli, in A. D. 1298, and near the Arno, in A. D. 1304, when the people were entertained with the exhibition of the parable of Dives and Lazarus, a machine representing hell being fixed on boats for the purpose.† In A. D. 1322, the mysteries began to be exhibited in Germany. In A. D. 1378, is the first mention made of their exhibition in England. While these mysteries were in fashion, scarce any scripture history escaped being burlesqued in them. None of them were wholly without music. Hymns and chorusses were introduced into all of them, and sometimes instrumental music was introduced between the acts.‡

About A. D. 1290, Marinus Sanutus brought wind instruments into the church.§

* *Mosheim*, II. p. 420. (P.) Cent. xii. Pt. ii. Ch. iii. Sect. iii.

† *Williams*, p. 42. (P.) ‡ *Ibid.* p. 43. (P.) § *Bingham*, p. 314. (P.)

PERIOD XX.

FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE CRUSADES, A. D. 1291, TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, A. D. 1418.



SECTION I.

Of the Power of the Popes, and the Opposition that was made to it.

THE claims of the popes to power, temporal and spiritual, were much opposed in the course of this period of our history ; but they abated nothing of their arrogance, and on the whole, perhaps rather gained than lost ground. Neither their long residence at Avignon, nor the great schism which took place immediately after it, though seemingly very hazardous for them, were of any material disservice. The eyes of princes, and others, were opened with respect to many abuses of the papal power ; but, notwithstanding this, such a power was almost universally thought to be necessary in the Christian world. The ground of their claims, as the *vicars of Christ*, was never called in question by any who had the power to oppose them.

When Edward III. of England remonstrated to Clement VI., against his disposal of bishoprics by way of reserve, as contrary to an act of his parliament, he answered, " Consider, it is not the apostles, but Christ himself, who has given to the church of Rome the supremacy over all the churches in the world. It is he that instituted all the patriarchates, metropolitans, and cathedral churches, and all the dignities that are in them. It is to the Pope, that the disposal of all these dignities, offices, and benefices, belongs."

Alphonso, king of Castile, complaining to the same Pope, in A. D. 1348, of his giving the bishopric of Coriæ to a foreigner, he answered, " Did not the apostles, of whom the bishops are the successors, receive a commission from our

Saviour, to preach to all nations? Was St. James, from whom the Spaniards received the gospel, a native of Spain? Can you be surprised then, if the Pope follow the example of him, whose place he occupies on earth, and before whom there is no distinction of nations, or acceptance of persons; and if he choose capable persons, though strangers, to conduct the flock of Christ?" However, *Fleury* well observes, that a thousand years before this, pope Julius reproached the Orientals for making Gregory of Cappadocia bishop of Alexandria, who was not a native of the place. When the same Pope made many reserves of prelacies, and abbeys, making no account of the elections of chapters and communities, and was told that his predecessors had not done such things, he said, they did not know what it was to be popes.*

The popes did not even think themselves bound by what themselves had sworn to, before their election. In A.D. 1353, Innocent VI. refused to abide by the restrictions that he himself, as well as the other cardinals, had agreed to, and signed during the vacancy of the see. "That writing," he said, "is a prejudice to the plenitude of power, which God himself, with his own mouth, gave to the Pope only, since it bounds, and restrains it within certain limits. This power," he said, "could not be complete, if it depended upon the consent, discretion, and agreement of any others; and those rash oaths would be prejudicial to other churches." He therefore declared, that the cardinals had no power to make such agreements, and said, "We, and our successors, the popes, are not obliged to observe them, or the oaths made in consequence of them."

Though, in order to put an end to the great schism which had so long divided the church, of which an account will be given hereafter, it was necessary that a general council should assert a right of deposing the popes, and its superiority to them, which the Council of Constance did in the most explicit manner,† and Martin himself, who was elected pope in consequence of that council, had assented to it, he was no sooner instated in that dignity, than he claimed the same power that his predecessors had done. Having refused to condemn a treatise which had given offence to the Poles, they appealed to a council; but he immediately published a bull, forbidding all appeals from the sovereign judge, or the apostolic see, or to decline its decision in matters of

* *Fleury*, XX. p. 31. (P.)

† *Lenfant*, L. ii. Sect. iii. l. p. 89.

faith. This is the more extraordinary, as this pope, in his bull against the Hussites, in A. D. 1418, obliged them to swear, that what had been approved or condemned by all the general councils, and especially that of Constance, ought to be approved or condemned by all the faithful; and the superiority of the council to the Pope was among the decrees of this council. On this occasion Gerson, the chancellor of the university of Paris, and who was much looked up to in all the proceedings of the council, published a treatise, in which he maintained, that there is no sovereign judge upon earth, in matters of faith, besides a general council, alleging the decrees of this very council of Constance in his support. Notwithstanding this, the question remained undecided among the Catholics. The Gallican church, however, held the doctrine of Gerson.*

It is something remarkable, however, that no pope in this period pretended to personal infallibility in matters of faith. On occasion of the different decrees of Nicolas III. and John XXII., cardinal Fournier, afterwards Benedict XII., maintained that "Nicolas did not prove from the Scriptures, that what he advanced was true, but that the authority of the Scriptures had determined John in what he had decided. And, with respect to faith and manners, it is not true, that what has been decreed by one pope, cannot be revoked by another." On this occasion, *Fleury* observes, that the doctrine of the infallibility of the popes was not introduced into the schools till more than a century after this.

John XXII. submitted to the judgment of the church with respect to his favourite doctrine, concerning the state of the dead;† and in A. D. 1351, Clement VI., apprehending that he was at the point of death, published a constitution, in which he said that, if in teaching, preaching, or otherwise, any thing had escaped him contrary to the Catholic faith, or good morals, he revoked it, and submitted to the correction of the holy see. Also, when Urban V. was upon his death-bed, after professing his belief of the

* Clement V. made additions to the pontifical constitutions, which from him were called *Clementines*. John XXII. and some of the succeeding popes, added others, which, being miscellaneous, and without order, were called *extravagantes*. See *Giannone*, II. p. 233.

Clement VI. is said to have claimed more power, with respect to a future world, than had been done, at least in so direct a manner, by any of his predecessors. In his bull for the celebration of the Jubilee, he expressly commands the angels of paradise, to admit those who should die on their journey to Rome for that purpose, directly to the perfect glory of paradise, without letting them go through purgatory. But Baluzius says the bull is apochryphal. *Ibid.* p. 230. (P.)

† *An.* 1353. See Vol. V. p. 227.

Catholic faith he said that, if he had advanced any thing contrary to it, he revoked it, and submitted to the correction of the church.

The power of the popes in temporals, seems to have been as generally acknowledged as in spirituals, at least when it was favourable to the interests of the persons concerned ; but certainly no recourse would have been had to it, if his right to interfere had not been generally allowed.

Boniface VIII., in his instructions to his legates, whom he had sent into Hungary, to support the interest of Charles Robert, grandson of Charles, king of Naples, having heard that the lords had given the kingdom to the king of Bohemia, says, " The sovereign pontiff, established by God over kings and kingdoms, and holding the first rank over all mortals, judges tranquilly from his throne, and dissipates evils by his look. The first king of Hungary," he said, " gave his kingdom to the church of Rome, and would not take his crown but from the vicar of Jesus Christ ; knowing that no person should take to himself honour, if he be not called of God." He cited all the parties to appear before him, and he reprov'd the king of Hungary for calling himself king of Poland ; saying, that that kingdom belonged to the holy see, and forbidding him to use that title, or exercise any power in that country. This pontiff took for his device *two swords*, intimating, that all temporal as well as all spiritual power belonged to him. *

The popes claimed the sovereignty of all heathen countries, and assumed the right of disposing of them as they pleased, to Christian princes. Thus Clement VI., in A. D. 1344, made Lewis, son of Alphonso, king of Castile, king of the Fortunate Islands, he engaging to conquer them, and establish in them the Christian religion.

The popes, notwithstanding their long and hard struggles with the emperors, abated nothing of their claims with respect to them, and still less with respect to Naples and Sicily. On the death of the emperor Henry VII., in A. D. 1313, who had declared Robert, king of Naples, a rebel, pope Clement V. published a bull, in which he says, that the emperor's oath to himself, at his coronation, was an oath of fealty, and that Robert, being his vassal, could not be guilty of treason to the emperor. " We, therefore," he says, " by the superiority which we have over the empire, the power by which we succeed to the empire, during a

* Giannone, II. p. 225. (P.)

vacancy, and, by the plenitude of power given by Jesus Christ, in the person of St. Peter, declare that sentence null, and without effect."

The papal excommunications and interdicts, though, as we shall see, they were often disregarded, were perhaps more frequent in this period than in any other. The king of Denmark, having ill-used the archbishop of Lunden, Boniface VIII. excommunicated him, and laid his kingdom under an interdict, in A. D. 1297; and this measure brought the king to make his submission, and give satisfaction to the prelate. In A. D. 1324, John XXII. published a crusade against Galeas Visconti, the son of Matthew, who disposed of the benefices in the duchy of Milan at his own pleasure; promising the same indulgence to those who would engage in this expedition, as to those who went to fight for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels. This family was almost constantly at variance with the popes; and though they often made very light of the papal censures, they found it necessary to compromise their differences, and buy their peace at the last.

The popes, besides asserting their own rights, were in no want of strenuous advocates. Alvar Pelagius, a Spanish Franciscan, in a treatise published in A. D. 1329, of the *Complaints of the Church*,* maintained, that, "as Jesus Christ is the sole pontiff, king, and lord of all, so he has but one vicar on earth for all purposes. Christ," he said, "has not divided his power, but has given it, as he had it himself; the Pope is vicar, not of man, but of God, and all the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; so that every thing is the Pope's. The Pagan emperors," he said, "never held the empire justly; for he that is so far from God, as an idolater, or a heretic, cannot possess any thing justly under him." I do not remember to have met with any other argument in support of the papal power, that goes quite so far as this.

The Pope's power in matters of literature was something more plausible than over kingdoms; and in this period, it seems to have been taken for granted, though the origin of the power cannot well be traced, that no university could be established without the papal authority. Thus, in A. D. 1339, Benedict XII. instituted an university at Verona, for teaching law, medicine, and the arts.

* *De Planetis Ecclesiæ*, printed in 1474. "Ce savant évêque mourut à Seville, en 1352. Il joignoit à beaucoup d'érudition un esprit insinuant. Ses ouvrages respirent l'*Ultramontanisme*." See article *Paer*, in *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 834.

The exorbitant claims of the popes were far from passing without opposition, in this period, either with respect to argument, or methods more forcible and effectual. Marsilius of Padua,* and John of Jandun, who were supported by Lewis of Bavaria, (whose contest with the popes will be recited in another Section,) maintained in their publications, that Peter was no more the head of the church than one of the other apostles; that he had no more authority than they, and that Jesus Christ made no man his vicar on earth; that it was the business of the emperor to correct and punish the Pope, to appoint him, and to set him aside; that popes, archbishops, and simple priests, have all equal authority, by the institution of Jesus Christ; and, that neither the Pope, nor the whole church, can punish any person, without the authority of the emperor. These propositions were censured as heretical, by pope John XXII., in A. D. 1327.†

But spirited princes opposed the papal claims with more effect than writers, and the haughtiest of the popes were often obliged to give way to them. Boniface VIII. finding what offence he had given, by a bull of his, forbidding the clergy to give to the princes, without the consent of the Pope, limited it to *forced exactions*, leaving them at liberty to make voluntary contributions for the defence of the kingdom, and even allowing the kings to require such contributions, and to be the judges of the necessity of them, which was in fact undoing what he had done before.

Edward I. of England having demanded a fifth of the revenues of the clergy, they refused to pay it, pleading this bull of Boniface; but he insisted upon his demand, and seized their goods.‡ During the contests between Bruce

* "Surnommé *Menandrin*; fut *Recteur* de l'université de Paris dans la quelle il avoit étudié et professé." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 387.

† "Jean XXII. condamna cet écrit, [entitled *Defensor Pacis*,] un peu violent, quoiqu' intitulé, *Le Défenseur de la Paix*." *Ibid.*

‡ "Un démarche si hardie étonna ce puissant corps qui, depuis le commencement de la monarchie, n'avoit jamais rencontré une pareille fermeté, dans aucun roi d'Angleterre. C'est ainsi que quand le clergé rencontre des princes vigoureux, il sait plier avec autant de soumission, qu'il sait marquer de fierté, quand il n'a en tête que des princes foibles ou trop scrupuleux." *Rapin*, L. ix. An. 1297, III. p. 67.

Edward, in 1294, had "made a seizure of all the treasure he could find deposited in churches, monasteries, &c. throughout England, in one day." From the monks he had also taken "all their wool, and kept it, till it was redeemed at a fixed price." In the parliament, which met at St. Edmond's-Bury, in 1296, on the clergy's refusal to contribute, like the laity, Edward "put them out of his protection and defence," and directed his chief justice to declare, that "for the future, no manner of justice should be done them in the king's courts." The various severities which at length enforced the compliance of the clergy, made one of them exclaim, "*O mirabile et inauditum, auribus horribile!*" See *Parl. Hist.* pp. 106, 114—117.

and Baliol for the kingdom of Scotland, Edward claimed, and conquered, the country; when this pope alleged, that it belonged to him, and informed him that if he had any pretensions to it, he must plead his cause at Rome. "For," said he, "we reserve the cognizance of all contests that are, or may be, moved upon this subject, to ourselves." Edward replied, that this was not a cause to be brought before any court of justice; and giving the reasons for his claim, the Pope did not think proper to urge his pretensions any farther. *

During the civil wars in Hungary, when Buda was laid under an interdict by those prelates who joined the party of the Pope, others paid no regard to it. They even assembled the people, and excommunicated the Pope, and all the bishops and monks in Hungary.

When the emperor Henry VII. was crowned at Rome, in A. D. 1312, he had a quarrel with Robert, king of Naples, and their troops fought in the city. Upon this, pope Clement V. ordered them to make peace. But the emperor said, that though Robert was the vassal of the Pope, he, as emperor, did not hold his power of him; he only owed the Pope protection; and if he did not assert his power to do himself justice, he should diminish the rights of that empire, which he had sworn to maintain. The Pope was much offended at this answer, but made no further opposition.

When Innocent VI., in A. D. 1358, sent the bishop of Cavaillon into Germany, to levy the tenth of all church livings, for the use of the apostolic chamber, the clergy of the three provinces of Treves, Mayence, and Cologne, assembled, and absolutely refused to contribute any thing. They wrote to the Pope to give their reasons, and he, for fear of making a schism in the church, acquiesced. On this occasion also, the emperor convoked the princes of the empire, where the demands of the Pope were considered, and with great indignation refused. "The Romans," it was said, "have always considered Germany as a mine of gold, and they have invented many ways of exhausting it. Every year, great sums of money are carried from Germany to Rome, for the confirmation of prelates, the solicitation of livings, the prosecution of appeals to the holy see, dispensations, absolutions, indulgences, privileges, and other

* Edward treated the Pope with great respect, because he depended on his assistance, for the recovery of *Guienne*. See *Rapin*, L. ix. An. 1301, III, p. 78.

favours. Formerly the archbishops confirmed the election of the bishops, their suffragans; but in our times pope John has taken their right from them, and now he demands of the clergy a new and unheard-of subsidy, threatening with censures those who will not give it. Let us stop the beginning of this evil, and not suffer so shameful a servitude to be established."

When the kings of England were embarrassed, they often gave way to the exorbitant claims of the popes; but this was not the case with Edward I. or III. Clement VI. having given church-livings in England to two cardinals, Edward III. imprisoned their agents and drove them out of the kingdom, without paying any regard to the Pope's remonstrances.* And in A. D. 1390, the parliament of England made a law, forbidding any person to go beyond sea to obtain any benefice, on pain of being imprisoned as a rebel.† Pope Boniface was much disturbed at this, as king Richard II. was a person he much depended upon; and he published a bull, declaring the act to be null, as well as those of the two Edwards to the same purpose, and ordering those who were in possession of benefices on the pretence of those ordinances, to quit them within two months, with restitution of the fruits.‡ No regard, however, was paid to

* Upon this occasion there was a memorial from the parliament, dated May 18, 1343, offering "to the most holy Father in God, the Lord *Clement*—devout kissings of his holy feet." This memorial was presented to the Pope "by Sir John Shore-ditch, a man of great gravity and deep knowledge of the law." The Pope replied in separate letters to the king and his council. Edward rejoined in a letter to the Pope, dated Sept. 26 the same year, in which he reminds the holy Father of the "command from Christ to *feed* and not to *shear* the Lord's sheep." See the whole correspondence in *Barnes's* "Hist. of King Edward III." fol. 1688, pp. 273—278. See also *Rapin*, L. x. An. 1343, III. pp. 186, 187, *Parl. Hist.* I. pp. 270—274.

† In the 25th of Edward III. the statute of *provisors* had been passed, by which the king, and other lords, might present to benefices of their own, or their ancestors' foundation, and not the bishops of Rome. *Neal, Hist. of Puritans*, I. p. 1. (P.) This statute was now revived, and reinforced in 1418. See *Rapin*, L. x. III. p. 306, *Parl. Hist.* I. p. 470, II. p. 130.

In 1390, "the two archbishops for themselves and the clergy of their provinces, made protestation in open parliament 'that they neither intended, nor would assent to any statute or law to be made against the Pope's authority;' which protestation, at their request, was entered upon the roll." *Parl. Hist.* II. p. 469.

‡ The statute of *præmunire*, passed in the 16th Richard II. [A. D. 1393] enacted, that if any person purchased a translation to a benefice, or any other instrument from the court of Rome, or brought them to England, or received them there, they should be out of the king's protection, and forfeit their goods and chattels.

From this time the archbishops called no more convocations by their sole authority, but by licence from the king, their synods being formed by writ, or precept from the crown, directed to the archbishops, to assemble their clergy, in order to consult about such affairs as he should lay before them. Still, however, their canons were binding till the act of the submission of the clergy in the reign of Henry VIII. *Neal*, I. p. 2. (P.)

The statute of *præmunire* had been passed in 1376, at the end of the reign of

this bull, and the king ordered by proclamation, that all persons possessed of benefices, who were then at the court of Rome, should return to England, on the pain of losing them. Upon this, the English prelates left the court of Rome with great precipitation, to the great alarm of the Pope, who immediately sent a nuncio to England; and at the next parliament, though the king was disposed to favour the Pope, the nobles opposed it, but allowed of applications to Rome till their next meeting.

In A. D. 1376, there was a rising of many of the cities belonging to the Pope, against his authority, his officers being driven out, and the people carrying a standard, with the word *liberty* upon it. The Florentines having taken the lead in this revolt,* Gregory XI. passed upon them a sentence of excommunication and interdict. He also forbade all persons to have any commercial intercourse with them, deprived them of all their privileges and of their university, confiscated their goods, and abandoned their persons to any who would seize them as slaves. In consequence of this, the Florentines established at Avignon, where the Pope then resided, and also in other places, were obliged to return home; those who were in England became *serfs* to the king, and their property came into his possession. But at home the Florentines paid no regard to the censure. They were even the more animated to maintain the league, and published defamatory libels against the church, and the person of the Pope, who then sent an army against them, under the command of Sir John Hawkwood,† but this made no impression upon them. The Florentines, however, suffering much in consequence of the Pope's measures, sent Catherine of Sienna, a nun in great reputation for sanctity, and for her

Edward III. It was now reinforced. On this occasion, *Courtney*, archbishop of Canterbury, "made a long protestation in open parliament, 'that the Pope ought not to excommunicate any bishop, or intermeddle as to presentations to any ecclesiastical dignity recovered in the king's courts: that the said holy Father ought not to make translations to any bishopric within the realm, without the king's leave:' which protestation this archbishop prayed might be entered on the roll." See *Burnes*, Edw. III. pp. 887, 888; *Rapin*, L. x. *Etat de l'Eglise*, III. pp. 335, 336; *Parl. Hist.* I. pp. 477, 478.

* See *Machiavel's Florentine History*, 1674, B. iii. pp. 17, 18.

† This English Captain was engaged by the state of Florence in 1387, and died at his residence near that city in 1393, when he was honoured by a magnificent public funeral. *Hawkwood* was "the son of a tanner at Little Hedingham, Essex, where he was born, in the reign of Edward II." He was an "apprentice to a tailor in London," but soon "pressed into the service of Edward III. for his French wars." He afterwards became a favourite of the *Black Prince*, "for his valour and conduct at the battle of Poitiers." See *Machiavel*, B. iii. p. 52; *Burnes*, p. 533; *Rapin*, L. x. An. 1365, III. p. 226; *Gen. Biog. Dict.* VI. pp. 478—484.

visions, to make peace with the Pope; but she not being seconded by their own ambassadors, nothing was done.* At length, however, both parties being weary of the contest, another treaty was entered into, when the death of Gregory put an end to it; and Urban VI., presently after his election in A. D. 1378, took off all the censures from the people of Florence.

In this period, which abounded with writers, we find the power of the popes attacked in works of some extent and celebrity. Dante Alighieri, the famous Italian poet, who was of the Gibelline party, was the first who appeared in this new field of controversy, in three books *De Monarchia Mundi*.† He was followed by William Occam,‡ the Franciscan, in a treatise *De Potestate Ecclesiastica et Seculari*, written in defence of Philip, king of France, against Boniface VIII., and they were followed by several others in different countries of Europe. But in France the most strenuous defender of the rights of princes against the popes, was Peter de Cunieres, the king's attorney-general in the parliament of Autun. In consequence of these writings, and the discussion which they occasioned, the temporal jurisdiction of the clergy was much limited, especially in cases of excommunication, of sins, and of oaths; and in Germany the *pontifical law*, especially that contained in the *decretals*, lost much of its authority in the courts.§

The distance of pope John XXII. from Italy, and his difference with the emperor Lewis, were the causes of great disorders in Italy, where the cities were not only opposed to one another, but engaged in open hostilities and massacres, and all sorts of crimes were committed. The rebels getting the upper hand, the authority of the Pope, both spiritual and temporal, was despised. At Reccanati, his officers, sent to enforce his authority, were attacked and killed, to the number of three hundred. Of those who escaped, some were imprisoned, some dragged through the streets, and

* According to her biographer, *Catherine* was successful. "L'eloquence de la négociatrice fut si vive, qu'elle engagea le Pontife à quitter les bords du Rhône, pour ceux du Tibre." This famous *Dominican* sister died in 1380, aged 33, and was canonized in 1461. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 76.

† This treatise remained in MS. till 1744, when it was published at Venice. "Dante y soutient que l'autorité des rois ne dépend point de celle des papes." *Ibid.* p. 394, article *Dante*, *ad fin.*

‡ Called *Doctor Invincibilis*. He died in 1347. See *Occam*, in *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 757, or *Gen. Biog. Dict.* X. p. 6. An ancient custom at Merton College, Oxford, was occasioned by a dispute between *Occam* and his master, *Johannes Duns Scotus*. See *Pointer's Oxoniensis Academia*, 1749, p. 18.

§ *Giannone*, II. p. 226. (P.)

some hanged, &c. On this the Pope excommunicated them, and they despising this, he published a crusade against them. At this time almost all the cities of Italy belonging to the see of Rome were possessed by lords and usurpers, and it was only by sending armies that they were reduced. Among others, John de Vico, calling himself prefect of Rome, seized upon Viterbo, Toscanella, and other places in Tuscany; and though excommunicated by description, by John XXII. as an usurper of lands belonging to the church, and by name by Clement VI., he despised the censures six years, on which he was declared to be *suspected of heresy*, and excommunicated again, as *contumacious in matters of faith*. At length he was reduced by the warlike cardinal Albornos.

The sovereignty of the city of Rome, we have seen, was long disputed with the popes. At the accession of Clement VI., the office of *senator* was given him for his life, but not as pope. But a more serious opposition to his civil authority in that city, though not avowedly so, was made in the time of this pope, by Nicolo di Rienzi, a great enthusiast, as Petrarch and many others at this time were, for the glory of ancient Rome. In A. D. 1347, he got himself made *tribune of the people*, and assuming the whole authority, repressed injustice and violence, by which the citizens had long suffered, with great spirit and effect. He then proceeded to assert the right of the Romans to the government of the world, and the appointment of emperors, &c. But abusing his power, he was expelled by the people, and fled to the king of Hungary. By him he was at length delivered to the emperor, and sent a prisoner to Avignon, where he continued all the life-time of Clement VI. But as it did not appear that he had done any thing against the church, Innocent VI. sent him in A. D. 1353, with cardinal Albornos, into Italy, thinking he might be of use in appeasing the troubles of that country, especially at Rome, where he was still in great esteem with many. Accordingly, finding Rome in great disorder, and several attempts of the people to restore tranquillity having failed, he was received with joy, and reinstated in his former power; but again abusing his power in a shocking manner, he was murdered by the people in A. D. 1354.

It was chiefly the trouble that the citizens of Rome gave to the popes, from a jealousy of their civil power, that induced them to leave it, and at length to fix their residence at Avignon, where they continued more than half a century.

Finding, however, many inconveniencies from their residence out of Italy, and being much importuned to return, Urban V., in A. D. 1367, went to Italy with a view to reside there. At Viterbo, where he staid four months, deputies from Rome offered him the full sovereignty of the city, and the possession of the castle of St. Angelo; and he entered Rome on the 16th of October, which was sixty-three years after Benedict XI. left that city. His entry was made with two thousand armed men, the clergy and the people receiving him with great solemnity and joy. Being, however, dissatisfied with their conduct, he left them, and returned to Avignon. The people of Rome being determined to have a pope who should reside among them, sent a deputation to his successor, Gregory XI., to request that he would come; and it appearing that they were determined upon the measure, and had even fixed upon another pope if he should refuse, he thought proper to comply with their request, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of his cardinals, and the king of France. The people of Rome promised him the entire sovereignty of their city; and on the 17th of June, A. D. 1377, he arrived at Rome, where he was received with every demonstration of joy. All the lamps of the church of St. Peter were lighted on the occasion, and they amounted to more than eight thousand. Rome has never been without a pope ever since. After this, however, two attempts were made to take the sovereignty of Rome from Boniface IX., but without effect; and the Pope ascribing them to the Colonna family, in A. D. 1400 published a violent bull against some of them, repeating all their offences from the time of Boniface VIII.

During the residence of the popes at Avignon, they gained several substantial advantages with respect to revenue and territory also, though they lost ground in Italy. In A. D. 1306, Clement V. appropriated to himself all the revenues of the first year of all benefices that should be vacant in England, in two years from that time, including bishoprics, abbeys, priories, prebends, and the smallest livings; and this was the beginning of *Annates*. Before this, some bishops had requested of the Pope the revenues of such churches as should be vacant in their dioceses, for one year, and he thought he might take to himself what he had granted to others.

John XXII. got much money by the translation of bishops, which had not been frequent before. In conse-

quence of this, when one bishop died, many were benefited by it, and the Pope did not fail to come in for his share.*

It appears by the letters of John XXII., that in his time Peter's pence was paid not only in England, but also through Wales, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Poland, though the origin of the claim does not appear. But the most important acquisition that was made by the popes, was that of the jurisdiction of Avignon, which was granted to Clement VI. for eighty thousand florins of gold, in A. D. 1348, by Joan, queen of Naples, who sold it because she wanted money. Afterwards the emperor, of whom it was held, consented to give him the entire sovereignty of it.

On the accession of Benedict XI., the constitution of Gregory X. was observed for the first time; for the cardinals did not enter the conclave for the election of a pope till after nine days. It had been renewed by Celestine V., and confirmed by Boniface VIII.

SECTION II.

Of the Difference between Pope Boniface VIII. with Philip le Bel, King of France, and with the Family of Colonna.

WE shall form a more distinct idea both of the spirit of the court of Rome, and also of that which by this time began to prevail among the laity, from the history of the differences between pope Boniface VIII. with Philip *Le Bel*, king of France, and the family of Colonna, which I shall, therefore, succinctly relate. Many of the clergy also, who frequently suffered from the encroachments of the popes, were ready to take part against them, and a spirit of free inquiry and discussion, which now prevailed, could not but be unfavourable to claims so exorbitant and ill-founded as those of the Roman pontiffs.

Boniface VIII., besides the violence of his temper, was thought by many to have used unfair means to procure the resignation of his predecessor Celestine, and therefore that his own election was liable to objection; and this circumstance, together with a prevailing opinion of his contempt of religion, gave his enemies a considerable advantage against him.†

* *Giannone*, VII. p. 229. (P.)

† Great doubts were entertained of the Christianity of Boniface VIII. One Nicolas deposed, that he was present at a conversation about the religions of the

In the beginning of his pontificate, Boniface published a bull, forbidding the clergy to pay any thing by way of subsidy to the temporal princes, without his express consent. This, considering the great proportion of the lands that were then held by the clergy, and their great wealth, was thought very unreasonable, those persons who enjoyed the most in any state being under a natural obligation to contribute the most to its defence. No regard, therefore, was paid to this bull, and afterwards he limited it, as was mentioned before, to forced exactions, leaving the clergy to make what voluntary contributions they should think proper.

Philip resenting this interference of the Pope, in matters of civil policy, in A. D. 1296 published an ordonnance, forbidding any gold, silver, or jewels to be carried out of the kingdom, or any strangers to traffic in it. The Pope, knowing that this wholly respected himself and his agents, was exceedingly offended, and remonstrated with the king on the subject, threatening him with ecclesiastical censures if he did not revoke his ordonnance. This, however, the king did not do; but it was not the immediate cause of the rupture between them.

About the same time Boniface, having a difference with the two cardinals of the family of Colonna, summoned them to appear before him; but they refused to go, and went so far as openly to assert, that the resignation of Celestine being uncanonical, he was not rightful pope, and they even demanded a general council to determine the question. A writing expressing this, published May 10, A. D. 1297, was signed by many persons, especially the French; and on the same day, the Pope published a bull of excommunication against them, deposing them from their cardinalship, and ordering them once more to appear before him, under the penalty of the confiscation of their goods. They disregarding this, he presently after issued two other bulls against them, and their near relations, especially James Colonna, surnamed *Sciarra*, ordering them to be pursued as heretics. They connecting themselves with Frederic, king of Sicily, who was at open variance with the Pope, and receiving his ambassadors in the city of Palestrina, in A. D. 1298, the

Jews, Christians and Mahometans, when Boniface said they were the invention of men, that there was no life besides the present, that there is no change of the sacramental elements in consecration, that there is no resurrection; and that this was not only his opinion, but that of all men of letters, though the simple and ignorant thought otherwise. This Nicolas declared to be said by him not in jest, but seriously. *Fleury*, IX. p. 179. (P.)

Pope demolished their palace, and the houses they had in Rome; and, moreover, published a crusade against them, with the same indulgences as for the war in the Holy Land, in order to drive them from Palestrina, and the other places which they held in the neighbourhood of Rome.

An army being by this means assembled, and Nepi taken, the Colonnas surrendered to the Pope, and he took off the excommunication he had laid them under; but he entirely ruined and demolished their castle at Palestrina. This being a violation of the terms on which they had surrendered, they revolted at the end of the year, when the Pope resumed his excommunication; and they, dreading his power, fled, some to Sicily, and others into France, where they lived in exile during all the pontificate of Boniface, and where they were materially serviceable to Philip in the rupture, which, on the following occasion, soon took place between him and the Pope.

In A. D. 1301, Bernard de Saisset, bishop of Pamiers, having endeavoured to persuade the count de Foix, and the count de Comminges, to revolt from the king, and having said that his city of Pamiers did not belong to the kingdom, the king, with the advice of his lords, and also of many doctors, both clergy and laity, caused him to be arrested, and committed him as a prisoner to the archbishop of Narbonne, his metropolitan, with the consent of the bishop of Senlis, and the archbishop of Rheims. At the same time, the king sent to the Pope, to request that he would degrade him, that he might be punished as any other person guilty of the same crime.

In the mean time the Pope, having heard of the transaction, wrote to the king, insisting on the bishop being set at liberty, and having his goods, and those of his church, restored to him, and that he might, with all freedom, come to Rome to be judged there. He also ordered the archbishop of Narbonne to release the bishop, notwithstanding the king's orders to the contrary. At the same time, he addressed another bull to the king himself, in which he says, "God has set us over kings and kingdoms, to pull up and to destroy, to build and to plant. Do not, therefore, persuade yourself that you have no superior, and that you are not subject to the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He who thinks so is mad, and he who maintains it obstinately is an infidel, separated from the flock of the good pastor." Then, after enumerating the misdemeanors of the king with

respect to the clergy, and the kingdom in general, he summoned the prelates of France, and the king himself, to appear before him on the 1st of November.

The king, highly provoked at this, assembled the principal lords of the kingdom, ecclesiastical and secular; and on the 11th of February, A. D. 1302, after publishing it by sound of trumpet through the city, he publicly burned the bull. Then, in a parliament held at Paris, he enumerated all the exactions and abuses of the court of Rome, which he said were increasing every day, and said, that he was determined to put a stop to them. The barons, having deliberated on the subject, declared that they were determined to bear these impositions no longer, even though the king should be willing to do it. But the clergy were much embarrassed, professing allegiance to the king for the fiefs they held of him, but requested leave to attend the Pope, on account of the obedience they likewise owed to him. This, however, the barons declared they would by no means permit.

On this, they wrote to the Pope, earnestly intreating that he would revoke his order; since, if they left the kingdom, all the barons would consider them as guilty of high treason, and as to ecclesiastical censures, they despised them. The barons also wrote to the cardinals, appealing to them against the Pope, and exhorting them to prevent a rupture between the holy see and the kingdom of France; persuaded, they said, after enumerating the encroachments of the Pope on the rights of the king, that they could not approve of such novelties, and such a foolish undertaking. The cardinals, in their answer, apologized for the Pope, as not having meant to claim any thing to the prejudice of the king's rights in things of a temporal nature.

Though no prelates attended from France, the Pope held the council to which he had summoned them, October 30, A. D. 1302, when he published a bull, in which he maintained that in the church there are *two swords*, the one spiritual, employed by the Pope, and the other temporal, in the hands of princes, according to the order or permission of the Pope; and that to hold a contrary doctrine was Manichæism, or that of *two principles*. He concluded with saying, that it was necessary to salvation, that every human being be subject to the Pope. On the same day he published an excommunication against all those who had hindered any person from going to Rome, though they should be kings or emperors, which was evidently levelled at the king of France, for preventing his prelates attending that council.

The Pope then sent a nuncio into France, requiring of the king, among other things, to justify his conduct in burning his bull, under the penalty of revoking all the privileges granted by himself or his predecessors to him, his family, or his officers; and informing him, that if he did not give him satisfaction with respect to his complaint, he would proceed against him temporally and spiritually, as he should judge proper. The king answered particularly, and without asperity, to every article of his complaints; declaring that he had no intention to do any thing in contempt of the Pope, or of the church; but the Pope was by no means satisfied with it.

After this, the king held a council at Paris, attended by many prelates, as well as lords; when William de Nogaret, a professor of law, maintained that Boniface was unjustly possessed of the holy see; that he was a manifest heretic, a simoniac, and guilty of numberless enormous crimes; and that he could not be tolerated but with the destruction of the church. He then demanded a general council for the purpose of deposing him, and said, that in the mean time, he ought to be seized and imprisoned. Lastly, addressing himself to the king, he said, "You, Sire, are bound to do this for the maintenance of the faith, especially as a king whose duty it is to exterminate all the wicked, by the oath that you have taken to protect the churches of your kingdom, and by the example of your ancestors, which obliges you to deliver the Roman church from oppression."

The Pope perceiving that the difference must now be decided by arms, in order to strengthen himself against Philip, declared his approbation of the election of Albert of Austria to the empire, though he had opposed him before, treating him as a rebel, and a murderer of Adolphus. But before he did this, Albert acknowledged the power of the Pope to create an emperor, that kings and emperors receive from the Pope the power of the material sword, and he promised to defend the rights of the Pope against all his enemies, and to make no alliance with them, but to make war on them if the Pope should order him to do so. The Pope also gained Frederic, king of Sicily, by absolving him from the excommunication he lay under, taking off the interdiction from his kingdom, and approving his marriage; Frederic acknowledging that he held the kingdom of Sicily as vassal to the Pope, and promising to pay him every year three thousand ounces of gold. He was also to send him a hundred knights well armed, to serve for three months, as

often as the Pope should have occasion for them, and to have for friends and enemies those of the church of Rome.

The Pope, strengthened by these alliances, declared himself not satisfied with the apology of the king; and in a letter addressed to the cardinal Le Main, then in France, April 13, A. D. 1303, he ordered him to denounce the king as an excommunicated person, and also those who should administer the sacrament to him, or celebrate mass in his presence, of what rank soever they might be, even though they were archbishops.

On this, the king called a council of his nobles and prelates, the 13th of June, when the principal nobility did not hesitate to declare against Boniface; saying that the church was in danger under his conduct, and that the king ought to procure the calling of a general council. But the clergy desired time to deliberate. The next day, William de Plessis produced a writing, containing twenty-nine articles of accusation against the Pope, among which were his disbelief of the immortality of the soul, and of transubstantiation. He also alleged that it was commonly said that he did not believe fornication to be a sin, that he paid no regard to the fasts of the church, but ate flesh at all times, and without any reason. After this, he repeated his request to the king and the prelates to call a general council, and in the mean time to make their appeal to it.

On this, the king recited his act of appeal, and desired the clergy to procure the calling of a council as soon as possible. However, the clergy said that they would not make themselves parties in the case, but, constrained by necessity, they joined in the appeal to a future council, and declared that, if the Pope should proceed against the king by excommunication, they would not be influenced by it, but defend the king, and those who adhered to him, with all their power. In return, the king promised to defend them all against the Pope. Pursuing this conduct, he ordered the estates of all foreign prelates to be seized. The university and the chapter of Paris, and the Dominicans who were there, declared their adherence to the appeal, and in August and September the king had received more than seven hundred public acts of the same nature, from bishops, chapters of cathedral churches, abbots, and monks of divers orders, universities, lords, communities and cities.

The Pope hearing of this, published several bulls on the 15th of August, in which he treated the charge of heresy against himself as a mere calumny, and the calling of a

council without him as a thing impossible; and concluded with threatening the king to proceed against him, and all his adherents, in a proper time and place. As these bulls could not now be delivered in the usual form, in France, he made a constitution, by which their being published in Rome, was declared to be sufficient.

In the mean time, the king, having determined on his measures, sent Stephen Colonna, and other Italians, men of ability and spirit, with William de Nogaret, to seize the Pope, and bring him to Lyons, where the council was to be held, while the Pope was at Anagni, with his cardinals and his court, thinking himself perfectly safe in his native city; and there he drew up another bull, in which he said, that though, as vicar of Jesus Christ, he had the power of governing kings with a rod of iron, and breaking them as a potter's vessel, he had used the most gentle means with the king of France; but that these having had no effect, he now absolved all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, forbidding them, under pain of anathema, to obey him, or render him any service, and declaring all his treaties with other princes null.

But, the day before this bull was to have been published, September the 7th; William de Nogaret, accompanied by Sciarra Colonna, and some lords of the country, with three hundred horsemen, and many foot soldiers, who had been sent into the country in small bodies, and in disguise, entered Anagni, crying, "Long live the king of France, and die the Pope." Being then joined by the citizens, they seized the Pope after some resistance, the cardinals flying, and hiding themselves. Boniface now finding himself in their power, and expecting nothing less than death, put on his pontifical dress, saying he would die in it, and taking in his hands the keys and the cross, placed himself in the pontifical chair.

In the evening, Nogaret informed him of the cause of his seizure, which he assured him was not to offer him any violence, but to conduct him to the general council, which would be held whether he consented to it or not. Colonna behaved with less respect, and insulted him; but though they urged him much to resign, he declared he would not, but would rather die. After some days, the inhabitants of Anagni, repenting of their having abandoned the Pope, and perceiving the small number of those who had seized him, rose against the French, crying, "Long live the Pope, and die the traitors;" and with some difficulty they drove them

from the palace and the city. The Pope, being now at liberty, immediately left the place, and went directly to Rome, determined to assemble a council, and take his full revenge on the king of France; but on the 11th of October he died, in consequence of the mortification to which he had been exposed.*

Clement V. who succeeded Boniface, was a Frenchman, and before his election entered into several stipulations with Philip,† whose concurrence had great influence in his election, and in consequence of this, he annulled all the censures of Boniface against the king; but he declined doing what the king much insisted upon with respect to that pope, whom he would have condemned as a heretic, and his bones dug up and burned.

SECTION III.

Of the Contests between the Popes and Lewis of Bavaria.

THE contest of the popes with the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, was of longer continuance than that with Philip *Le Bel*, and ended more favourably for them. Lewis, at his election in A. D. 1314, had a rival in Frederic, duke of Austria,‡ and the son of Albert; but in A. D. 1322 he defeated him in a pitched battle,§ and obliged him to renounce his pretensions to the empire, so that he remained without a rival. But he incurred the displeasure of John XXII. by taking the part of the Gibellines in Italy, at the head of whom were the Viscontis of Milan, who had been declared excommunicated and heretics. Persisting in this opposition to the Pope, he was, in A. D. 1323, warned to desist

* See the article *Boniface VIII.* in *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. pp. 447—449.

† On the death of Boniface there was a dispute among the Italian and French cardinals; but it was compromised by the latter naming three of their countrymen, and the former choosing one of the three. The king, being apprized of their intended choice, viz. Bertrand de Gouth, archbishop of Bourdeaux, entered into stipulations with him, the Pope engaging to grant him six things, five of them named at the time, and one to be mentioned afterwards. (*P.*)

The immediate successor of Boniface was Benedict XI., who was poisoned in 1304. He had annulled the bulls of his predecessor against Philip, and re-established the Colonnas. After great contentions among the cardinals, Clement V. was elected in 1306; and in 1309, transferred the papal seat to Avignon. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. pp. cxx. 374, II. p. 215.

‡ His nephew, who had been chosen by another party of electors, and consecrated at Cologne. *Ibid.* IV. p. 157.

§ They had in vain attempted to refer their pretensions to be decided by a combat between fifteen champions on each side. *Ibid.*

from the administration of the empire, and the protection of the enemies of the church, under pain of excommunication; and all persons ecclesiastical and secular were charged, under the same penalty, not to obey him. Lewis remonstrated, that he knew nothing of the heresy of the Visconti, but supposed that the Pope considered those as rebels to the church who were faithful to the empire, and said that the Pope himself was a favourer of heretics, in his proceedings against the *Fratricelli*, of which an account will be given hereafter. He therefore appealed, as Philip of France had done, to a general council.* He also published in Germany, that the object of the Pope was to deprive the electors of their right. This, however, the Pope said he was far from doing; and that the paternal hand which had raised them could not mean to injure them. This he said on the idea that Gregory V. had given to the electors the right of choosing an emperor.

Lewis persisting in his opposition, by assisting the Gibelines in Italy, the Pope, on the 15th of July, A. D. 1324, published a definitive sentence against him, depriving him of his title and office, under pain of excommunication, if he did not make his submission before the 1st of October. But so far was Lewis from making any submission, that, in a great diet at Saxenhausen, he treated the Pope as an enemy of the peace both in Italy and Germany, as having publicly said, that when the secular princes were divided, then the Pope was really Pope, and feared by all the world; that he considered all his enemies as heretics, especially if they were faithful to the empire. He then charged him with heresy, in his condemnation of the *Fratricelli*, and again appealed to a general council.

In A. D. 1327, Lewis, being arrived in Italy, again denounced John XXII. as a heretic, and unworthy of being pope; objecting to him sixteen articles of accusation, which he did with the advice of many bishops, other prelates, and many Franciscans; and with them was the master of the Teutonic knights, and all the schismatics. The chief of these articles of accusation was, that he was an enemy of the poverty of Jesus Christ, in maintaining that he had something in property. In contempt of the Pope's excommunication, he had always persons to perform divine service for him, and who, moreover, excommunicated the Pope, calling him in derision *prester John*. In answer to this, the Pope charged Lewis with the heresies specified in his bulls,

* Du Pape mal instruit, au Pape mieux instruit, et enfin au Concile général. *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 158.

declared him again deprived of all his dignities, and forbade any person to obey him.

Lewis entered Rome January 7, A. D. 1328, and caused himself to be crowned emperor on the 17th, by James Albertin, who had been bishop of Castello, or Venice, but had been deposed by John XXII.; and, after enumerating the crimes with which he charged the Pope, (among which he reckoned his employing ecclesiastical persons to fight for him, his assuming temporal as well as spiritual power, which Jesus Christ had distinguished, and put into different hands, when he said, "*My kingdom is not of this world*," and his refusing to reside in Rome,) he solemnly pronounced his deposition from the papal dignity.

Before the emperor left the city, James Colonna, the friend of Petrarch, distinguished himself by the boldness of his conduct in favour of the Pope. Standing in the public square of St. Marcel, in the hearing of more than a thousand persons, he read a bull of the Pope against Lewis, declaring that John was a Catholic and lawful pope, and Lewis and all his adherents excommunicated. He also offered to prove what he had advanced by reason, and if necessary by the sword, in a proper place. Then, without opposition, he fixed the Pope's bull to the door of the church of St. Marcel, and immediately mounting his horse, made his escape.

After this coronation, Lewis proceeded to appoint another pope, and made choice of Peter Rainallucci, a Franciscan, who took the name of Nicolas V. He published bulls against John, as John, in return, did against him. Presently after this, the affairs of Lewis beginning to decline, he was obliged to leave Rome, and as soon as he was gone, the citizens returned to the obedience of John.

The pontificate of Nicolas was of no long continuance. Being seized by count Boniface in A. D. 1330, he was delivered up to the Pope at Avignon, where he made an ample confession of every thing that he had done, and according to the stipulations with the count, his life was spared, and he had every indulgence that he could have in a state of confinement, in which he lived three years. After this, Lewis was very desirous of being reconciled to the Pope, provided he might be acknowledged emperor, but this the Pope refused. However, the king of Bohemia, who made the proposal for him, did not abandon him, but went into Italy, as his vicar of the empire.

The quarrel of John XXII. was taken up by Clement VI., who in A. D. 1343 published a bull against Lewis, requiring

him to desist from the title of emperor, and the administration of the empire, and appear before him within three months; declaring that otherwise he would proceed against him according to the enormity of his actions. This term having expired without his making any submission, he was declared to be contumacious. But Lewis threatening the king of France, that, if any thing was done against him, he would consider him as the author of it, and Philip interceding with the Pope in his favour, nothing further was done against him at that time.

The next year Lewis was near being reconciled to the Pope, but it was on the most humiliating terms. He consented to confess all the errors and heresies that had been laid to his charge, to renounce the empire, to resume it as a favour from the Pope, and leave himself, his queen, his goods and estates, at the Pope's disposal. He also swore, in the presence of a notary sent by the Pope, that he would observe all these terms, and never revoke them. But the princes of the empire had more spirit than their head. They objected to these terms, as tending to the destruction of the empire, and remonstrated with the Pope on the occasion. At this he was much offended, and proceeded to take farther measures against Lewis.

In A. D. 1346, Clement pronounced a sentence of deposition against Lewis,* and invited the electors to choose another king of the Romans; and Charles of Luxemburg promising that, if he were chosen, he would fulfil all the engagements of his grandfather Henry and his predecessors, that he would revoke all that had been done by Lewis, that he would not take possession of Rome or any place belonging to the church, in or out of Italy, or of the kingdoms of Sicily, Sardinia, or Corsica; that he would not even enter Rome till the day of his coronation, and leave it the day after, and that he would never return into the territories of the church without the Pope's leave, he recommended him; and when he was elected, he confirmed the election, in a bull in which he said, "God had given to the Pope, in the person of St. Peter, full power of ecclesiastical and terrestrial empire."

Henry Busman, archbishop of Mayence, taking the part of

* In a *bull* which contained the following malediction: Let the wrath of God, of St. Peter, and St. Paul, fall upon him, in this world and the next; let the earth swallow him up alive; let his memory perish; let all the elements fight against him; let his children fall into the hands of their enemies, in sight of their father. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 158.

Lewis of Bavaria, Clement VI. pronounced his deposition, and appointed Gerlan, a son of the count of Nassau, in his place; but Henry despised the sentence of the Pope, and there was a schism in that church on this account eight years, as long as Henry lived, each of the claimants exercising the spiritual and temporal power where they prevailed, and excommunicating each other. In fact, they were at open war, and by plundering and burning places, the diocese suffered so much, that it did not recover in an age the losses of these eight years.

Lewis, however, continued in a state of contempt of the Pope and his excommunications till his death, which was sudden, on the 11th of October, A. D. 1347; and notwithstanding this, he was buried with great ceremony, as emperor, by his son Lewis, marquis of Brandenburg. After his death, Charles was soon universally acknowledged emperor, the other competitors making terms with him.

SECTION IV.

The History of the great Schism in the West.

THE firm hold which the idea of the necessity of *a head of the church* had taken on the minds of the generality of Christians was never so strongly evidenced, as in the history of the *great schism*, which took place in the Popedom on the death of Gregory XI. Had the sun in the firmament been divided into two parts, the Christian world could not have been more disturbed. Indeed, in that state of men's minds, the evils which arose from the schism were very great; the violence of the parties against each other being excessive, and the exactions of the rival popes to augment their revenues and increase their power, most oppressive; not to mention the many lives that were lost in the quarrel.

No schism was productive of so much evil as this. The competitors, not content with thundering their anathemas against each other, desolated Europe, and especially Italy, with their armies, and those of their partisans. There were treasons, poisonings, massacres, assassinations, furious battles, robberies and piracies, every where. This schism was also the occasion of civil wars in all the states of Christendom: for, in the countries in which any of the competitors was generally acknowledged, there was always some city or community that held for the other; and frequently the same

city and the same family was divided, so that there was no rest or safety any where.*

We see in the strongest light in this history, the influence of power, on the mind of man. In almost all the cases of the death of any pope, choice was made of a successor, who promised the fairest to be ready to resign his office, in order to promote the peace of the church; but in all the cases, from being apparently the most meek and unambitious of men, they proved to be the most tenacious of their power, and averse to every measure that tended to deprive them of it, notwithstanding the benefit that would manifestly have accrued to the church, and to the world, from their cession.

Many had been the attempts of the people to bring the popes from Avignon, where they had resided near a century,† to their city. But, besides that they had all been Frenchmen, they found themselves more at their ease at a distance from that turbulent city, and their power in other respects was not diminished. At length, however, Urban V. yielded to their importunity, and actually went to Rome, but he returned to Avignon before his death.‡ Gregory XI., who also went thither, was determined to have returned, but he died before he could execute his resolution, the 27th of March, A. D. 1378.

At the time of his death there were sixteen cardinals at Rome, of whom four were Italians, six at Avignon, and one on a mission in Tuscany. Before they proceeded to the election of a successor to Gregory, the citizens of Rome made a strong remonstrance against their choosing any other than an Italian, representing to them, that during the residence of the popes at Avignon, the cities belonging to the church had revolted, the people having been oppressed by the officers, who were strangers, and the revenues of the church exhausted in wars to recover them; and that not only Rome, but all Italy, had suffered greatly by this means. While the cardinals were assembled in the conclave, the

* Lenfant's *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, 1724, I. p. 50. (P.)

† From 1306 about 70 years, a period which the Romans have named *The Captivity of Babylon*. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 216.

‡ On the 17th of April, A. D. 1370, Urban V. left Rome to go to Avignon, on the pretence of negotiating a peace between the kings of France and England, though St. Brigitte of Sweden, a woman in great fame for her sanctity, and the founder of a new order of nuns, confirmed by this pope, told him that his resolution was a foolish one, and he would never accomplish his journey. He arrived, however, at Avignon the 24th of September, but he died the 19th of December following, before he had proceeded so far as he had intended, in order to negotiate the peace. (P.)

populace were exceedingly clamorous for a *Roman Pope*, and after some debate they agreed in the choice of Barthlemi di Prignano, a native of Naples and archbishop of Bari; but as they had not chosen a native of Rome, they were afraid of the populace, and dispersed. However, the magistrates of the city, when they were informed of the election, were well satisfied with it, and waited upon the new pope to pay him their respects, though, in this stage of the business, he refused any other appellation than that of archbishop of Bari. On this, six of the cardinals, who had retired to the castle of St. Angelo, at the request of the magistrates came to the palace, and joining five others, repeated the election for the greater safety. The new pope then accepted their nomination in the usual form, and was enthroned by the name of Urban VI. This was April 9, A. D. 1379.

Urban is universally allowed to have been a man of an excellent private character, learned, devout, and a great enemy of simony, but too austere in his manners. On the 18th of April he was solemnly crowned, with all the usual ceremonies, all the sixteen cardinals assisting: for the four who had gone out of Rome were returned, and for three months they all lived with Urban as pope. They, moreover, all joined in a letter to their brethren at Avignon, to inform them of their proceedings, and of their having unanimously elected Urban; and these in their answer acknowledged the election. Also he that was in Tuscany, coming to Rome joined the rest, and saluted Urban as pope; so that he was now expressly acknowledged by all the twenty-three cardinals of whom the college was composed.

It is probable, therefore, that the validity of his election would never have been disputed, if he had not given offence by the harshness of his manners. Very soon, however, he offended many of the cardinals by his severe reproaches of them for their bad morals, and especially for leaving their proper churches and residing at his court. But no resentment of this appeared till the middle of May, when thirteen cardinals went to Anagni, on the pretence of avoiding the great heats of Rome. But when they were there, they said, that the election of Urban was null, as having been made through force, and got Bernard de Sale, a Gascon captain then at Viterbo, to be their guard. He, passing near Rome, met with many who opposed him, and coming to an action, he routed them, killing about five hundred. He then proceeded to Anagni, while the people of Rome took their revenge on the French who were there, killing many of

them. Also Joan, queen of Naples, sent two thousand horsemen and one hundred foot for the defence of the Pope.

The cardinals at Anagni having now obtained a protection, on the 9th of August published a declaration against the validity of Urban's election. And on the 27th of the same month they went to Forli, where the three Italian cardinals joined them, each of the three, it is said, having been privately assured that if he came he would be elected. The other Italian cardinal being ill, remained at Rome, where he soon after died. Fifteen cardinals being now assembled, on the 20th of September they made choice of Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. He was a man well versed in public business, and related to most of the great princes of Europe. The six cardinals of Avignon approved of this election; and on the 13th of November the king of France, though after much hesitation, but with the advice of his nobles and clergy, did the same. His party was also joined by Joan, queen of Naples, though at the first she had approved of the election of Urban, who was still favoured by the people. The obedience of Urban comprehended a great part of Italy, Germany, England, the greatest part of the Low Countries, and Hungary. Spain continued some time undecided.

Clement, after his election, went to Naples; but being ill-received by the people, he went by sea to France, and took up his residence at Avignon, where he was received with great joy; and then he published a bull against Urban, as Urban had before done against him, promising the same indulgence to those who should join in a crusade against him, as if they had gone to the Holy Land. This violence of the chiefs exasperated the partisans of both, and in consequence of it many prelates in the obedience of Urban were seized by the favourers of Clement, and some of them put to death. Several cities and castles in the kingdom of Naples and the ecclesiastical states were taken and destroyed, as also many churches and monasteries; and murders, pillages, and other crimes were without number. The *Clementines* suffered as much as the *Urbanists*. Many persons took their party through fear, and many sold their obedience for money or preferment, which of course produced the promotion of unworthy persons; and the same evils prevailed in both obediences. Open hostilities were, however, chiefly confined to Italy, which was divided between the two popes. On the 30th of April Urban got possession of the castle of

St. Angelo, which till then had been held by the *Clementines*; and his partisans also gained a victory over the Gascons and Britons in Italy, who supported the interest of Clement. These advantages were by many ascribed to the intercession of St. Catherine of Sienna, who exerted herself greatly in favour of Urban, and who, going to Rome a little before her death, exhorted the cardinals to continue firm to his interest.

Urban being exceedingly provoked at the conduct of the queen of Naples in deserting his interest, excommunicated her, absolved all her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and declared all her goods confiscated. To execute these threats, he invited Charles, duke of Duras, to take possession of her kingdom; and as he was in want of money, the Pope sold a great part of the patrimony of the church, and the monasteries in Rome, to the amount of eighty thousand florins. He also sold the gold and silver chalices, crosses, images of saints, and other valuable things belonging to churches. But he obliged Charles to give his nephew, Francis di Prignano, many valuable estates in his kingdom. In order to guard herself against this formidable invasion, the queen adopted Lewis, duke of Anjou, and invited him to come to her assistance. But before his arrival Charles got possession of Naples, seized her person, and soon after put her to death.

On the 19th of May, A. D. 1380, the king of Castile after much deliberation, declared for Clement; but upon condition that he should appoint only natives of Castile to any benefices in his kingdom, not reserve to his own use the revenues or goods of dying prelates, and exact no tenths or pecuniary subsidies. Urban hearing of this defection of the king of Castile, published a violent bull against him, excommunicating him, deposing him, and even ordering him to be kept a close prisoner. He also published a crusade against him, with the usual indulgences. In this bull, which was published the 28th of March, A. D. 1382, *Fleury* says Urban exhausted all the most rigorous clauses of the Roman chancery. And as Lewis of Anjou marched with an army against Charles, Urban also published a crusade against him, in the usual terms. These measures, however, had little effect. Some troops were indeed raised in England with the tenths of the church livings, and the command of them was given to the bishop of Norwich;* but instead of marching

* "That prelate collected a great sum of money; besides jewels, necklaces, bracelets, rings, dishes, spoons and other, silver implements, which the ladies and other devotees gave, to purchase heaven." *Parl. Hist.* l. pp. 400, 401.

against the French, who were the chief supporters of Clement, he attacked the Flemings, though they were Urbanists as well as the English, and being opposed by the French, he returned without effecting any thing.*

Urban, dissatisfied with the conduct of Charles, chiefly because he did not put his nephew into the possession of the places he had agreed to give him, went to Naples, though against the advice of all his friends; and because some of the cardinals did not choose to accompany him, he published a violent bull against them, threatening to deprive them of their dignities if they did not soon follow him. The Pope, however, soon found reason to repent of the step that he had taken. For though, outwardly Charles shewed him all respect, when he arrived in Naples, he in effect kept him a prisoner, as well as his nephew, who was a man wholly abandoned to vice. While he was in Naples at this time, he took by force a nun of St. Clair, and kept her at his lodgings; and when the Pope was told of his disorders, he apologized for him, as a young man, though he was then more than forty years old. For this outrage, however, the king had him condemned to die; but the Pope interceding for him, he was not only pardoned, but a peace being made between them, he married a relation of the king.

The duke of Anjou found himself unable to effect any thing against Charles. For, not being able to bring him to a battle, his army perished by sickness or small skirmishes; and at length he himself died of chagrin the 20th of September, leaving his pretensions on the kingdom of Naples to his son Lewis who was scarce eight years old.

Charles having now no other rival in Italy, kept no measures with the Pope. They were at open variance, and had no communication together, the Pope choosing to reside at Nocera, when the king wished to have him at Naples. Thither, however, he at length thought proper to go, though not long after, he returned. The cardinals urged the Pope to make his peace with the king; and not succeeding, some of them formed a scheme to deprive him of his power. But he being informed of it, put six of them into close custody. Being tortured by his nephew, they confessed the crime, and the Pope deprived them of their dignities and confiscated their goods. Afterwards he in a particularly solemn manner on the 15th of January, A. D. 1385, excommunicated not only them, but Charles, Clement, his cardinals, and all who adhered to him.

* See *Rapin*, L. x. III. pp. 288—290; *Parl. Hist.* I. p. 399.

This violent conduct of the Pope provoked the king to send troops to Nocera, who plundered the villages in the neighbourhood, and seized all they could of the Pope's friends. They then took the city by assault, and besieged the Pope in the castle, which however he held seven months.

Raimond *de Beauce* coming with an army to the relief of the Pope, a consistory was held in his presence, in which the cardinals who were prisoners were told that, if they would freely confess their crime, they would be forgiven; but persisting in asserting their innocence, they were kept in prison, where they suffered most dreadfully by hunger, thirst, cold, and vermin. Not satisfied with this cruelty, the Pope had them put to the torture once more, but without producing any confession. After this, the king promised a reward to any person who would bring the Pope, alive or dead, and the cardinals who were of Naples, shocked at his violence, wrote to the clergy at Rome; saying, that his conduct was the principal cause of the schism, and proposing to meet them, in order to take measures for putting an end to it, but this had no effect.

By the assistance of Raymond, Urban left Nocera, August 8, A. D. 1385, and carried his prisoners along with him; but one of them not being able to travel fast enough, in consequence of what he had suffered by the torture, he was, by the Pope's order, put to death. In galleys sent by the Genoese, he went first to Sicily, and then to Genoa, where he arrived September the 3d. When he was here, several attempts having been made to deliver the six cardinals, some by force, and some by intreaty, he dismissed one of them, but caused the five others to be put to death in December 6, A. D. 1386, and soon after this he left Genoa, and went to Lucca, where he continued nine months.

In this year Urban was relieved from one of his enemies; for king Charles, having succeeded to the kingdom of Hungary, went thither, and was there murdered by the order of Elizabeth, the widow of his predecessor, who had the government of the kingdom after the death of her husband. Urban, however, was not benefited by this event; for on the death of Charles, the party of Lewis of Anjou, who were in the interest of Clement, got the upper hand in Naples, queen Margaret retiring to Gaieta.

At this time Urban was at Lucca, where he was urged by some of the princes of Germany to have a conference with Clement, in order to unite the church. But he was so far

from listening to the proposal that, on the 29th of August, A. D. 1387, he published a new bull, addressed to the bishops, in which he exhorted all Catholic princes to join against Clement, promising plenary indulgences as in the wars of the Holy Land. This, however, produced nothing in his favour, and Charles, king of Navarre, who always kept himself neuter, dying the 1st of January, A. D. 1387, his son declared for Clement, as also did John, king of Arragon, on the death of his father Peter, the fifth of the same month, so that now the whole of Spain, except Portugal, was in his obedience.

Clement discovered a better disposition than Urban; for in November, A. D. 1387, he sent ambassadors to the people of Florence, desiring that they would procure the calling of a general council, in order to heal the schism in the church; promising that if he should be declared pope, he would make Urban a cardinal, and that if Urban should have the preference, he would be at his mercy. But they declined interfering in the business, as they said it belonged to the sovereign princes to call such a council, and continued in the obedience of Urban. He, pretending that the kingdom of Naples was devolved to him, on the death of king Charles, set out for that kingdom; but falling from his horse, and also not having money to pay the troops that accompanied him, he was obliged to go to Rome, which he entered in the beginning of October, and where he died two days after.

The friends of Clement, who was a much younger man than Urban, had flattered themselves that the schism would end with his life: but in this they were greatly disappointed; for on the 2nd of November, the cardinals of Urban chose Peter Tomacelli, the cardinal of Naples, for his successor; and he took the name of Boniface IX. He was a man who spake well, but not understanding grammar, he could not write any thing; and being ignorant of the business of the court of Rome, he often signed what was presented to him without understanding it. As to the schism, there was no prospect of any termination of it; as the two popes fulminated bulls against each other, with equal violence, but equally without effect.

Boniface finding himself unable to support the war that Urban had undertaken for the conquest of Naples, admitted the claim of Ladislas, the son of Charles Duras, then seventeen years old, and absolved him from all ecclesiastical censures. Lewis of Anjou, however, having embarked at Marseilles, took possession of Naples, and on the 10th of

April, gained a considerable advantage over the party of Ladislas, whom Boniface supported at a great expense; so that his finances being exhausted, he sold estates belonging to the church, as his predecessor had done in support of the father. He also ordered to be paid into the apostolic chamber half the fruits of the first year of all the benefices in the gift of the holy see.* Clement also, being in the same want of money, exacted a tenth of all the church livings in France, and even of the revenues of the university of Paris, which, though with much reluctance, was paid. He was also the first who attempted to introduce into France the custom of seizing the goods of deceased bishops and abbots, and the revenues of churches and monasteries during a vacancy: but Charles VI. prevented it.†

In A. D. 1392, two Carthusians were sent by Boniface to Clement, and to the king of France, to propose an union. Clement refused to give them a hearing; but at length they obtained one from the king, who promised to do every thing in his power to promote it. Upon this the university of Paris took up the question, and procured several memorials to be drawn up about the best methods of putting an end to the schism. These were reduced to three, viz. the cession of both the Popes, a compromise between them, or a general council: but nothing would satisfy Boniface short of the expulsion of Clement.

From this time the members of the university took up the business with great zeal, and in a long discourse, drawn up by Nicolas de Clemangis,‡ represented the state of the case to the king, drawing an affecting picture of the evils that arose from the schism, such as the prevalence of simony, in consequence of which the most unworthy persons were raised to ecclesiastical dignities, intolerable exactions on the ministers of religion, the sale of relics, crosses, and every thing of value belonging to churches, the sale even of the sacraments themselves, especially that of penance, the diminution of divine service, the contempt of the church by Mahometans, and the encouragement of heretics. But the

* It is said that Boniface made *annates* perpetual, as inseparably attached to the church of Rome; whereas his predecessors had required them only on particular occasions and pretences, and as a free gift. Lenfant's *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, Anis. 1724, p. 101. (P.)

† *Giannone*, II. p. 232. (P.)

‡ Doctor of the Sorbonne; afterwards *Rector* of the university of Paris, and Secretary to the anti-pope Benedict XIII. He died in 1440, when he was Patron (*Provisur*) of the college of Navarre. Among his works, published at Leyden in 1613, is a treatise, *De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 214.

cardinal de Luna, sent as a legate by Clement, and who did not wish for a termination of the schism, managed in such a manner that the king forbade the university to proceed any farther in the affairs. The discourse, however, being sent to Clement, gave him great disturbance. From this time he was observed to be extremely dejected and pensive, and soon after, being seized with an apoplexy, he died on the 16th of September, A. D. 1394.

On this event the university, and the king of France, did every thing in their power to prevent the election of another pope; but the cardinals, being determined upon it, would not open the king's letters that were sent for the purpose, well knowing the purport of them. However, before they proceeded to the election, they all took an oath, that in case of their election they would do every thing that should be in their power to promote the union of the church, though it should require their cession, if the cardinals should think that measure expedient. After this, they unanimously chose Peter de Luna, who took the name of Benedict XIII.; he having always expressed the greatest zeal for the union, and having blamed Clement for not being in earnest about it. After his election he continued to express the same zeal for the extinction of the schism, whatever might be the sacrifice with respect to himself. But the whole of his subsequent conduct shewed that this was mere hypocrisy; and Boniface was as little desirous of the termination of the schism as himself, except by bringing the whole Christian world to his obedience.

The king and his council, seeing much time lost in deputations and embassies, convoked a great assembly at Paris, for the 2nd of February, A. D. 1395. More than six hundred prelates were summoned, and many attended. It continued a month, and at the conclusion of it, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the king's uncles, and the duke of Orleans, were deputed to wait upon Benedict, to request that he would fix upon one of the three methods of promoting the union proposed by the university, and recommending that of cession. Accordingly they waited upon him; but all that he would promise was, that he was ready to confer with Boniface and his cardinals on the subject. The cardinals approved of the method of cession. The same was also more strongly recommended by the university of Paris, from which a letter was addressed to all the other universities in Europe on the subject; but the university of Oxford recommended a general council.

The court of France was far from being satisfied with the conduct of Benedict; and the university seeing him to be inflexible, advised the withdrawing of obedience from him, and drew up a solemn act of appeal from his censure to a future pope. This provoked Benedict to publish a bull, in which he declared that appeal to be null, as being contrary to that plenitude of power which St. Peter and his successors had received from Christ, and the sacred canons, which forbade any appeal from the holy see. He also threatened to proceed farther against them, as their violence might deserve. The university then applied to the cardinals, and drew up a second act of appeal.

In January, A. D. 1396, ambassadors from several of the princes in the obedience of Boniface waited upon him, to persuade him to adopt the method of cession, and consent to a new election; assuring him that Benedict would do the same. But he was no less obstinate than his antagonist; replying that he was indubitably pope, and would not renounce his dignity on any consideration. In A. D. 1398, he received a deputation from princes in both obediences, the king of France, together with the emperor, sending Peter d'Ailli, archbishop of Cambray, to persuade him to consent to a new election. But having advised with his cardinals, he would return no other answer than that, when Benedict had resigned, he would act in such a manner as should give them satisfaction.

On the 5th of June this year, another great assembly of prelates and doctors met at Paris, when it was agreed to withdraw all obedience from both the popes; making provision for the disposal of benefices, and the receipt of such sums as had been usually paid to the Pope; and the cardinals of Benedict concurred in this measure. But when this resolution, to which the court acceded, was signified to this pontiff, he declared that he would keep his dignity until his death; and when the marshal of Beaucicourt was sent to compel him to resign, and get possession of the city of Avignon, he stood a siege in the place the whole winter, having before hand made provision for such an event; and he persisted in this resolution, though many persons about him died of the wounds they received, and for want of victuals and medicines. At length, the king of Castile also withdrawing his obedience from him, he agreed to the terms proposed by the king of France, which were to renounce the pontificate, in case that Boniface should do the same, or die, or be deposed, provided that protection should

be given to himself and his friends. He was not, however, permitted to leave the palace till the union should be accomplished.

Boniface was not treated with the same severity, and being in want of money to support himself and Ladislas, he sold every thing that was in his gift. He moreover claimed, as a perpetual right, the first fruits of all church livings, and the revenues of monasteries, whether the persons to whom they were given lived to take possession of them or not. Sometimes he sold the same benefice to two persons, and in order to render useless the expectative graces which he had given, he gave the same over again, with a later date, but with a clause of preference; so that for a long time no person would buy of him. He afterwards recalled all his expectative graces, even those which had the clause of preference, and likewise all his plenary indulgences for the jubilee, or the Holy Land, and all dispensations to the mendicants to hold church livings. But this was only a pretence for granting fresh graces, and getting more money. He was the more straitened when, on the death of Charles IV., he lost the obedience of Bohemia, by opposing the election of Wincelas, and also that of Hungary, in consequence of crowning Ladislas king of Naples.

Benedict continued four years in his palace at Avignon. But in A. D. 1403, he made his escape, and many of the people of that part of the country taking his part, his cardinals did the same, asking his pardon on their knees for their desertion of him. In these advantageous circumstances, he sent two of the cardinals to the king, and he, on farther deliberation, and finding that Boniface retained the obedience of all his friends, thought proper to return to his. But he would not permit the Pope to make any new disposition, which he insisted upon, of the benefices which had been conferred, while the obedience was withdrawn. In this state of things, Benedict, willing to shew that the continuance of the schism was not his fault, sent an embassy to Boniface. But though this pope gave the ambassadors a hearing, he was so much irritated by it, that, added to the stone by which he had suffered much, he took to his bed, and died, October 1, A. D. 1404.

This was another opportunity of closing the schism. But, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the legates of Benedict, and of the king of France, the cardinals proceeded to a new election; when they chose Cosmas de Meliorati, a native of Salmona, then very old, who took the name of

Innocent VII. However, previous to the election, all the cardinals took an oath, to do every thing in their power to promote the union of the church, though it should require them to renounce the pontificate.

The people of Rome discovering some jealousy with respect to their privileges, Innocent, to prevent any dispute with them, made them several concessions; but as they made new demands, he was obliged to arm in his own defence, and his captains seizing some of the heads of the opposition, and putting them to death, the people rose upon the courtiers, plundered their houses, and appeared in such great force, that the Pope fled to Viterbo. But the Pope himself not having had any hand in the murders, the people afterwards relented in his favour; and giving up to him the seigniory of Rome, he returned to the city in March, A. D. 1405.

For the purpose of having a conference with Innocent, Benedict went to Genoa in May; but the plague coming into that city, he returned to Marseilles. Both the popes published writings in their own vindication, throwing the blame of the continuance of the schism on each other, but neither of them was really willing to put an end to it, when Innocent died suddenly, the 6th of November, A. D. 1406. This opportunity, however, of closing the schism, was lost, as well as all the former, by the cardinals again proceeding to an election. As usual, however, they all took an oath, that the person chosen should resign, if the anti-pope should resign, or die; and then they chose Angelo Corrario, a Venetian, who took the name of Gregory XII. He was a man of an excellent character, and who, as soon as he was chosen, expressed the most earnest desire to close the schism; saying he would go to any place of conference for that purpose, though it should be on foot, or in the smallest bark. His letters to Benedict and the princes of Europe, expressed the same resolution; but his subsequent conduct by no means corresponded to his declarations. This, however, Leonard *Aretine*,* his secretary, ascribed not so much to himself as to those about him, who had an interest in his retaining his power.

In A. D. 1406, the parliament of Paris, after a long

* So named from his birth at *Arezzo*, in 1370. The name of his family was *Bruni*. He was the friend of *Poggio*. Aretine died in 1444, chancellor of Florence, whose history he wrote in Latin, and translated it into Italian. For this work, the Florentines honoured his memory, by erecting his statue, crowned with laurel. See *New. Dict. Hist.* l. p. 189.

debate on the subject, once more determined to withdraw all obedience from Benedict; and that in the mean time, the church should be governed as it had been during the former subtraction. At the same time, agreeably to the advice of the university, the king declared that a general council should be called, for the reformation of the church in the head and the members. This is the first mention of this object, which afterwards engaged so much of the attention of the Christian world, an object that was always kept in view by the friends of religion, but always defeated by the management of those who were interested in the continuance of the abuses.

In consequence of the resolution of the parliament of Paris, ambassadors were sent to Benedict; but having the liberty to act according to circumstances, they determined not to inform him of the decree of subtraction, lest it should prevent the proposed interview between the two popes, though the king perceived nothing but evasion in the conversation they had with him. At length Savona was the place fixed upon for the conference, and every precaution was taken to make it safe for both the parties. But Gregory, though at first so zealous for the union, absolutely refused, on a variety of idle pretences, to go to the place; and though the ambassadors of the king of France answered all his objections, and offered themselves as hostages for his safety, they could not prevail upon him. Unable to gain any thing from Gregory, they then applied to the senators of Rome, and the cardinals; and these promised that, in case of his death, they would not proceed to a new election, till both the colleges were united.

In the mean time, Benedict, being informed of the scheme of subtraction, drew up a bull of excommunication and interdict against all who should concur in that measure; and perceiving that Gregory declined the proposed interview at Savona, he went thither, and professed his readiness to go to any other place that should be fixed upon. Gregory, now unable altogether to recede from his repeated professions, went first to Viterbo, where he stayed three weeks, and then to Sienna, where he continued the rest of the year, amusing his cardinals with a proposal of cession, on condition that, during his life, he should have the title of patriarch of Constantinople, hold the bishopric of Moden and Croten, in the state of Venice, a priory which he had held in commendam before he was elected pope, and the

archbishopric of York, in England. At length, however, he went to Lucca ; but though Benedict was then advanced as far as Porto Venere, and informed him that he would not wait any longer, Gregory only answered in terms of reproach for not coming to Pisa or Leghorn, which he had proposed, instead of Savona. Being at this time farther encouraged by Ladislas taking possession of Rome, he openly refused every overture for a compromise ; and because a Carmelite exhorted him to it in a public sermon, he not only put him in prison for his presumption, but ordered that for the future no person should preach before him, till the sermon had been examined. This conduct, so very different from what he had given them reason to expect from him, gave so much offence to his cardinals, that they left him, and went to Pisa, where they signified their appeal to a general council. In answer to this, Gregory, though attended only by his four new cardinals, excommunicated them all, and deprived them of their dignities. But they made light of his censures, and in a public writing, treated him as a schismatic, a heretic, and a forerunner of Antichrist, and moreover, loaded him with every kind of personal abuse.

On the publication of the bull of Benedict, in A. D. 1408, the king and parliament of France ordered it to be torn in pieces, and confirmed the subtraction of their obedience. At the same time, they made an application to the cardinals of Gregory, without knowing what they had done, to join them in an appeal to a general council. Benedict hearing of this, and that the king had given orders to seize his person, durst not return to France ; but went by sea to Perpignan, where he called a council to meet that year ; and as four of his old cardinals had left him to join those of Gregory, at Pisa, he created five others in their place. Now again both the popes appealed to the world, laying the blame of the continuance of the schism, on their adversaries ; and to counteract the effect of the council called by Benedict, Gregory appointed one for the year following, in the province of Aquileia ; but not daring to return to Rome, where the people were irritated against him, on account of his connexion with Ladislas, he went to Sienna, where, however, he could not stay long.

The cardinals of Benedict, to the number of eight, having joined those of Gregory, appointed a council to meet at Pisa, to which they summoned both the popes, whose con-

duct they censured with much severity; and in the mean time, the clergy of France, in a national council, made regulations for the government of their church. There was at this time much difference of opinion in so new a state of things, about the power and the mode of calling a general council, now that this measure appeared evidently necessary, without the concurrence of any pope. But in a solemn consultation at Bologna and Florence, it was agreed, that it must be done by the cardinals of both obediences. And, what had more weight, this scheme was approved by the ambassadors from France, Sicily, Portugal, England, Hungary, and Poland, who were by this time assembled at Pisa. The Venetians also declared for it. Gregory, as might have been expected, protested against it, but without any effect. Till the meeting of the proposed council, cardinal Balthazar Cossa, who had been appointed vicar of the church by both the colleges, forbade the acknowledgment of either of the popes. At the same time Gregory's nephew, the bishop of Bologna, was driven from that city, and even in Rome itself no person called Gregory *pope*.

Benedict having made no reply to the first summons of his cardinals, they wrote to him again; but in answer, he summoned them to attend his council at Perpignan, which met at All Saints, and was well attended by prelates from Spain, and even from France, notwithstanding the guards that were placed to prevent any person going thither from that country. These prelates, however, differing about the best method of restoring the peace of the church, they all left the place, except eighteen, who advised the sending of legates to Pisa, and to agree to the measure that should be adopted there. To this Benedict consented, and accordingly he appointed seven legates from seven different nations. As to Gregory, he could not find any place in which to hold his council.

About this time, the people of Liege being divided between bishops appointed by each of the two popes, one of them retired to Maestricht, where he was besieged by his rival, with an army consisting of fifty thousand men; but he was relieved by the duke of Burgundy with another army, and a battle being fought, not less than thirty-six thousand men were killed on the spot, and among them the bishop himself, and his father, who were found among the slain, holding each other by the hand. This calamitous event had the good effect to alarm all Germany, and to

quicken their proceedings to put an end to the schism; and for this purpose, a great assembly was held at Frankfort, where deputies from the cardinals at Pisa attended, and where it was agreed to approve of that council, though the emperor was adverse to it.

On the 25th of March, A. D. 1409, the council of Pisa was opened. It was then attended by twenty-two cardinals, twelve archbishops in person, and fourteen by deputies, eighty bishops, and the deputies of one hundred and two more, ninety abbots, the deputies of one hundred others, the procurers of two hundred more abbeys, forty-one priors, the generals of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustines, the grand-master of Rhodes, and those of the other military orders, the deputies of all the universities, and those of more than one hundred cathedral churches, more than three hundred doctors of theology and canon law, and by ambassadors from almost all the princes of Europe. The cardinal of Poitiers presided.

After the usual solemn forms of opening the council, the two popes were summoned, and neither of them appearing, they were, in the third session, (March 30,) declared to be contumacious. At that time, in answer to those who said, that a council could not be called without a pope, Gerson,* chancellor of the university of Paris, delivered a discourse, in which he shewed, that the unity of the church consisted in Christ, its head; and that if there be no vicar, in consequence of his natural, or civil death, the church has a right to choose an indubitable one, and that nothing is due to an usurper, a heretic, or a schismatic.

The fourth session was attended by many other persons of consequence, some of them from a great distance, as the archbishop of Riga, some from Jerusalem, others from Sicily, the cardinal Landolf, from his embassy to Germany, and many more doctors of theology and law, from France and Italy. A question having arisen about the power of the newly-made cardinals, it was said that, in all cases of the election of a pope, the cardinals have a right to consult with whom they please, and to give them a right of voting; that the same was done in provincial councils, and that they who have embraced a neutrality, are more proper judges in the case, than those who adhere to one or other of the op-

* Called John Chardier, from a village of Champagne, in the diocese of Rheims, where he was born, in 1363. He died in 1429. See Lenfant's *Hist. du Conc. de Constance*, L. i. Sect. xxviii. L. p. 75; *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* II. p. 455.

ponents. However, the ambassadors of the emperor Robert maintained, that it belonged to the emperor only to call a general council, and appealing to a future one, properly called, they departed. At the fifth session, April 24, there arrived ambassadors from England, from the duke of Burgundy, the count of Holland, and many others.

In the fifth session, June 5, the council, after examining every thing relating to the schism, declared both Benedict and Gregory notorious schismatics, heretics, and guilty of perjury, that they had scandalized the whole church by their obstinacy, that they were fallen from their dignity, and separated from the church; and they therefore forbade all the faithful, under pain of excommunication, acknowledging or favouring them. And on the 26th, they unanimously chose Peter Philargi, of the Isle of Candia, a Franciscan, who took the name of Alexander V., who immediately confirmed all that had been done in the council, and united all the cardinals in one college. He also appointed another general council for the reformation of the church, in its head and its members, for April, A. D. 1412; after this, the council closed the 27th of July.

The proceedings of this council did not extinguish the schism. For, besides that many persons questioned its authority, the two former popes were still acknowledged, Benedict in the kingdoms of Arragon, Castile, and Scotland; and Gregory by king Ladislas, and some cities of Italy; so that there were now three popes instead of two. The emperor Robert also declared against Alexander, on account of his giving the title of king of the Romans to Wincelas, when he had been several years deposed.

Both Benedict and Gregory created new cardinals, and the latter now held his council at Udina, on Whitsuntide, A. D. 1409; and though very few persons attended it, he declared the election of Alexander, as well as that of all the popes at Avignon, as unlawful. He promised, however, to resign his dignity, if the two other popes would do the same; and if Robert, king of the Romans, Ladislas, king of Naples, and Sigismond, king of Hungary, would jointly call another council. This was universally considered as an evasion; since those three princes were at variance, and therefore not likely to agree in any measure of the kind. The Venetians being more particularly offended at his conduct, and having given orders for apprehending him, he fled in disguise to Gaïeta, in the dominions of Ladislas. On this, Alexander

published a bull against Ladislas for keeping up the schism, and by means of his legate, Balthazar Cossa, he drove him out of Rome.

Alexander was far from making the reformatations that were expected of him, in his court, and in all respects he conducted himself in a very imprudent manner, being governed entirely by Balthazar Cossa, who was supposed to have procured his death by a poisoned clyster, at Bologna,* whither he had persuaded him to go, contrary to the earnest request of the people of Rome. He dying, however, May 13, A. D. 1410, Balthazar Cossa was chosen to succeed him, and he took the name of John XXIII. He was a man of the most profligate morals,† and was said to have gained his election, by bribing some of the cardinals, and threatening others; but his elevation was chiefly owing to the recommendation of Lewis of Anjou, the opponent of Ladislas.

In A. D. 1411, John summoned a general council to meet at Rome, in April the year following, for the reformation of the church, and to oppose Ladislas and Gregory.‡ But soon after this, he made his peace with Ladislas, acknowledging him king of Naples, though he had before admitted the claims of Lewis of Anjou. For a sum of money, Ladislas had agreed to abandon Gregory, making, however, some stipulations in his favour. On this, Gregory retired to Rimini, where he was protected by Charles Malatesta, who never abandoned him.

As the council called by John was not well attended, in consequence of Ladislas opposing it, it was presently dissolved, or rather prorogued, and no place or time was fixed for its meeting again.

It now appeared that Ladislas had only amused the Pope with a treaty, while he took the opportunity of seizing and

* "Baptista Panætiæ, of Ferrara, a cardinal, in his 56th sermon, tells us, that the said Balthazar caused him to be poisoned by Marselius de Parma, his physician, bribed thereunto with a vast sum of money." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 185.

† Originally a *Corsair*. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 458; *Lenfant* allows him "de grand talens pour le monde;" *Constance*, L. i. Sect. iii. I. pp. 3, 4.

‡ A laughable circumstance is said to have happened at a council, held by John XXIII. at Rome, in A. D. 1412. An owl flew from some obscure corner of the church, and seated itself in the middle of the dome, with its eyes fixed on the Pope. At this some were terrified, as at an unlucky omen, and others laughed, saying, the Holy Ghost appeared in a strange shape; while the Pope changed colour, and was so discomposed, that he broke up the assembly. However, at the next session, the owl appeared again, and, as before, fixed its eyes on the Pope; when by his order, the prelates left their seats to drive away the owl, and at length it was killed. This is related by *Clemangis* as certainly true, though the fact is questioned by others. *Lenfant's Pisc.* II. p. 96. (P.) See *Lenfant's Constance*, I. p. 6, and *Clemangis*, quoted in *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 185.

plundering the city of Rome, in consequence of which, John, who had made himself odious by his exactions, fled to Florence, from which place he addressed letters to all the princes of Europe, to acquaint them with his situation. Not thinking himself safe in Florence, he went to Bologna, and in the mean time he negotiated with the emperor Sigismond, about the calling of another general council, as the only effectual remedy for the evils of the church. For this purpose, in his public instructions he gave his legates unlimited powers to agree with the emperor on the place where it should be held, though he instructed them privately to object to certain places that were too much in the power of the emperor. This prince fixed upon Constance, and the legates having full powers, acquiesced in the nomination, though that was a city of the empire, and on this account, the Pope was exceedingly mortified. He had afterwards a conference with the emperor at Lodi, but not being able to prevail upon him to fix upon any other place, he summoned the council in the usual forms, to meet there on the 1st of November, A. D. 1414.

In the mean time, John was relieved from the persecution of Ladislas by the death of that prince, who, when he was in pursuit of him, on the way to Bologna fell sick, and returning to Naples, died there on the 16th of August, A. D. 1414.* The Pope having now no wish to call any council, he was very unwilling to go to Constance; but his cardinals encouraging him, and having taken every precaution for his safety, especially the assurance of protection from the archduke of Austria, he set out, and arrived there on the 28th of October. At this time there were in that city not less than thirty thousand horses, belonging to persons who were come to attend the council, and many more arrived afterwards.

This famous council was opened on the 15th of November, † when John and his friends were very desirous of beginning with a confirmation of the Council of Pisa, on which his authority depended. But the French prelates insisted upon it that, the Council of Pisa having failed of answering its end, which was to promote the union of the church, they were not bound by its decrees, and that the authority of the present council was independent of it. This was particularly urged by Peter d'Ailli, the cardinal and archbishop of Cambray. This was the first circum-

* "Dans cette extrémité la mort inopinée de Ladislas, fut pour lui, une surprise bien agréable." *Lenfant's Constance*, I. p. 18.

† See the ceremonies on this occasion, in *Lenfant's Constance*, I. pp. 32—35.

stance unfavourable to John, and several others followed. On the 24th of December, the emperor, who was by no means his friend, arrived, and by his means such excellent regulations were made, that though there were not fewer than a hundred thousand strangers in the city, there was no disorder attending it, and the price of every thing was moderate.

It was another mortification to John, that the ambassadors of Benedict and Gregory, who were now arrived, were, by the advice of the cardinal of Cambray, and of the emperor, received with every mark of respect. Those of Gregory said that their master would resign, if Benedict and John would do the same, and the elector Palatine added for him, that he would do any thing to promote the union, provided that John did not preside in the council, and was not present at it. This, John rejected absolutely, as in the character of Pope he had convoked the council, and was there in person for the purpose of reforming the church.

Had John been a man of a respectable character, he had so much the advantage of his antagonists in the authority of the Council of Pisa, and the selfish avarice of his competitors, that he would easily have stood his ground ; but the infamy of his conduct was his ruin. There were several meetings of the cardinals and other persons, at which John was not present, and in these, great liberties were taken with his character, and his cession, as well as that of his opponents, was recommended, as the best method of promoting the union. Two other circumstances relating to the conduct of the council, deprived him of all influence in it, and put him wholly in the power of his enemies. It was agreed that secular doctors, and other laymen, should have votes in the council, and not the prelates only ; and what was still more against him, it was agreed that the votes should be by nations, and not by individuals, though this had never been practised before.

Those who were bent upon his expulsion, also drew up a long list of accusations against him, containing, as Theodoric *de Niem* says, all the mortal sins, and an infinity of abominations besides. They were, however, unwilling, as they said, to produce it, and much approved the mode of voluntary cession. At length John, perceiving their object and their power, after several attempts to make a conditional cession, to avoid the disgrace of a formal condemnation, on account of his vices, was induced to make an absolute one ; but as he refused to do it in the form of a bull, he was suspected of a design to make his escape, and measures were

taken to prevent it. However, by the assistance of the duke of Austria, he eluded their vigilance,* and went to Schaffhausen, whence he wrote to the emperor and the college of cardinals, assuring them that he had not come hither to evade his promise to cede the pontificate, but to give it the appearance of being more free.

Notwithstanding the flight of the Pope, the emperor encouraged the council to proceed, and Gerson delivered a discourse to prove that a council is superior to the Pope, and may act without him. Accordingly it was decreed that, being lawfully convened, they would not discontinue their sittings till the schism was extinct, and the church reformed in its head and its members. It soon appeared that the Pope had no intention to resign, and the cardinals shewed a disposition to favour his prerogatives; but the council, voting by nations, adhered to their purpose.

The emperor being at war with the duke of Austria, to whom Schaffhausen belonged, John was afraid to continue there, and went to Lauffenburg; and there, in the presence of a notary, and a few witnesses, he protested against all that he had done at Constance as done under constraint; though at the same time he continued in public to declare the contrary. Upon this the council, in their fourth session, asserted their right to act independently of him, and that all persons, the popes not excepted, were obliged to obey them, that John had no power to remove the council or its officers, and that whatever he should do to the prejudice of the council in his absence, was null.

The duke of Austria, the protector of John, being put under the ban of the empire, the Pope fled to Friburg, and thence he wrote to the emperor, promising to cede the pontificate, provided he might be perpetual cardinal legate of the whole church, that he might enjoy for his life the territory of Bologna, and the county of Avignon, a pension of thirty thousand florins, and give no account of his conduct. This extravagant proposal convincing the council that he was not to be treated with, they addressed a letter to all the princes and states, justifying their own conduct, and accusing him. They sent, however, a deputation to him, requiring him to return to the council, or send a bull of resignation, being determined, in case of his refusal, to proceed against him as a schismatic, and a heretic. The deputies found him at Brisac, and he promised to give them an answer the next

* In the disguise of a postilion. See Lenfant's *Constance*, I. p. 84.

day; but in the night he retired to Neuenberg, a place in the neighbourhood; but the commandant of the place obliged him to return to Brisac; and there, after having an interview with the duke of Austria, and other friends, and finding that it was not in their power to support him, he gave the count Berthold *de Ursin* a writing, in which he signified his resignation in the proper form, but with express orders not to deliver it till he received another order for that purpose.

On the return of the deputies, the council perceived that John meant nothing but to amuse them; and the duke of Austria having made his peace with the emperor, John saw that he must provide for his safety in the best manner that he could. He therefore gave the count his final orders to deliver his bull of cession. But his proposals were so extravagant, that they paid no attention to it, and issued another citation for him to appear before them in their next session, the 4th of May. They then sent the burgrave of Nuremberg to take the charge of him. Witnesses were then formally examined against him, and in their tenth session, May 14, he was declared a dissipator of the goods of the church, a simoniac, a scandalous person, a disturber of the faith, and as such, suspended from the government of the church, both in temporals and spirituals.

Not content with this, in order to his deposition, articles of accusation, consisting of seventy heads, were drawn up against him, confirmed by the oaths of thirty-seven witnesses, among whom were ten bishops. Among other things, he was accused of poisoning his predecessor, Alexander V., of having committed adultery, fornication, incest, and every crime of impurity; of having sold benefices, exercised an intolerable tyranny at Bologna, and despised the offices of religion; and on these accounts he was judged to be altogether unworthy of the pontificate.

In the mean time John, not having been prevailed upon to attend the council, had been conducted to Ratolfzell, where two legates from the council informed him of the decree for his suspension. He received it with marks of humility and submission, as he did that of his deposition, which was sent to him some time after; professing his readiness to resign the pontificate, whenever the council pleased. He only begged that, in their final sentence, they would respect his honour, his person, and his estate. After this he was conducted to the fortress of Gottleben, where John Huss was at that time a prisoner; and of all his

domestics, only his cook was allowed to attend him. From this place he was conducted to Heidelberg.

As Grégory expressed his willingness to resign, but not to acknowledge the council, as not having been canonically convened, in the fourteenth session it was called in his name, and the emperor presided, when his resignation was solemnly made in his name by his friend Charles de Malatesta. After this he was appointed to be the first of the cardinals, and perpetual legate of the March of Ancona, in which he continued till his death, two years after.

The conduct of Benedict furnishes such an example of obstinacy as hardly occurs in the history of the human mind. Persisting in his refusal to acknowledge the council, or renounce the pontificate, he was declared to be a notorious schismatic, and all the faithful were required to withdraw their obedience from him. Having, however, some respect for his private character, and wishing to close the schism in the best and most effectual manner, the emperor himself was appointed to meet and confer with him at Perpignan, and there he arrived the 18th of September, A. D. 1415. But Benedict, who had been there from the month of June, had left the place, and refused to return. He sent, however, some proposals, among which was the calling of another council, in which, after being acknowledged to be pope, he would depose himself, on condition that he should be continued cardinal legate *à latere*, with full power, spiritual and temporal, in the whole extent of his obedience, and that the new council should begin with cancelling all that had been done against him at Pisa.

These terms were deemed to be so extravagant, that there was no thought of acceding to them ; and even the kings, who had hitherto continued in his obedience, shocked at his obstinacy, now abandoned him. On this he retired first to Collioure, and thence to Paniscola, a strong place near the sea, and not far from Tortosa, deserted by all his cardinals, except those of his own family. In this sequestered place, at the age of eighty, he fulminated his bulls against the Council of Constance, and the king of Arragon ; threatening him with taking away the crown that he had given him ; and on their proceeding farther against him at the council, he threatened that, if they gave him any more disturbance, he would put the church into such a state as that it should never be able to recover itself. These and other instances of his obstinacy, and his breach of promise, in not resigning when his opponents did, were recited in

the act of his condemnation. Notwithstanding this, on being summoned for the last time, he treated the deputies with great haughtiness, and declared all the members of the council heretics, favourers of schism, and subject to all the penalties to which such persons were sentenced. After due attention to all the requisite forms, sentence of deposition was at length pronounced against him in the thirty-seventh session, the 26th of July, A. D. 1417, as a promoter of schism, a heretic, &c.

Having now disposed of all the three popes, the cardinals, after many solemn preliminaries, proceeded to a new election, when they chose Otho Colonna, of the ancient family of Colonna, a cardinal deacon, who took the name of Martin V. The emperor then entered the conclave, and kissed his feet, and the ceremony of crowning him immediately followed. *

Unwilling to leave any remains of the schism, even after this, another deputation was sent to Benedict; but though he had only two cardinals adhering to him, he replied, that they might depend upon him for pacifying the troubles of the church, and that he was willing to confer with Martin on the subject. This being considered as an evasion, the

* This council prescribed a confession of faith for future popes, and it may be seen in Lenfant's *History of the Council*, II. p. 125. [L. v. Sect. lxxi. *Histoire*, II. p. 515.]

In the early times it was the custom of bishops, at least those of the greater sees, to send to their brother bishops a confession of their faith; and these were various, according to the heresies that prevailed at the time. But this custom had been discontinued from A. D. 1294, when it is said that Boniface VIII. gave one. The discontinuance was probably owing to the idea of the superiority of the popes to all councils, the authority of which had always been recognised in the confessions. The superiority of councils to the Pope was clearly asserted on this occasion. In the seventh [fourth] session it was decreed that "every person of what dignity soever, even the papal, was obliged to obey the council in what respects the faith, the extinction of schism, and the reformation of the church in its head and its members; and that whoever disobeys it, though it should be the Pope, should be punished according to the law." *Ibid.* p. 227. [L. ii. Sect. xvi. *Histoire*, I. p. 104.]

The custom of crowning the Pope cannot be traced higher than the thirteenth century. The reasons for the triple crown, which is first mentioned at the coronation of Benedict XII. in the fourteenth century, are very various. *Ibid.* p. 165. (P.)

At this coronation of Martin V., after a most magnificent display, according to the fashion of this world, there was an admonition, not unlike that given by a slave in the ancient triumph. "Quand la musique eut cessé, un des cardinaux, qui étoit à genoux devant le Pape, et qui portoit l'étoupe, l'alluma et dit, tout haut, par deux fois, s'adressant à lui, *Saint Père, ainsi passe la gloire du monde.*" As the Pope passed in procession to the episcopal palace, mounted on a white horse, the Jews of Constance paid their homage, and presented the *Decalogue* and the *Pentateuch*. According to one account, the Pope received the books, and returned them, saying, "You have a law which you do not understand, old things are passed away—all things are become new." See Lenfant's *Constance*, L. vi. Sect. v. vi. H. pp. 547—549.

cardinal ambassador published a bull of excommunication against him, and his two cardinals. He continued, however, to act as pope as long as he lived, though confined to his castle of Paniscola. But he was again supported by Alphonso, king of Arragon, because Martin refused to give him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. Benedict died in A. D. 1424, at the age of ninety; but before his death he made the two cardinals who adhered to him take an oath, that they would choose another pope in his place. Accordingly, they chose Gilles Mugnow, a canon of Barcelona, who, at the requisition of Alphonso, accepted of the nomination, and took the name of Clement VIII. He even made a creation of cardinals. But Alphonso making his peace with Martin, this Clement abdicated the Papacy in A. D. 1429. Two of the cardinals, however, being determined to continue the schism, they first chose Francis Rouera, a doctor of the canon law, and he resigning in the requisite forms, they agreed in the choice of Martin; and thus the schism properly ended, after having continued fifty-one years.

Before this, John XXIII. after being kept in prison four years, was released at the intercession of the people of Florence, when he came to the neighbourhood of Parma, where he had many friends, who strongly solicited him to resume the pontifical functions. But instead of this, he went of his own accord, and made his submission to Martin, imploring his compassion, and in such a manner as drew tears from all who were present at the scene. The Pope received him with much affection, made him a cardinal, and dean of the sacred college, and in all public ceremonies placed him in an elevated chair, next to himself. But he did not survive this more than six months, dying the 22d of December, A. D. 1418. His particular friend, Cosmo de Medici, the wealthiest man of his time, without excepting even sovereign princes, honoured him with a magnificent funeral, and erected a superb monument for him in the church of St. John, at Rome.

SECTION V.

Of the State of the Clergy in this Period.

THE state of the clergy was nearly the same in this period as in the preceding; though the laity in general being now better informed, their disorders did not escape animadver-

sion. But the maxims on which the exorbitant power of the clergy, and all the abuses complained of, were so generally received, that a reformation was almost impossible. In point of *argument*, the clergy had generally the advantage. We find the fullest representation of the state of the clergy at the general council held by Urban V. at Vienne, in A. D. 1311. The principal source of the abuses arose from the power which the popes assumed of disposing of church livings in all parts of the world, which they almost always did for money, generally to strangers, who never resided, often to persons exceedingly profligate, and very ignorant. Their power to do this was not questioned, only the abuse of it was complained of; and when it was resisted, it was in an arbitrary manner, without solid reason. And what the popes did in the greater sees, the superior clergy did in the smaller benefices, which were at their disposal; and it could not be expected that they should dispose of any thing but in the manner on which they had acquired it.

Alphonso VII. king of Castile, applying to pope John XXII. in A. D. 1330, for a contribution from the clergy, in his wars with the Moors, said, that formerly the clergy, from their zeal, served in these wars, or maintained troops; but that now livings were given to strangers, who were only concerned to raise from them all the money they could. He therefore requested that they might be given to native Spaniards. But he did not question the Pope's right to give them to whom he pleased.

At the council above-mentioned, it was said that the source of the evils complained of was, the little care that was taken with respect to ordinations. A great number of unworthy persons were admitted to sacred orders; so that in many places the clergy were less respected than the Jews. Many clergymen of bad morals went to Rome, and obtained livings with cure of souls, in places where their irregularities were not known, which put it out of the power of well-disposed bishops to reward merit in their dioceses. Mention was made of one cathedral church, in which there were thirty prebends; but though the bishop had governed the church twenty years, in which there had been more than thirty-five vacancies, he had not had the disposal of more than two of them; and there were persons then waiting who had expectations in that church, or the promise of the benefices, when they should be vacant.

Another great abuse then complained of was, the plurality of livings. The same person, it was said, and often an

incapable person, was possessed of four or five churches, sometimes of twelve, which would have been sufficient for the maintenance of fifty or sixty men of letters; and sometimes livings were given to children. The consequence of this improper disposal of church livings was said to be the indecencies of their dress, the extravagance of their tables, and a neglect and contempt of the service of the church.

Few of the clergy, it was said, were well informed with respect to the articles of faith or the cure of souls, which exposed them to the contempt of infidels, in their conferences with them, arising from the neglect of the Scriptures, and theology, and their applying to the subtleties of logic.

Much complaint was at the same time made of the jurisdiction of the clergy, which was said to be committed to ignorant and contemptible persons; and many were excommunicated for frivolous causes; so that there were often in one parish three or four hundred persons in a state of excommunication, in one case not less than seven hundred; whence, they said, came a contempt of church censures, and discourses injurious to the church and its ministers.

No reformation of abuses having been made in the Council of Constance, from which so much had been expected, in A. D. 1429 the barons of France making many complaints against the clergy, and the clergy against them, the king summoned them to appear before him, when both were heard. But the clergy previously declared, that what they should say would only be for the sake of informing the king's conscience, as they did not submit to his authority, and maintained the superiority of the ecclesiastical to the temporal powers.

Among other complaints, the barons said, that the clergy, in order to extend their jurisdiction, gave the tonsure to a great number of persons, children under age, or of servile condition, or illegitimate, to persons who were married, and some that were illiterate, who applied to them for fear of being imprisoned, or punished for their crimes. In reply, the clergy said, the more persons were consecrated to God, the better he would be served; that they would guard against the abuses they mentioned, but that the lords themselves were often very importunate with them to make the very ordinations they complained of.*

The barons said that, if a man were taken in actual theft, and said that he was a clergyman, they did not allow the

* *Fleury*, XIX. p. 429. (P.)

things he had taken to be given to the owner, but took them to themselves. This the clergy admitted.

The barons said that, when a person was excommunicated, the clergy exacted of him an arbitrary fine, and that many persons were unable to pay it. The clergy replied, that they never excommunicated but for mortal sin, which ought to be animadverted upon by corporal or pecuniary punishment; that in some cases the fine was fixed, but in others arbitrary.

The barons said that the officials took possession of the goods of those who died without wills, and distributed them as they pleased; that they also took upon themselves the execution of wills, and had officers for that sole purpose. The clergy replied that, according to the canons and the laws of France, every prelate is, in his diocese, the legal executor of wills, and that the rest followed of course.

After thus hearing of both sides, the king promised that if the clergy would correct the abuses complained of, he would not meddle with their rights; so that neither the Council of Vienne, nor this appeal to the king, produced any material alteration with respect to abuses.

In A. D. 1351, great complaints were made in England of the gentleness with which the clergy who were prisoners were treated by them; * so that their prisons were places of pleasure to them, and they often went out worse than they were when they went in. A law was, therefore, made, that their prisoners should be restricted to a moderate diet, so that their confinement should be a real punishment.

On the occasion of a meeting of the princes and clergy of Germany, to consider of the demand of pope Innocent VI., in A. D. 1359, of a levy upon the clergy of that country, the emperor said to one of them, "My lord bishop, whence comes it that the Pope demands of the clergy so much money, and never thinks of reforming them? You see how they live, what is their pride, avarice and luxury."

In many cases the popes themselves were sensible of the abuses in the state of the clergy, and on particular occasions a check was put to them. So many were the evils arising

* By *them* is, I apprehend, intended the superior clergy, who had now the cognizance of civil offences committed by spiritual persons. In 1344, Edward III., on the clergy having "granted him *tenths* for three years, granted them a charter of several special privileges, as, that no archbishop or bishop should be arraigned before any of his justices, either at the suit of the king or of any party; and any clerk, claiming his clergy, and professing himself to be a member of the holy church, shall not be bound to answer before the temporal judges." See *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 126; Barnes's *Edward III.*, p. 303, par. 1, *ad fin.*

from giving churches *in commendam*, that Clement V. revoked all that he had granted; and yet from that time, *Fleury* says, they were more frequent than ever. "We see clearly," said this pope, "that the cure of churches and monasteries given *in commendam*, is neglected, their goods and rights dissipated, and those who depend upon them greatly injured, to the great prejudice of both their temporals and spirituals; so that what was pretended to be advantageous, proves to be hurtful to them. It is to be feared," he added, "that great evils may arise from it to the church of Rome itself."

Innocent VI., on his accession to the pontificate, in A. D. 1353, ordered that all the prelates who were then at his court should reside on their livings. He also revoked all *commendams*, and grants of a similar nature. "Since experience," he said, "has shewn, that on account of them the divine service and the care of souls is diminished, hospitality ill observed, the buildings are fallen into ruin, and the rights of churches, both spiritual and temporal, are lost." *

Urban V. published a bull against pluralities, † "having learned," he says, "with grief, that some ecclesiastics, secular and regular, held many livings, in number excessively odious, the cause of great murmurings among the people, who wanted pastors." A similar order was given for England, where the abuse was probably greater than in France.

No person ever made a more liberal use of great wealth than William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, in the reign of Edward III. But it will be seen in his *Life, written by bishop Lowth*, (pp. 22, &c.,) that besides his many civil offices and his bishopric, he had in the church more than twenty other livings. ‡

On a vacancy in the church of Sens, in A. D. 1309, king Philip, wishing to place in it the bishop of Cambray, requested it of the Pope; who replied, that though those reserves displeased him, he would oblige the king. Afterwards, as *Fleury* says, these reserves were the subject of

* *Fleury*, XX. p. 29. (P.)

† In May, 1365.

‡ *Lowth* says, "there were some in England, who, by the Pope's authority, possessed at once twenty ecclesiastical benefices, with dispensation, moreover, for holding as many more as they could lawfully procure, without limitation of number." He then gives "the certificate of the bishop of London, made to the archbishop of Canterbury, of the account of his benefices, exhibited to him by *Sir William of Wykeham, Clerk*, &c. By this instrument it appears that the yearly value, partly taxed, and partly real, of the benefices which Wykeham had for some few years held altogether, was 873*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" *Lowth's Wykeham*, Ed. 2. 1759, pp. 30—36.

great complaint, as they hindered canonical elections. The Council of Constance decreed that the translation of bishops should not be admitted, except for important reasons, to be decided by a council of cardinals.*

At this council, much pains were taken by the emperor to procure a decree for the reformation of the church in its head and its members, before they proceeded to the election of a pope; but the cardinals and clergy opposed him with so much obstinacy and address, that he was obliged to give way. They promised that the new pope should immediately proceed on the business of reformation, and before they left Constance; but afterwards they refused to stand to this; saying that a pope must not be bound. They decreed, however, that another general council should be held five years after, another seven years after that, and for the future, one every ten years; and that the Pope might shorten these terms, but not enlarge them.†

In this period, as in the preceding, we see on several occasions a great contempt of the clergy and of their censures. At a council held at Cologne, in A. D. 1300, twenty-nine articles were published, more proper, says *Fleury*, to discover the abuses which then prevailed, than to remedy them; and nothing was employed but those censures which had been long despised.‡ We see in them the eagerness of the clergy to make the most of their privileges, and to enlarge their acquisitions. At this time, the hatred and contempt of the clergy was so great, that they were often both imprisoned and put to death, and sometimes others of the clergy would join in these violences against their brethren.

At a council held at Avignon in A. D. 1326, an account was given of some persons in a state of excommunication, having an idea that the priests who excommunicated them were adulterers, excommunicating them, lighting candles, burning straw, &c. The council expressed its abhorrence of this insolence; but, as before, they provided no remedy, besides such censures as had been despised. At the same time, much complaint was made of the hatred which the laity entertained for the clergy. It appears by a letter of Benedict XII. to the kings of France and England, in A. D. 1337, § that there was at that time an almost general rising

* *Lenfant*, L. v. Sect. lxxi. II. p. 516.

† *Ibid.* II. p. 513.

‡ *Hist.* XIX. p. 160. (P.)

§ Professedly to mediate a peace. "Nor yet was peace the only business about which these cardinals came, but the privileges and immunities of the church, as appears by the Pope's letter to the king." Barnes's *Edward III.* p. 119. See also *Rapin*, L. x. III. p. 173.

of the laity against the clergy. Sometimes the clergy, in order to enforce their censures, had stones thrown against the houses of those whom they had excommunicated, and procured biers to be carried before them, as if they had been dead, when their censures were despised; but this was forbidden by the Council of Avignon, in A. D. 1337. It was, no doubt, found that these things only made their censures still more despised.

SECTION VI.

Of the military Orders in this Period.

ONE of the most remarkable circumstances in this period of our history, is the extinction of the order of *Knights Templars*; and it seems difficult, if not impossible, to investigate the real causes of it. It is true, that before A. D. 1300, they were fallen into disrepute, on account of their dissolute lives; since to *drink like a Templar* was become proverbial. But in this respect it is probable they were not worse than other orders of men equally wealthy. In luxury the superior clergy were, no doubt, on a par with them; but for some cause or other, and some think it was nothing but the wealth they were possessed of, they were become obnoxious to Philip, king of France, who was evidently bent on their destruction. However, the facts that came before the public were as follow:

A Templar and another person being confined for their crimes, in a castle in the diocese of Thoulouse, made confession to one another; when the Templar confessed crimes of such a nature, that his companion thought proper to inform the king of them; and the king soon laid the case before pope Clement V. who was then in France; and at a conference held at Poitiers in May, A. D. 1307, the business was particularly considered. What passed at this conference does not appear, except that the king brought heavy charges against the Templars; and the consequence of it was that, on the 13th of October, all who were of the order in all France were arrested, and among them the grand master John de Mola, who was then at Paris.

Some of them, being examined, confessed that when they entered the order, they had been obliged to deny Christ, and spit upon a crucifix; and, moreover, that they worshipped the image of a head that had a long beard. What is most extraordinary is, that the grand master himself at

this time confessed the denying of Christ. One hundred and forty were examined at Paris, and most of them made the same confession; and besides these impieties, they acknowledged many shocking impurities. Similar examinations were taken in other parts of France. That the Pope did not readily enter into the king's measures is very evident, though at length he was induced to concur in them, and, moreover, wrote to the king of Naples, directing him to arrest all the Templars in his kingdom in one day.

The year following, the king held a parliament at Tours, where all who were present, having heard the confessions, judged the Templars worthy of death. Some of those who were arrested, not having been able to go so far as Poitiers, were examined by three cardinals appointed by the Pope. Five of these were persons of particular consideration, viz. the grand master of the Temple, the commander of Cyprus, the visitor of France, and the two commanders of Aquitaine and Normandy. These all confessed their denial of Christ, or having promised that they would do so.

After this, a council was summoned to meet at Vienne, in A. D. 1311; and in the mean time, orders were given for the examination of the Templars in all parts of Europe; and inquisitors were appointed to assist at the examinations. In August, A. D. 1309, eight commissaries, appointed by the Pope, meeting at Paris, and all that could be collected of the order in France appearing before them, John de Mola, a relation of the grand master, declared that he had been of the order ten years, but that he had neither known nor heard any ill of it. The grand master himself being then again examined, and reminded of his former confession, he expressed great astonishment; and said, that if he had been at full liberty, he would not have made it, and professed his belief of the Catholic faith. In defence of his order, he said, no churches were better served than theirs, no order had given so much in alms, or had defended the church with their blood, like theirs.

At a council held at Saltzbourg, in A. D. 1310, twenty Templars presented themselves, and said that, understanding that a council was to be held for the condemnation of their order, they came to declare their innocence of the crimes laid to their charge, appealing to the Pope and a future council. At Paris, the 11th of May this year, fifty-nine Templars were burned alive, without any of them acknowledging the crimes of which they were accused, which struck

the people much.* A month after this, nine were condemned, and burned, at Senlis; but at the stake they declared that what they had confessed before was not true, and that it was extorted from them by the dread of torture. On the 14th of May, some Templars, who had engaged to defend their order before the commissaries of the Pope at Paris, maintained that every thing that had been laid to their charge was false, and that those who had made the confessions were either gained by promises, or did it for fear of torture and death. The Templars in the kingdom of Arragon stood upon their defence by arms, but the king's troops overpowered them, and took them prisoners.

When the council met at Vienne, in A. D. 1311,† though the principal object of it was the suppression of the Templars, they were not heard in their own defence, and the remonstrance of many persons against so unjust a proceeding was not regarded. Nor was the order condemned or suppressed by a public decree of the council, but only by the Pope himself, in a private consistory, and then not in the form of an absolute definitive sentence, but *provisionally*; and in the second session of the council he published their suppression, reserving for his own disposal, and that of the church, their persons and possessions.‡ Thus, however,

* At Ziericksee the Order was extirpated "after the following manner: there was a sealed letter to all the magistrates, and under the superscription an order, that it should not be opened till upon a certain night, therein mentioned, at twelve o'clock, and in full council to be expressly assembled for the same purpose; and the contents thereof were to be put in execution at the same instant, on pain of death. The council being accordingly met, and the letter opened, it appeared, that they were directed immediately to fall upon the said Templars with sword in hand, and to put them all to death. They, therefore, called together with the utmost secrecy, all those who had any dependence on them, and armed them, and so marched them to the house or monastery of the Templars. The doors being opened, they were all massacred in their beds, and wherever they had hid themselves. The occasion of this bloody execution is variously related: some have written, that the Templars brought it upon themselves, by their open inveighing against the corruptions and abuses of the Papacy." *Brandt's "Hist. of Reformation in the Low Countries,"* 8vo. 1719, pp. 47, 48.

† Consisting of the two patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, three hundred bishops, and the three kings of France, England and Arragon. Among the objects of this council, one was, to appoint in the universities, professors of the oriental languages. See *Nouv. Diet. Hist.* l. p. clvi.

‡ See *Rapin*, L. ix. *ad fin.* III. pp. 135—137. An antiquarian says of this Order, "At first, their temple was builded in Holborn, by Southampton House, but after, they left that place, and builded a new temple by the river of Thames; this was their chief house, which they builded after the form of the temple near unto the sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem. These Templars were at the first so poor, as they had but one house to serve two of them, in token whereof they gave in their seal two men riding on one horse, but afterwards they grew so rich, and therewithal so proud, that all the Templars in England, as also in all other parts of Christendom,

was this celebrated order suppressed, after it had subsisted one hundred and eighty-four years. Their possessions were given to the knights Hospitallers, except those in Spain, which were reserved for the disposal of the Pope, and afterwards applied to maintain the wars against the Moors.

At a conclusion of this mysterious business, in A. D. 1313, the grand master of the order, and the commander of Normandy being sentenced to suffer death, solemnly retracted their confessions, and declared themselves and their order innocent of the things that had been laid to their charge. They suffered with great firmness, persisting to the last in asserting their innocence, to the great astonishment of all who were present.

If we consider the circumstances of this accusation of the Templars, it cannot but appear in the highest degree improbable. That there were unbelievers and profligate persons among the Templars, as well as among the clergy, or monks, is very probable; but that they should make the rejection of Christianity a term of admission into their order, is altogether incredible; because it could only have exposed them to the indignation of all the Christian world, and consequently the loss of all their emoluments: for a proceeding of this nature could not have been a secret. If the charge had been true, an unbeliever could have had no motive for voluntarily confessing it; and therefore nothing but hope or fear can be supposed to have extorted it from them. Whatever, therefore, might be the guilt of the order, or of the individuals that composed it, it cannot be said to have been sufficiently proved, and consequently their condemnation must be pronounced to have been unjust.

In A. D. 1318, John XXII. confirmed the military *order of Christ* in Portugal, giving them the estates of the Templars in that kingdom, and in Algarva. They were to follow the rule of the Cistercians, according to the constitution of the knights of Calatrava.

Had impartial justice been done, it is probable that the fate of the Teutonic knights would have been the same with that of the Templars, and with more appearance of reason: for they were still less of a religious order, being continually

were suppressed in the year of our Lord 1308, being the 2nd of Edward II. And by a council holden at Vienne, their lands were given unto the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; these knights had their chief house in England by West Smithfield, and they, in the reign of king Edward III., granted the new Temple for the yearly rent of ten pounds, by the year, unto the students of the common law of England, in whose possession the same hath ever since remained." *Joseph Holland*, 1601, in *Hearne's Discourses*, 1720, pp. 127, 128.

occupied in fighting, and acquiring territory for themselves, and for this purpose engaging in wars, even with Christian princes. The king of Poland having made heavy complaints to the Pope of their conduct in A. D. 1339, nuncios were sent to inquire into the grounds of them; when it appeared that they had entered that kingdom with an army, where they had made great havoc, having burned nine churches, after plundering them of every thing of value. They had also seized Pomerania and other states, to which they had no right. On these accounts they were excommunicated, and their absolution reserved for the Pope himself.

Their differences with the kings of Poland did not end here. Being again in a state of open war, they were, in A. D. 1410, defeated in a great battle, in which their grand master, many generals, commanders, and others of their nobility, and not less than fifty or sixty thousand common soldiers, were slain. The year after, the king of Poland made peace with them, allowing them their conquests in Prussia.

Lastly, these Teutonic knights having acted tyrannically in Samogitia, which had been converted to Christianity by Ladislas Jagellon, the inhabitants complained of them to the Council of Constance, in A. D. 1415; when it was decreed that the people of Samogitia should depend upon the emperor in civil matters, and on their bishops in spirituals, and the knights were ordered not to interfere in their affairs.*

SECTION VII.

Of the Fratricelli, or Spiritual Franciscans.

A SPIRIT of inquiry and free discussion once excited, and especially when supported by a principle of conscience, is not easily quelled by authority. This the popes found with respect to the more rigid Franciscans, who thought themselves bound by the letter of their institute to renounce all *property* in every thing; and who, in support of it, maintained that Christ and the apostles had none. Several of the popes patronising the contrary doctrine, an open schism, though of no very alarming nature, was by this means produced in the church; and other persons, whose principles went farther

* See *Lenfant*, L. ii. Sect. lxiii.—lxvi. L. iii. Sect. xlii. L. iv. Sect. lvii. xciv. I. pp. 160—163, 268, 410, 411; *Des Fontaines' Poland, Index, Teutonic Order.*

than those of these Franciscans, availing themselves of the circumstance, declaimed in the most open manner against the corruptions of the church of Rome, so as to be entitled to be classed with reformers, though they did not join themselves to the Waldenses, Albigenses, or those of any other particular denomination. Against those, as well as against the rigid Franciscans, the popes found it necessary to proceed with the greatest severity; and on their side they bore cruel persecution, even unto death, with the greatest constancy. In the preceding period several of the popes had taken the part of the more rigid Franciscans, but the tendency of their principles being now more clearly seen, all the popes were hostile to them.

In the pontificate of Boniface VIII. some persons, who at least called themselves *Fratricelli*, or *Beguines*, (apostates, it is said, from various religious orders,) pretending to have the power of giving the Holy Spirit by the imposition of their hands, and to absolve sinners,* and openly renouncing the church of Rome, the Pope gave the most rigorous orders to the inquisitors to proceed against them, and in A. D. 1397 he gave a special commission to Matthew Christi, a Franciscan monk, to discover and punish them in Abruzzo, the March of Ancona, and the neighbouring provinces.

These *Fratricelli* generally called themselves the *third order of Franciscans*, or *Brothers of Repentance*; and by the common people they were often called *Beghards* or *Beguines*. They were much attached to the memory of John de Oliva; † saying that he was the greatest doctor, after the apostles, and calling him *St. Peter not canonized*. Being now a separate sect, they were condemned at the Council of Vienne in A. D. 1311, on which occasion they were charged with holding, that in this life a man may attain to such a state of perfection, as to be impeccable; that in this state there is no occasion to pray, and that any indulgence may be granted to the body; since, *where the spirit is, there is liberty*; and that it is an imperfection to descend from this height of contemplation to think of the eucharist. At this council, bishops and inquisitors were ordered to seek out and punish these heretics. Pope Clement endeavoured to unite the different parties of Franciscans; but those who called themselves *spiritual*, though

* It is proper to mention the extravagances, as well as the vices, that the Catholic writers lay to the charge of their opponents; but when, as in this case, there is no other evidence to be procured, they must be heard with caution. (P.)

† "Peter John Olivus wrote a *postil* on the apocalypse, and applied to the Pope and church of Rome, the things spoken of the beast, and the whore of Babylon." *Limborch*, I. pp. 104 and 107.

professing themselves Catholics, paid no regard to the decree that was made for that purpose. They kept themselves separate, and, being favoured by the people, they expelled the others from Narbonne and Beziers.

Of all the popes, John XXII. had the most trouble with the *Fratricelli*. Being much of a theologian, he entered into controversy with them, but at the same time he did not neglect the use of authority. But neither his reasoning, nor the force that he employed, was able to break the spirit of these enthusiasts. Many of them being patronized by Lewis of Bavaria, who was at variance with the Pope, set him at defiance. They were also favoured not only by the common people in many places, but by other persons of consequence, especially in Sicily and Naples.

In A. D. 1317, John wrote to the king of Sicily, desiring him to assist the superior of the regular Franciscans in bringing back those who called themselves *spiritual*, and had taken refuge in Sicily, charging them with holding many errors. He gave the same orders with respect to those who were still in Provence; but they refused to obey, appealing to the Pope, better informed. Upon this he cited before him forty-six from Narbonne, and seventeen from Beziers, and in all, more than sixty. But when he commanded them to go to the convent of their order in the city, and conform to the rules of it, with respect to dress, and other articles, concerning which he had published a constitution, they refused, and were sent to prison. At length, however, all of them, except twenty-five, complied with the Pope's requisition. But even these maintained that the Pope had no power to dispense with the rules of their founder, which they had sworn to obey. These Franciscans the Pope charged with despising the sacraments of the church, and holding many other errors. In the same year he forbade the continuance of this order of Franciscans, under pain of excommunication.

By this time these spiritual Franciscans had formed themselves into a regular body, and avowed doctrines peculiar to themselves, and such as greatly recommended them to the more serious of the common people. They said there were two churches, one carnal, loaded with riches, plunged in delights, and blackened with crimes, in which the popes and the cardinals presided; the other spiritual, adorned with virtue, frugal and poor, which consisted of themselves and their followers. They were also charged with maintaining that all ecclesiastical power belonged to them; that swearing was in all cases unlawful, and that the world was near its

end. These opinions were, at least, formally condemned by the Pope, as held by them. At the same time he ordered them to be apprehended and punished as they deserved, especially Henry de Ceva, who was their superior. On the other hand, they denied the Pope's power to make the regulations prescribed in his bull. Four of them being examined upon the subject, and persisting in their opinions, were burned alive, and were honoured as martyrs by those of their sect.

The great favourer of the spiritual Franciscans had been pope Nicolas III., who published a constitution, according to which even the property of things consumed by these mendicants was declared to belong to the Pope and the church. This constitution John revoked, as useless to the friars and disgraceful to the church, expressly renouncing that kind of property, except that of their buildings and other things of the same permanent nature. Bonnegrace of Bergamo, who was then at the court of Avignon on the part of these mendicants, appealing from this constitution as invalid, the Pope caused him to be put in prison, and there he continued a whole year. In A. D. 1322 one Walter, a Hollander, a leading man among these Franciscans, and who dispersed little books in Germany, was burned at Cologne.

The year after this the Pope, after long and mature consideration, and after consulting the ablest theologians in the university of Paris, published a constitution, in which he declared it to be heretical to maintain that Jesus Christ and his apostles had no property, either private or in common, or that they had no right to use the things which the Scriptures say they had, or to sell, or give, or acquire other things. But Michael de Cesena, the general of the regular Franciscans, supported by the bull of pope Nicolas, ventured to maintain the contrary doctrine. Also the famous William Occam declared against the opinion of the Pope, preaching even publicly, that his opinion was a heresy; and for this he was cited to appear before him.

It has been observed that the rigid Franciscans were very fond of the writings of John de Oliva, in which he announced a kind of second coming of Christ, or of *the spirit of truth*, about the time of St. Francis, whose rule was condemned by the carnal church. This notion had its rise, as was observed, from abbé Joachim, and carried farther by John of Parma, in his *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*, mentioned before, [p. 453,] and was held by many for a century afterwards. Availing themselves of this, they maintained

that St. Francis was sent of God to raise the church, sunk in ruins ; that evangelical perfection was only to be found in their rule ; that the church of Rome was *Babylon the Great* in the Revelation, the *mother of harlots*, and the Pope, mystical Antichrist, who was to raise a violent persecution against evangelical poverty and perfection ; but that the carnal church would soon be destroyed by the church spiritual, and the reign of the Holy Spirit.

Such being the doctrines which these spiritual Franciscans drew from the writings of John de Oliva, pope John, in A. D. 1326, condemned these writings. And, as among the other predictions current amongst them, one was, that the Saracens and other infidels were to be converted by them, though many would suffer martyrdom in accomplishing it, that they were also to recover the schismatical Greeks, and to convert the Jews, (and with these views many of them went into foreign countries, where they published doctrines contrary to those of the church of Rome,) the Pope forbade any missionaries to be sent into foreign countries, except men of letters and prudence, and ordered that those who should go without leave should be pursued as apostates.

Among the disciples of John de Oliva, was Ubertin de Casal, who flying from the court of Rome, and being ordered to be apprehended, took refuge with Lewis of Bavaria, and joined Marsilius of Padua in writing against the Pope. The principal object of their writings was, to advance the power of the emperor, and to combat the opinions then prevailing in the schools concerning the power of the Pope.

The whole of the opposition to the Pope from the Franciscans was not confined to the irregular and schismatical among them. Michael de Cesena, the general of the regular Franciscans, being summoned to appear before the Pope at Avignon, maintained to his face the doctrines which he had condemned ; and while a process was commenced against him on that account, he fled to the emperor Lewis ; and when the Pope pronounced against him a sentence of deposition, and appointed another general of the order, he appealed to a future council. He was, however, deposed by his own order at their next chapter in Paris, in A. D. 1329 ; when they came to a final decision of the question concerning the poverty of Christ, and reconciled as well as they could the different decrees of the popes on that subject.

In another constitution, published this year, the Pope argued at large in defence of his opinions, in which he maintained that, when Christ said that *his kingdom was not of this*

world, he meant that it did not come from the powers of this world, but from God. Michael de Cesena answered this, and said that it was heresy to maintain that Jesus Christ had any property in temporal things, at the same time that he directed his disciples to divest themselves of them. Being at Munich in A. D. 1330, under the protection of the emperor Lewis, he addressed a letter to the Franciscans in his own vindication, appealing to a future council, and enumerating the heretical errors of the Pope, of which he made twelve articles, all relating to the poverty of Christ and the apostles. But at the next chapter of the order, Michael and his adherents were censured as heretics and schismatics, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment; and the new general answered his letter.

Notwithstanding these vigorous proceedings of the Pope and the regular Franciscans, those who called themselves *spiritual* continued to be in great numbers in several places, and acted with great spirit. In the south of France they held regular assemblies, whose superiors lived in common, and begged publicly. In Italy there was another sect of the same kind, who had a chief called Angelo, of the valley of Spoleto, an illiterate person. These also held their assemblies, published divers indulgences, and heard confessions, though they were laymen. In A. D. 1332, the Pope gave orders to the clergy to prosecute them in both these places. Michael de Cesena had partisans at Prague, and these the Pope ordered to be apprehended, and sent to him at his own expense. The queen of Naples, the wife of king Robert, favoured these rebellious Franciscans, and the Pope made loud complaints of it in his letters to the king.

In the beginning of A. D. 1333, Michael de Cesena, considering himself as the proper general of the Franciscans, addressed another letter to the order, repeating what he had written before, and in contempt of the Pope, he called him *John of Cahors*; saying that a pope who decides contrary to the Catholic faith, by the very fact incurs the punishment of excommunication, and the deprivation of his dignity. This letter, which was written at Munich, he directed to be read frequently in their convents, and to be made as public as possible.

In this business of the *Fratricelli*, as in almost every other in which the popes were concerned, they, by their perseverance, and the favour of circumstances, succeeded. In A. D. 1349, many of the spiritual Franciscans being carried off by the plague, most of the rest made their submission,

and among them was William Occam, the most distinguished of them, and joined the regular Franciscans. Some, however, continued to a later period, though they did not appear so openly; but when questioned, they did not hesitate to maintain that John had no power to revoke the constitutions of preceding popes in their favour, or to suppress their order, on any account. Two of them being apprehended in A. D. 1354 at Montpellier, and on being interrogated asserting these and other things against the authority of the Pope, and maintaining that those of their brethren who had suffered death were martyrs, were themselves burned. One of them, John de Chatillon, published a declaration before he died, that John XXII. was a heretic, and an enemy of the church, on account of his constitution against them, and that his successors, who espoused the same heresy, were heretics, and in a state of excommunication with respect to all other prelates who defended the Catholic faith,

SECTION VIII.

Miscellaneous Articles relating to the Monks and the Mendicants.

IN this period, as well as in the preceding, we meet with great complaints of the disorderly state of monasteries, and from a variety of causes. At the Council of Vienne, in A. D. 1311, complaint was made that, in consequence of the cardinals having conventual priories and abbeys given to them, though they were not monks, there was a total neglect of their rules, the monks having no superior to instruct, correct or govern them. Hospitality was also omitted, the goods of the abbeys were dissipated, their rights lost, and the buildings became ruinous, to the great scandal of the people.

Two of the constitutions of Benedict XII. shew how exceedingly relaxed were all the monastic orders in his time. The spirit of them was so much forgotten, that no mention is made of mental prayer or bodily labour; and yet *Fleury* says that these constitutions contributed to the farther relaxation of them. The great plague that ravaged all Europe in A. D. 1348, was the cause of much relaxation in the discipline of monasteries, many of the monks being carried off by it, and the rest neglecting their rules, so that the discipline could not be restored afterwards. This circumstance affected the mendicants as well as the monks. In A. D. 1370 the monastery of Mount Cassin was much declined,

both in spirituals and temporals, being chiefly occupied by vagabond and insolent monks, who lived a life almost secular, and their buildings were almost ruined by an earthquake: but it was restored by Urban V.

At the bare proposal to reform the Benedictine monastery of Clusen, in the diocese of Hildesheim, at the Council of Constance, in A. D. 1417, all the monks abandoned it, and left John of the abbey of Rheinhausen, in the diocese of Mayence, who had undertaken to reform it, to himself. He was not however discouraged, but assembled other monks of a better disposition in another place, called St. Thomas de Bursfield, in the diocese of Mayence, and from this monastery the reformation extended gradually through all Germany. Two centuries after, [adds *Lenfant*,] this abbey of Bursfield served as a model to two other famous abbeys, viz. St. Vannes in Lorraine, and St. Maur in France.

It appears, however, from the *Life of Petrarch*, that all monasteries were not in this disorderly state. Gerard, the brother of Petrarch, retired to one, of the order of Carthusians at Montrieu, in the south of France, from a principle of devotion; and both he and the rest of that fraternity seem to have led the most exemplary lives. When the monks were dispersed in the great plague in A. D. 1348,* and the prior urged him to fly for his life, as he himself did, Gerard resolutely continued in the place, till he had buried all the thirty-four who stayed with him. He then remained alone with a dog to guard the house and the property belonging to it. After this he got leave to choose another prior, and to

* This appears to have been a most destructive and far-extending calamity. *Mezeray*, as quoted by *Barnes*, says, that "it raged universally over all our hemisphere, and there was neither city, village, nor house, whereinto it did not cruelly intrude. It is said to have had its rise among the Tartars in the kingdom of Cathay. About the 1st of August, 1348, it began in the sea-port towns on the coasts of Dorset, Devon and Somerset, whence it ran up to Bristol. In Yarmouth, were buried in one year 7052 persons, all of the plague. In Norwich, in half-a-year's space, 57,104. In one place, called *Spittle-Croft*, because it belonged to St. Bartholomew *Spittle*, or Hospital in Smithfield, since that called the *New-Church Haw*, [Yard,] there were buried, between *Candlemas* and *Easter* this year, [1349,] 200 corpses *per diem*, every day.

"Mr. Stow affirms that he had seen and read an inscription fixed on a stone cross, sometime standing in the same church-yard, in these words: 'Anno Domini MCCCXLIX. Regnante magna pestilentia, consecratum fuit hoc cæmeterium. In quo et infra septa præsentis monasterii sepulta fuerint mortuorum corpora plusquam LM. [50,000] præter alia multa abhinc usque ad præsens. Quorum animabus propitietur Deus.'" The site of this church-yard is now within the enclosures of the Charter-House. See many curious passages respecting this calamity, and a large enumeration of authorities, in *Barnes's Edward III.*, B. ii. Ch. viii. pp. 428—442. See also *Beacroft's Charter-House*, 1737, pp. 164—167. *Bradwardin*, who is mentioned Vol. III. p. 456, Note, "died of the plague within two days of his arrival in London, after his consecration at *Avignon*." See *Barnes*, p. 439.

get other monks, and re-established the monastery. Some time after this, Petrarch paid him a visit, and was much edified with the piety of those monks, and greatly affected with the accounts they gave him of what they suffered from the depredations of the neighbouring lords and others, and for their use he wrote his books on the *religious life*.* Petrarch himself was truly pious, and for the times in which he lived rationally so, as his writings and letters evince; and when he was at Milan he chose his habitation near a monastery, for the benefit of attending the devotions of the place.†

In A. D. 1351, great complaint was made of the rigour with which prisoners in monasteries were kept. Some were sentenced to perpetual confinement, in perfect darkness, where they lived on nothing but bread and water, and saw no person whatever, so that they died of despair. On this account the king of France obliged the governors to make the condition of their prisoners more tolerable in many respects.

The complaints of the encroachment of the mendicants on the offices and emoluments of the secular clergy did not cease with the last period. In A. D. 1357 there were warm disputes between the clergy of England and the mendicants. At the head of the clergy was Richard Firrand, archbishop of Armagh, and then chancellor of the university of Oxford. Both parties appealed to pope Innocent, and the chancellor pleaded before him at Avignon, November 8, A. D. 1357. In his speech he maintained that though Jesus Christ was poor, he was never a beggar, and the rule of the order did not imply begging. Parishioners, he maintained, should confess to their parish priests, rather than to the mendicants. As a proof of these encroachments, he said that there were in his diocese more than two thousand persons, of whom hardly forty confessed to him, and yet all received the sacrament, having confessed, as they said, to the mendicants; so that, he observed, they might justly be suspected of absolving persons, on condition of their being charitable to their order.

As some proof of this, he said that, since the friars had the

* He wrote "*De Otio Religiosorum; De vera Sapiencia; De Vita solitaria; De Contemptu Mundi.*" Also, "*De Remediis utriusque Fortunæ,*" translated by M. de Grenaille, under the title of "*Le Sage résolu contre la Fortune.*" *Novv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 966.

† *Life of Petrarch*, III. p. 452. (P.) See his "Evidence against the Depravations of the Roman Church, in familiar letters to his friends, well nigh two hundred years before Luther." *Hist. of Popery*, II. pp. 104—106. Petrarch's biographer, just quoted, says that, "*il s'y livra avec trop peu de ménagement en parlant des pontifes de son tems.*" Yet he describes him "*plein de droiture et de probité au milieu des artifices de la cour.*" Petrarch died in 1374, aged 70.

privilege of confessing persons, they had built every where monasteries like palaces, but never imposed any alms for the repair of a parish church, a high road, or a bridge; nor, said he, did the Franciscans enjoin the giving of alms to the Dominicans. At the university they inveigled so many young persons to join them, that parents were afraid to send their sons thither. In his time, he said, there had been thirty thousand students at Oxford, but then hardly six thousand. They were so numerous, and so rapacious, that in all the university a good book could hardly be found but among them. They bought up every thing, and their libraries were magnificently furnished.

He was answered by Roger Chenoc, a Franciscan; but he rested his defence almost wholly on the Pope's bulls in favour of the order. After the pleading, the Pope, without deciding definitively, published a provincial bull in favour of the mendicants, and afterwards a confirmation of all their privileges; they having, as Thomas Walsingham says, spent much money at the court of Rome.* In this contest with the mendicants, Wickliffe, then at Oxford, particularly distinguished himself.†

About the beginning of the fourteenth century, many of the Franciscans separated themselves from the rest, for the sake of a more strict observance of their rule. Some of them had the approbation of pope Celestin, and were called *Poor Hermits*, having at their head Liberat of Meardo, and they settled in a small island near Achaia. There they were much harassed, and persecuted, in consequence of being charged with many errors, especially Manichæism, and a contempt of the papal authority, though nothing of this was proved against them. Sometimes they were confounded with the *Apostolics*. Many of them came to Provence, where they joined those of the order who were called *spiritual*. Clement V. appointed two cardinals to examine

* Where the *English* of every description were now out of favour, compared with the *French*. Barnes quotes from *Knighton* the following rhymes, scattered about the Pope's court at *Avignon* and in other parts of France, in 1357:

Or est le Pape devenu *Franceis*;
Et *Jesu* devenu *Engleis*;
Or serra veou, qui fra plus;
Ou le Pape, ou *Jesu*.

Which Barnes thus translates:

The Pope is on the *Frenchmen's* side,
With *England*, *Jesus* doth abide:
'Twill soon be seen, who'll now prevail;
For *Jesus*, or the Pope must fail.

Hist. of King Edward III. p. 528.

† "He published a treatise against able beggary." *Brit. Biog.* I. p. 22.

into the affair, and in the mean time he exempted them from all persecution.

Two new institutions in this period seem to have had their origin in the best intention, according to the ideas of devotion and virtue that prevailed in those times. Eleazar, count of Arien, in the kingdom of Naples, of the noble family of Sabran, in Provence, engaged with his wife to live in continence, at her proposal, from the time of their marriage; she being then twelve years of age, and he fourteen. When he was twenty, he regulated his family in the following manner:—The gentlemen and knights, and also the ladies, married and unmarried, confessed every week, and received the communion every month; the ladies spent the morning in prayer, and works of piety, and after dinner in some bodily labour. Every evening there was a spiritual conference in his presence, when he addressed them with great zeal, so that his house was more like a monastery than the court of a great lord. Several other persons regulated their families after the model of this, and one bishop. Some time after this, both the count and his wife entered into the third order of St. Francis. In A. D. 1322, Robert, king of Naples, made him governor of Charles, his eldest son. He died on an embassy to Paris, and was canonized after his death.

In A. D. 1384, one Gerard Groot, of Deventer, a doctor of the university of Paris, and a canon of Utrecht, established a new order, called the *Brothers of Common Life*, consisting of persons of knowledge and piety, who lived in common, and employed themselves in the instruction of youth. Thomas à Kempis wrote the life of this Gerard, and greatly applauded his institution. During the sitting of the Council of Constance, one Grabon, a Dominican, wrote against it, as unlawful, and contrary to the approved orders; but Gerson answered Grabon, threatening him with the resentment of the council, in the decisions of which his voice had the greatest weight; and in consequence of this, he was induced to retract what he had advanced.*

We do not in this period meet with many persons of distinction embracing the monastic life; but about A. D. 1358, Peter, son of the king of Arragon, and Charles, count of Alençon, cousin german of John, king of France, became mendicants.

* *Lenfant*, L. vi. Sect. li.—liii. II. pp. 601—604.

SECTION IX.

Of the Reformers in this Period, prior to Wickliffe.

WE have seen that, in every period of this history, since the prevalence of the great corruptions of the Catholic church, there have been persons who strenuously opposed them, and who in general were exposed to grievous sufferings, in consequence of that opposition. They may, therefore, be properly called *reformers*, whether their labours had more or less effect. But in this period we find reformers of singular eminence, and more renowned, as their history is better known to us. Of these were Wickliffe, in England, and John Huss and Jerome of Prague, in Bohemia. But before I give an account of them, I shall recite what I have been able to collect concerning their predecessors in the North of Italy, and the South of France, to emissaries from whom, especially from the Waldenses, we can trace almost every attempt at reformation in other countries. Being persecuted at home, and full of zeal for what they considered as important truth, (and what, if Christianity itself be of importance, certainly was so,) they dispersed themselves into all parts of Europe, especially to Flanders, where manufactures, commerce, and opulence soon introduced a liberal spirit of free inquiry; and also into Bohemia, and other parts most remote from Rome, and where, consequently, they might expect to be more at rest from papal persecution.

Mention was made in the preceding period of *Segonelli*, the chief of those who were called *Apostolics* in the North of Italy, and of the persecution raised against them. This did not discourage others from joining them, or following their example. The most distinguished of those was *Dulcin*, in Lombardy, * who openly maintained that the church of Rome was the *whore of Babylon* in the Revelation; that no tithe ought to be given to any priests, but such as were poor

* "About 1260, there appeared *Geraldus Sagarelli*, in the bishopric of Parma, and *Dulcinus*, in that of Novara. They gathered a congregation which they called *Apostles*, who lived in subjection to none; but affirmed that they peculiarly imitated the apostles, and took on them a certain new habit of religion. An. 1285, they were condemned by the letters patent of Honorius IV., and afterwards by Nicolas IV., An. 1290. At length *Sagarelli* was condemned, as an arch-heretic, by the bishop of Parma and friar Manfred, the inquisitor, a predicant, and burnt A. D. 1300." *Limborch*, l. pp. 97, 98.

like the apostles ; that prayer has as much efficacy in a wood or a stable, as in a church, and that oaths are unlawful. His followers avoided as much as possible making a declaration of their faith, but, when compelled to it, they did it in the boldest manner, without any regard to the consequences, but without discovering their brethren. This Dulcin had not fewer than six thousand followers. Being driven from Milan, they lived among the mountains. The Pope had a crusade preached against them, and sent Dominican inquisitors, who collected an army, and put it under the command of Rainier, bishop of Verceil. He pursued them so closely in A. D. 1308, that a deep snow falling at that time, many of them perished of hunger and cold, including those that were killed, not fewer than four hundred. About a hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, and among them Dulcin himself, who was afterwards put to death, his limbs separated, and his bones burned.* But the sect was by no means extinguished. In A. D. 1372, many of his disciples in Sicily preserved his bones and those of his disciples, as also of the *Fratricelli*, as relics, erected churches and chapels in their honour, and visited them yearly in great crowds, on the anniversaries of their deaths. Gregory XI. wrote to the bishops of Sicily to put a stop to these practices.

Rainier's object was to extirpate heresy by all possible means. He was a native of Placenza, and had been himself a heretic, seventeen years. He then became a preaching friar, and Alexander IV. made him inquisitor of Lombardy. His hopes of success were founded on an interregnum in the empire, and a vacancy in the see of Milan. But he durst not set his foot in the dominions of Azolino of Padua, who was a cruel tyrant, but a friend of the Paterins, as opposed to the Pope.†

The heretics were also openly defended by Uberto Pallavicino, who was master of Cremona, Placenza, Milan, and other places. He drove the inquisitors from Milan, and banished Rainier, who died in exile. About twelve years after the death of Pallavicino, the preaching friars were going to burn a woman for heresy at Parma, when the mob

* "They were wholly oppressed by this catholic army of cross-bearers. *Dulcinus* himself was taken, and eight years after the punishment of *Geraldus*, was, as an arch-heretic, with Margaret his wife, publicly torn in pieces, and afterwards burned." *Limborch*, l. p. 98.

† *Robinson*, pp. 434, 439. (P.)

rose, destroyed the monastery, and drove all the monks out of the city. Credible writers affirm, that in the sixteenth century all parts of Italy abounded with heretics.*

The great number and respectability of the Waldenses appears from the account given of them by this Rainier, who had been one of them. He says, that "of all the sects, they were the most dangerous; in the first place, because they have continued longer than any other, some say from the time of pope Silvester, but others from the time of the apostles; secondly, because they are more generally dispersed, there being hardly any country into which they have not penetrated; and thirdly, because of all the sects, they have the greatest appearance of piety; but they inveigh against the church of Rome and the clergy, and this draws crowds after them." †

In A. D. 1332, the Waldenses were so numerous in Piedmont, that pope John XXII. gave a commission to the inquisitor of Mantua, Albert de Castellain, a Dominican, to prosecute them. They sometimes assembled to the number of five hundred. They rose in arms against the inquisitor, and killed a clergyman, whom they supposed to have informed against them, and besieged the inquisitor himself in a castle, so that he was obliged to leave the country. The chief of these people was Martin Pastre, who, after preaching publicly, and escaping the inquisitors twenty years, was at last apprehended.

Benedict XII., who was made pope in A. D. 1335, found heretics in various parts of the kingdom of France. There were Waldenses in Lyonnois and Dauphiné, Fratricelli and disciples of Dulcin in Italy, and others in Germany, Bohemia, and Dalmatia. On this account, he sent out two inquisitors, one to Olmutz, and the other to Prague, both Dominicans.

In A. D. 1351, Clement VI., being informed that there were many heretics in the diocese of Embrun, in Dauphiné, wrote to the bishops, the abbots, the clergy, and also to the lords and judges, requesting that they would aid the inquisitors in extirpating them.

In A. D. 1373, Gregory XI. complained to the king of France of there being in his dominions many persons of the denomination of *Beghards*, or *Turlupins*, ‡ who were no

* Robinson, pp. 442, 446. (P.)

† Lenfant's *Basle*, p. 11. (P.)

‡ In Flanders and Artois, persons in a very low and abject condition were called, by way of proverb, the children of *Turlupin*, under the curse of nature; owing, it

other than Waldenses, the Beghards having this name from their frequent begging or praying, as they were called Lollards, or Lullards, from their singing; *lullen* having that meaning in Germany, where that appellation was given them. In Dauphiné and the neighbouring provinces, the Pope said there were a great number of Waldenses protected from the inquisitors by the king's officers.^o In consequence of this information, the king exerted himself to stop the progress of these sects. At Paris, their clothes and books were burned in the market place, and two of the Turlupins, one called Jeanne d'Aubenton, were burned.

Heretics, as they were called, were found beyond the bounds of Italy, or France. In A. D. 1315, some were discovered by the Dominican inquisitors, in Austria, and they were burned at Crems. They used neither baptism nor the Lord's supper, and in general despised the Roman hierarchy. They said, there were more than eight thousand in Bohemia, Austria, and the neighbouring countries. They all died in triumph, and are said to have paved the way for those who came after them, in Bohemia and Germany.

It is no uncommon thing to charge persons with the supposed consequences of their opinions. Thus, they who very justly laid little stress on the rites of the church, the efficacy of which was so excessively magnified by the Catholics, and on all external and corporeal acts in general, and who laid the greatest stress on inward piety, were supposed to be of opinion that all virtue and vice had so much their seat in the *mind*, as that, if *this* was in its right state, the most impure acts of the *body* alone could not contaminate it. It is probable that some persons viciously inclined may have drawn this consequence from the doctrine of the distinction between the immaterial soul and the gross body; but it is not probable that this was ever the avowed opinion of a whole sect, and least of all of those who suffered martyrdom for their religion. In this case, such accounts are altogether incredible, though we frequently meet with them in the writings of their adversaries. Thus it is said that, in A. D. 1356, one Berthold was condemned at Spire, for maintaining, among other things, that a man may in this life arrive at such a state of perfection, that he shall have no need of prayer, or fasting, and that nothing will be sin to him; that

is conjectured, to the family of some person of that name having been remarkably unfortunate. Hence, by way of contempt and abhorrence, these reformers might be called Turlupins. *Beausobre* in *Lenfant's Basle*, p. 384. (P.)

vocal prayer is useless to salvation, it being sufficient to pray in the spirit ; that an ignorant layman, without knowledge of books, but enlightened by God, may profit others and himself more than the most learned priest ; and that a devout man, in taking his ordinary food, may acquire as much grace as receiving the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. There was, probably, nothing in this but the sentiments of the Waldenses perverted.

Superior learning and knowledge has often exposed men to the persecution of bigots. This was the case of Roger Bacon, in a former period, and of Arnold of *Villa Nova*, a famous physician in Spain, whose good sense had led him to assert, that there was nothing but the externals of the Christian religion then left in the world.* In A. D. 1317, he was dead, but his opinions were then condemned by the inquisitors at Tarragona, in Spain. He is said to have prophesied that the end of the world would be in A. D. 1335.†

The power of these inquisitors was of such a nature, as to be very liable to abuse, and the civil powers, in many states, took umbrage at the office, and laid restrictions on it. In A. D. 1346, the Florentines passed a law, and the same had been done at Perugia in Spain, and in other places, that no inquisitor should meddle with any thing out of his office, or exact any fine, but only punish with death those who were convicted of heresy. In two years preceding this, the inquisitors had exacted more than seven thousand florins from the citizens, on the pretence of heresy, when, John Villani says, there never were fewer heretics in the city.

Sometimes the rage of the people against the inquisitors could not be restrained. In A. D. 1375, two inquisitors were murdered, one at Susa, and the other at Turin, the latter in the public square, before a church, by twelve persons. On this, the Pope wrote to the duke of Savoy, and the king of France, complaining of their neglecting the duties of their station, and of the nobles of the country favouring the heretics. After this, the inquisitors apprehended so many heretics in those provinces, that it was necessary to build more prisons ; and taxes were levied to support them.

* “ Que les Chrétiens n’avoient plus que l’apparence du culte extérieur, et qu’ils iroient inmanquablement tous en enfer.” *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* I. p. 212, art. *Arnaud de Villeneuve*.

† “ Il en fixa même l’année 1335 ou 1345.” *Ibid.*

SECTION X.

Of Wickliffe and his Followers.

WE have seen that the dispersion of the Waldenses was the means of exciting a spirit of opposition to the corruptions of the Church of Rome, in all parts of Europe. England did not escape this salutary influence; but it is probable that the greater number of those who visited England were immediately from Flanders, or Germany, from their having obtained the name of *Lollards*.* Their opinions, and their zeal, were adopted by *John Wickliffe*, who was born about A. D. 1324,† and educated at Oxford, where he greatly distinguished himself by his application to literature, and especially in the contest that was then carried on between the mendicant orders and the other members of that university. From opposing the encroachments of those friars, who were supported by the court of Rome, he was led to see more of the corruptions of that court, and of the system they maintained, than perhaps he would otherwise have done, though, compared with later reformers, he may be thought not to have proceeded very far. He acknowledged seven sacraments, saying they were “tokens that may be seen of things that could not be seen;” but he inveighed against the idle ceremonies of the church of Rome in the administration of them, and towards the latter part of his life, he questioned the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, but did not express himself clearly on the subject. He opposed the doctrine of absolution and indulgences, and though he believed a purgatory, and at one time was of opinion that pious prayers might be of use to persons confined in it, he afterwards maintained it to be a pernicious error. He rejected prayers to saints, the worship of images, and pilgrimages.

But the greatest offence he gave was, what he advanced against the clergy, and the power of the church. He denied the power of excommunication, saying, there could be no heresy without a bad life, and that no man can be properly excommunicated who does not first excommunicate himself.

* For the origin of this term, see *Mosheim*, Cent. xiv. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. xxxvi. Note; Ch. v. Sect. v. Note [e]. *Phillips* gives as one supposed origin of the name, “*Lolium*, because they were accounted as darnel or cockle growing among wheat.” *World of Words*, 1671.

† “In some part of the north of England.” *Brit. Biog.* I. p. 21. See an account of the family of *Wickliffe*, in *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 163.

Tithes, he said, were voluntary alms, and might be given or withheld, at the pleasure of the people. Church endowments he considered as the root of all the corruption of the clergy, and often wished the church was again reduced to its primitive poverty and innocence. He was still more adverse to the clergy having any secular employment, but preferred their being married to the obligation of living in celibacy. Peter-pence he thought an iniquitous imposition.

It does not appear that Wickliffe denied the supremacy of the Pope, or any of the more fundamental doctrines, then held by the church. He was a rigid predestinarian, and no doubt a Trinitarian. He seems to have thought it wrong to take away the life of man on any account, and that war was utterly unlawful, and much more, war in the name of religion, such as the popes promoted during the great schism. "When," he said, "will the proud priest of Rome grant indulgences to mankind to live in peace and charity, as he now does to fight, and kill one another?" That such a man as this was looked upon with a jealous eye by the popes, and the friends of the hierarchy, cannot be wondered at.

In A. D. 1376, Gregory XI. wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, the university of Oxford, and the king of England, complaining of their tolerating so long the errors of Wickliffe, then rector of Lutterworth, and requiring that he should be apprehended and examined. The errors with which he charged him were nineteen in number, such as have been enumerated. Accordingly, he was examined by Courtney, bishop of London, when he explained his propositions, but did not retract any of them; but, being supported by John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster, who attended him in person on this occasion, and also by lord Percy, earl marshal of England, nothing could be done against him.

Wickliffe, being now in great consideration, was consulted by the parliament about the lawfulness of employing the money that had been collected for the use of the Pope, in the service of the nation, and there could be no doubt but he would sanction the measure, the expediency of which was universally allowed.

But as the influence of the duke of Lancaster declined, the enemies of Wickliffe took their advantage of it; and in A. D. 1381, the archbishop of Canterbury called a council, in which the opinions of Wickliffe were condemned; but he being exceedingly popular, they did not venture to do any thing against his person. However, on the 20th of

June, two persons who held his opinions were examined, and declared to be heretics, and a power was obtained of the king to arrest and imprison all such.

Wickliffe himself died in peace in A. D. 1387, after suffering by the stroke of the palsy, which seized him two years before, as he was preaching. He left many writings, but his chief work was the translation of the Bible into English.*

So numerous were the disciples of Wickliffe, that at this time it was said that if two persons were met on the road, one might be sure that one of them was a Lollard.† This state of things giving some alarm to the court of Rome, a council was held in London, in consequence of a letter from pope Boniface IX. to king Richard, in 1396, in which several articles taken from the works of Wickliffe were condemned, among which were the following: that in the time of the apostles, the church had only priests and deacons; that popes, patriarchs and bishops, were the invention of pride; that popes, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, their officials and deans, the monks and friars, were the agents of Antichrist.‡

If the tide turned against the followers of Wickliffe in the reign of Richard II., it did much more so in the following reigns of Henry IV. and V., who, as their title to the crown was dubious, thought it necessary to pay court to the clergy. From them a power was obtained, to arrest, imprison and fine, for heresy, without waiting for the king's writ, which was necessary before, and often withheld. Having now the whole jurisdiction in their own hand, the persecution against heretics raged with the greatest violence, and many were the victims of their bigotry and intolerance.

The most distinguished of these martyrs was lord Cobham, who in the earlier part of his life had been a great favourite with Henry V., and deservedly so, as he was in all respects a most accomplished person, and useful to the king, both in council and in the field. As, however, he was an avowed patron of the Wickliffites, and even encouraged scholars from Oxford by stipends, to propagate his doctrines in the country, he could not escape a prosecution. The king wished to prevent it, and expostulated with him in private; but his reply to the king was as follows: "I ever was a

* See Lewis's "English Translations of the Bible," Ed. 2, 1739, pp. 17—71.

† Gilpin's *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 54. (P.)

‡ Fleury, p. 422. (P.)

dutiful subject to your majesty, and I hope ever will be. Next to God, I profess obedience to my king; but as to the spiritual dominion of the Pope, I could never see on what foundation it is claimed, nor can I pay him any obedience. As sure as God's word is true, to me it is fully evident, that he is the great Antichrist foretold in holy writ." This bold answer shocked the king so much, that he left him to his fate. In his examination before the archbishop, he behaved with equal firmness; and on the subject of the Lord's Supper would only say, that the elements contained the body and blood of Christ under the similitude of bread and wine. Perceiving that he gained nothing by his manly address to his judges, he said aloud to the persons present, "So these are your guides, good people; for the most flagrant transgressions of God's moral law was I never once called in question by them. I have expressed some dislike to their arbitrary appointments and traditions, and I am treated with unparalleled severity. But let them remember the denunciations of Christ against the Pharisees. All shall be fulfilled." This threw the court into some confusion; but the archbishop keeping to the subject of the eucharist, asked him whether, after the words of consecration, there remained any material bread. He replied, "the Scriptures make no mention of the word *material*. I believe that Christ's body remains in the form of bread." When he was told that their doctrine was the determination of the church and holy doctors, he replied, "I know none holier than Christ, and the apostles, and this determination is surely none of theirs. It is plainly against Scripture. I believe the Scriptures, and all that is founded upon them, but in your idle determinations I have no belief."

Through the whole of his examination he behaved with equal spirit. When the censure of the church was pronounced, he said, "You may condemn my body; my soul you cannot hurt:" and after a proper address to the people, he fell on his knees, and begged God to forgive his enemies. He was then sent to the Tower. While his adversaries seemed to be irresolute about what they should do with him, he made his escape, and flying to Wales, continued there four years. He was then, however, apprehended, on the idle pretence of having encouraged the assembling of twenty thousand men in St. Giles's Fields, with a view to dethrone the king; and then both as a traitor and a heretic, he was burned alive, being suspended with an iron chain,

and fire put under him at Tyburn, a punishment which he bore with the greatest fortitude. This was in A. D. 1414. *

In the eighth session of the Council of Constance, forty-five articles of the opinions of Wickliffe were condemned,† and he himself being also condemned as an obstinate heretic, his bones were ordered to be dug up and thrown away.‡

SECTION XI.

Of John Huss and Jerome of Prague.

THE steps of Wickliffe were followed with equal zeal and ability by John Huss, a native of *Hussinetz*, a village in Bohemia, from which he had his name. When the disciples of Wickliffe were persecuted in England, many of them left the country, and some of them went as far as Bohemia, where many of the Waldenses, and persons of similar principles, had taken refuge before. Also a Bohemian nobleman, who had studied at Oxford, and a great admirer of him, brought the books of Wickliffe to Bohemia. These were read by many persons, and among others by John Huss, then a young priest, a man of great genius, and a fluent speaker,§ a master of arts in the university of Prague,|| and preacher in a church which had been endowed by a rich citizen of the place. He had also a great advantage in being confessor to Sophia, the wife of Wenceslas, king of Bohemia, and in having a great ascendancy over her.

* See his *Life*, by *Mr. Gilpin*. (P.) Also, "A brefe Chronicle concerninge the Examynacyon and Death of the blessed Martyr of Christ, Syr Johan Oldecastell, the Lorde Cobham, not canonysed of the Pope, but in the precyouse bloude of his Lorde Jesus Christ. Collected by Johan Bale, and imprinted Anno Domini, 1544, et vi. die Augusti." Reprinted 1729. See also *Brit. Biog.* I. pp. 138—167.

† "On y lut l'évangile gardez-vous des faux prophètes, afin de préparer les esprits à la lecture et à la condamnation des articles de Wiclef." *Lenfant*, L. ii. Sect. lix. I. p. 144. See *Brit. Biog.* I. pp. 34, 140, *Notes*.

‡ "Le Concile condamne sa mémoire, et ordonne de déterrer ses os, si on peut les discerner d'avec les os des fidèles, afin d'être jettés à la voirie." *Ibid.* p. 157.

"Pursuant to this decree, the archdeacon and official of the diocese shortly after came, with their officers, to *Lutterworth* church, where Wickliffe lay buried, and having disinterred his bones, they, with much formality, burnt the same, and turned his dust into ashes, which ashes they also took and threw into the river, as if they would interest all the elements in their inhuman pageantry." *Hist. of Popery*, II. p. 170.

§ "Homme d'esprit, fort éloquent, bon philosophe, et en grande réputation, par la regularité de ses mœurs; *mundioris vitæ, opinione clarus*;" according to the testimony of *Æneas Sylvius*, a contemporary, quoted by *Lenfant*, L. i. Sect. xxii. I. p. 20.

|| "Des l'an 1393, il fut fait bachelier, et maître aux arts: en 1401, il fut doyen de la faculté philosophique, et en 1409, recteur de l'académie, où il eut beaucoup d'autorité." *Ibid.* p. 21.

He openly preached the doctrines of Wickliffe, and on all occasions enlarged in his praise.* But before this time, it is said that Bohemia, and even Austria, was full of *Lollards*, there being no fewer than eighty thousand, and many of them sealed their testimony against the corruptions of the church of Rome, with their blood.

In the seventeenth century, the Waldenses were allowed to settle on the Saltz, the Laun, and the Eger in Bohemia: nor was Popery established in that country till the fourteenth century, and then not by the consent of the people, but by the power and artifice of Charles IV. Two of his chaplains endeavoured to persuade him to curb the Pope, and reform the church; but both of them were banished. One of them, whose name was Janovius, and who had studied at Paris, being a man of sense, learning and piety, was a great friend of reformation, and both preached and wrote against the corruptions of the times. Before he died, he said, "At present the fury of the enemies of truth prevails against us, but it will not be so always. Men will arise without swords or power, and against them they will never be able to prevail."†

Huss was preceded by John Milicius, a native of Moravia, a canon and preacher in Prague. He contended for the communion in both kinds, was a popular preacher, and a man of an austere life. He died in A. D. 1374, and left sermons and other works.‡

In this state of things, the minds of great numbers would be well prepared for the preaching of such a man as John Huss. In A. D. 1408 and 1409, he distinguished himself so much by his declamation against the two popes, who then divided the obedience of the Christian world, and against the church of Rome itself, that the archbishop of Prague declared him a schismatic, and forbade his preaching.§ He also ordered all the books of Wickliffe to be burned. But Huss having now acquired a great share of popularity, being rector of the university, and having got much credit by asserting the privileges of native Bohemians in it, against the Germans, he paid no regard to the sentence of the archbishop,

* "En parloit hautement comme d'un saint, dans les sermons qu'il faisoit à Prague, dans la Chapelle de Bethléhem." *Lenfant*, Sect. xxv. l. p. 23.

† *Robinson*, p. 479. (P.)

‡ *Lenfant's Basle*, p. 14. (P.)

§ "En 1405, il se rendit fort célèbre par les prédications qu'il faisoit en langue vulgaire dans la fameuse Chapelle de Bethléhem, dont il étoit Curé.—Il n'y a pourtant point d'apparence qu'il ait prêché dans cette Chapelle aucune doctrine manifestement suspecte jusqu'à l'an 1409." *Lenfant*, L. i. Sect. xxiii. l. p. 21.

or to the bulls of pope Alexander V., which had been procured to support them.

The followers of Huss continually increasing, the affair was carried before John XXIII., who had succeeded Alexander; and he summoned Huss to appear before him at Bologna; but being supported by the queen, by the king himself, and by the university, he excused himself. He, however, sent three persons to appear for him; and the king, by whose interposition Huss had made his peace with the archbishop, requested that the Pope would content himself with sending legates into his country to correct any abuses they might find there; sufficiently intimating that there were none. Huss, however, not appearing in person, according to the citation, was declared to be contumacious, and as such, was excommunicated by the cardinal Colonna, to whom had been committed the cognizance of the affair. An appeal being made from the sentence of the cardinal, the Pope again summoned him to appear before himself, and appointed four commissaries to hear the cause.

It does not appear that Huss paid any regard to these measures of the Pope; for, in the beginning of A. D. 1411, he not only excommunicated him, but laid the city of Prague under an interdict, while he should be in it, excepting one particular church. This being the cause of much dissension, and even some bloodshed in the city, Huss retired from it to *Hussinetz*, the place of his nativity,* and there published an appeal from the sentence of the Pope to the Holy Trinity. At the same time he addressed himself to the cardinals, proposing to give an account of his faith, before the members of the university, and all the clergy, and said he would submit to their sentence, though, in consequence of it, he should be condemned to the flames. In this absence from Prague, he preached in several towns and villages, followed by great crowds of people, and then he published a treatise to shew that the books of heretics ought not to be burned.

John XXIII. having published some violent bulls against Ladislas, Huss, who had returned to Prague, took the opportunity to declaim against his conduct, as exciting Christians to shed the blood of one another, and also against indulgences and crusades in general, and challenged the doctors to dispute

* "Où il prêchoit sous la protection de *Nicolas de Huss*, Seigneur de ce lieu." *Lenfant*, L. i. Sect. xxv. l. p. 23.

with him on the power of the Pope with respect to such crusades.* On this, a new champion on the part of Huss appeared, viz. Jerome of Prague. He was neither a clergyman nor a monk, but, having studied in several of the most celebrated universities of Europe, and taken the degrees of bachelor and master in theology,† he had been invited by the king of Poland to regulate the university of Cracow. Thence he had gone into Hungary, where he was accused of heresy; and going thence to Vienna, had been put in prison, but was delivered at the request of the university of Prague. He now made a long harangue in support of the theses of Huss. By this time the friends of Huss being very numerous, and one provocation producing another, some of them insulted those who were preaching the papal indulgences; and on their calling the Pope Antichrist, three of them were apprehended by order of the senate, and beheaded in the night, their friends honouring them as martyrs.

The next year, the Pope published another bull against the errors of Wickliffe and the Hussites, ordering the book of the former to be burned, and citing Huss and all his partisans to appear at Rome in nine months. To this citation Huss paid no regard, but continued to declaim as violently as ever against the abuses of the church of Rome. Two years after this, viz. in A. D. 1414, the Pope issued another citation, but Huss replied, that the Pope being only a priest like himself, he had no authority to judge him.‡ On the other hand, he fixed up in his church of Bethelhem a writing, in which he accused the clergy of six errors: viz. 1, Their asserting that in the celebration of the eucharist they created their Creator; 2, Their believing in the Virgin, the Pope, and the Saints; 3, Their pretending that whenever they please, they can remit the punishment and the guilt of sin; 4, That superiors are to be obeyed, whether their commands are just or unjust;

* "C' est ce qui le brouilla avec *Etienne Paletz*, docteur en théologie à Prague, auparavant son intime ami, et l' un des principaux Hérauts de cette Croisade." *Lenfant*, L. i. Sect. xxv. l. p. 24.

† "Ayant reçu ce Grade Académique en 1399. Il avoit étudié dans la plupart des plus célèbres Académies de l' Europe; comme dans celles de Paris, de Heidelberg, de Cologne, et d' Oxford. On lui reprocha au Concile d' avoir copié en Angleterre (en 1398) les livres de Wiclef, et de les avoir apportés en Bohême." *Ibid.* L. ii. Sect. xx. l. p. 110.

‡ "Jean Huss ne laissa pourtant pas d' envoyer ses procureurs à la cour de Rome, afin de repondre pour lui. Mais ils y furent mis en prison et fort indignement traités, après y avoir séjourné inutilement pendant un an et demi. De là suivit l' excommunication de Jean Huss, qui n' eut plus d' autre ressource que d' en appeller au prochain Concile." *Ibid.* L. i. Sect. xxv. l. p. 23.

5, That every excommunication, just or unjust, binds the person excommunicated. The 6th related to simony.

The Pope gaining nothing by these citations, wrote to the king, to engage him to use every means in his power to extirpate the doctrine of Huss in his dominions; but this prince paid no more regard to this requisition than Huss himself.

The Council of Constance being now assembled, Huss was glad of the opportunity, which he flattered himself it would afford him, of justifying himself, and spreading his principles; but he formed a very wrong judgment of the spirit of that assembly, and the temper and power of his adversaries. He had, however, the precaution to get a safe-conduct from the emperor Sigismond, which should have ensured his safety, both in going thither, during his stay, and till his return.* Trusting to this, he set out for Constance with great confidence, publishing in all the places he went through, that he went to justify himself from the accusations that had been brought against him. Wenceslas, for his greater security, sent with him three Bohemian lords, and they arrived at Constance November 3, A. D. 1414. But notwithstanding his safe-conduct, and the remonstrance of the emperor, he was presently after his arrival ordered to be taken into custody, and eight articles of accusation brought against him: 1, His having taught that the laity ought to communicate in both kinds; 2, That in the sacrament of the altar the bread remains bread, after consecration; 3, That priests in a state of mortal sin cannot administer the sacrament, but that laymen in a state of grace may do it; 4, That by the church is not to be understood the Pope and the clergy; that the church cannot hold temporal possessions, and that the lay lords may take them from it; 5, That Constantine and the other princes did wrong in endowing the church; 6, That all priests are equal in authority; and that ordinations and cases reserved to the popes and the bishops, are the effect of ambition; 7, That the church has not the power of the keys, when the Pope, and the cardinals, and all the clergy, are in a state of mortal sin. Lastly, he was charged with despising excommunication, having always performed divine service during his journey.

For his defence against these accusations, he was not

* "De le laisser librement et sûrement passer, demeurer, s'arrêter, et retourner," dated 18 October, 1414. See *Lenfant*, L. i. Sect. xli. l. p. 39.

allowed to have any advocate, this being a privilege never granted to any person accused of heresy. He was not, however, discouraged, and his mind was so much at ease, that during his confinement he composed several treatises. It was evidently with reluctance that the emperor abandoned him; but when the commissaries appointed to try Huss applied to him, he said that, as it was a case of *heresy*, they were at full liberty, willing to have it supposed that, in this case, he had no power to give a safe-conduct. But of this Huss ought to have been apprized in time, that if he had come, it might have been understood that it was at his own risk. The Bohemian nobility saw the case in this light, and made earnest remonstrances against his imprisonment; but the clergy having him now in their power, and having the consent of the emperor, would hear no reason. He continued two months a prisoner with the Dominicans,* and then was transferred to the Franciscans.

In the fifth session of the council, in which the decree of a council held at Rome, to punish all those who did not burn the books of Wickliffe, was confirmed, commissaries were named to judge in the affair of Huss; and they omitted nothing to induce him to retract his errors. But though in prison and sick, he replied to all their charges, and till he had a public audience of the emperor, which he was made to believe he should have, he was put into the custody of the bishop of Constance, by whose order he was confined in the fortress of Göttingen, beyond the Rhine.†

On the 5th of June, A. D. 1415, he was examined before the council, after having been brought once more to the prison of the Franciscans, when he denied his having ever asserted that the substance of material bread remained in the consecrated elements, or that he had maintained any of the errors of Wickliffe. He acknowledged, however, his having said that he ought not to have been condemned unheard, and that he thought he was saved, and wished that his soul might be with him; and, that he agreed with him in the opinion, that Constantine had done wrong in giving estates to the church, and that tithes were alms, though the people were under obligations to pay them.

At his third audience,‡ his adversaries having carefully

* "Où il tomba dangereusement malade. L'ancien histoire de sa vie dit ici que le Pape, ne voulant pas apparemment qu'il mourût d'une mort ordinaire, lui envoya ses médecins pour avoir soin de sa santé." *Lenfant*, L. i. Sect. xli. l. p. 39.

† See *Lenfant*, L. ii. Sect. xix. l. p. 109.

‡ June 8, 1415. The second audience was on the 7th, a day remarkable for an eclipse of the sun, total at Prague, and nearly so at Constance. "Environ une heure après

perused his writings, extracted from them thirty-nine heads of accusation, among which were the following: "St. Peter neither was, nor is, the head of the Catholic church. The papal dignities came from the emperors. Wicked priests only profane the sacraments. No heretic ought to be punished corporally. The appeal to Jesus Christ makes the judgment of the Pope and the council of no effect. Interdicts are unlawful. A priest who lives according to the law of Christ, ought to preach, notwithstanding any excommunication whatever." After being long urged to confess his errors, and submit to the council, in which the emperor joined his examiners, he persisted in defending himself, and was remanded to prison.*

On the 6th of July, Huss, being produced before a full council, solemnly appealed to the tribunal of Jesus Christ. This was imputed to him as a crime, † and it was decreed that his books should be burned, and himself degraded. While these sentences were pronouncing, he was on his knees, denying the obstinacy with which he was charged, and praying for his judges and accusers. After his degradation, by taking off, one by one, his sacerdotal habits, ‡ he was declared to be a layman, and delivered over to the secular power, the consequence of which was, his being ordered to be burned alive. When they were conducting him to the place of execution, they led him by the place where his books were burning. § But nothing they could do made any impression on him. He kept reciting psalms all the way to the stake; and to the last, shewed the greatest fortitude and piety. His enemies acknowledged that no philosopher suffered death with so much firmness. || After

l'eclipse les prélats s' étant rassemblés en présence de l' empereur, que les seigneurs de Bohême avoient prié de s' y trouver pour empêcher le desordre qui avoit régné dans l' assemblée précédente, Jean Huss comparut pour la seconde fois, entouré du grand nombre de soldats." *Lenfant*, L. iii. Sect. v. l. p. 200.

* " Il paroît par la relation, et par les lettres de Jean Huss, qu' une audience si longue et si pénible (*chargé de chaînes*) l' avoit extrêmement affoibli de corps et d' esprit. Il conjure ses amis de prier Dieu pour lui, parce dit il, que l' esprit est prompt, mais la chair est foible." *Ibid.* L. iii. Sect. iv. vii.—xi. l. pp. 199, 209—229.

† "Mais il le soutint, comme un appel très juste et très légitime, fondé sur l' exemple de J. C. lui-même, qui avoit remis sa cause au jugement de Dieu." *Ibid.* Sect. xvii. l. p. 272.

‡ "On avoit dressé au milieu de l' église une table fort élevée, sur laquelle étoient les habits sacerdotaux, afin d' en revêtir Jean Huss, et de l' en dépouiller ensuite. On le fit mettre devant cette table, sur une marche pied assez haut, afin qu' il put être vu plus aisément de tout le monde." *Ibid.* L. iii. Sect. xliii. l. p. 270.

§ "Il ne pût s' empêcher de rire de cette execution." *Ibid.* Sect. li. p. 276.

|| Such is the acknowledgment of *Æneas Sylvius*, quoted by *Lenfant*. See *Ibid.* pp. 277, 278. See also *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 378.

his death, his ashes were thrown into the river, to prevent their being collected, and preserved as relics, by his followers; but it is said that, in lieu of them, they scraped up the earth on which he had stood.*

It does not appear that Huss denied any proper article of the Catholic faith, or that he recommended any of the writings of Wickliffe, except those in which he declaimed against the corruptions of the court of Rome. But he had made himself many and bitter enemies on several accounts. He was a strenuous *Realist*, and zealous opposer of the *Nominalists*, who were numerous at Prague, and the virulence with which these two parties in the schools opposed each other had no bounds: and the Council of Constance was very much governed by Gerson, who was a *Nominalist*. Huss had also made himself many enemies, among the Germans, who had most influence in the council, by his conduct with respect to the university of Prague.†

As Huss held the real presence, and all the other doctrinal articles of the church of Rome, the true motives for his condemnation must have been his respect for the memory of Wickliffe, whom he persisted in maintaining to have been a holy man,‡ and his vehement declamations against the corruptions of the court of Rome, and of the clergy in general. His sentiments on this subject were not different from those of many of the most respectable members of the council; but they had not addressed the common people on the subject, so as to endanger the tranquillity of any state, as Huss did.

The *Flagellants* were in fact more hostile to the church of Rome than Huss. They made no account of any of its sacraments; they denied the real presence and transubstantiation; and with respect to ecclesiastical abuses of all kinds, they went beyond Wickliffe or Huss, besides holding other opinions still more offensive, if what is generally said of them by Catholic writers be true.§ But notwithstanding this, the council passed no censure upon them, but endeavoured to gain them by gentle measures, especially by

* "Et l'emportèrent précieusement à Prague." See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* III. p. 378.

† *Mosheim*, III. p. 228—230. (P.) Cent. xv. Pt. ii. Ch. ii. Sect. vi.

‡ Thus speaking in a reply to John Stokes, an Englishman, "Ego autem non concedo, nec credo quòd Magister Johannes Wiclef sit hæreticus, sed nec nego; sed spero quòd non est hæreticus. Unde spero quòd Magister Johannes Wiclef est de salvandis." *Op. Huss*, (T. I. fol. 108, 2,) in *Lenfant*, L. iii. Sect. xxiii. l. p. 205.

§ *Theodoric Urie*, a monk, who wrote a history of the Council of Constance, attributes to the *Flagellants* twenty articles of faith, some of which are highly extravagant. See *Ibid.* L. v. Sect. xlv. ll. pp. 483—485.

winning over Vincent Ferrier, who favoured them, and whose preaching was always attended by great crowds of them.* In reality, they probably considered them as a set of furious fanatics, who would only be driven to greater excesses by severity. They, therefore, wisely left the evil to cure itself. But this was not so likely to answer with the Hussites, whose proceedings were more calm and rational, and therefore more likely to produce serious and permanent effects.†

The news of the execution of Huss excited the greatest disturbance in Prague, where his disciples honoured him as a martyr. The lords of Bohemia and Moravia, to the number of sixty, wrote to the council, complaining of their conduct in condemning Huss as a heretic, without proving him to have been one; and giving him the greatest encomium, as a faithful minister of the gospel, irreproachable in his doctrine and morals. It had been well if the friends of Huss had only acted in this manner; but without considering the genuine spirit of Christianity, or following the doctrine and example of their Master, they assembled in arms, and not only plundered the houses of the archbishop, and the clergy, but put several persons to death. Not stopping here, and expecting that force would be employed against them, they formed themselves into a regular army, and gave the command to John de Troeznou, commonly known by the name of *Zisca*, which signifies *one-eyed*, he having lost the other in a battle, in the wars of the king of Poland against the Teutonic Knights; and who was at that time chamberlain to Wenceslas.‡ But the events of this unchristian and destructive war will be related in the next period of this history. I return to the account of Jerome of Prague.

Jerome went to Constance out of zeal to comfort and serve his friend Huss, and arrived there April 4, A. D. 1415; but perceiving, by the situation in which he found things, that he could not serve him, and might endanger himself; and finding that he would not be allowed a public audience before the council, he fled to Uberlingen, whence he wrote to the emperor, and the lords of Bohemia, for a safe-conduct; which, after some delay, was granted, but

* “Une foule prodigieuse de pénitens, qui se fouettoient jusqu’ au sang, et qui courroient, par tout, après lui, pour l’ entendre prêcher. On peut juger que le Saint voyoit sans chagrin les fruits de sa prédication, et que si le Flagellans aimoient à l’ entendre, il n’ étoit pas fâché d’ en être suivi.” Ferrier taught, like the *Flagellants*, that *Antichrist* was already come, and that the last judgment was very near. See *Lenfant*, I. v. Sect. xlv. xlvii. II. p. 486.

† *Lenfant's Constance*, II. p. 90. (P.)

‡ *Lenfant*, L. iv. Sect. xxvii. I. p. 330.

artfully drawn, as it promised him safety in going to the council, but expressed nothing about his return. Having, however, no suspicion of artifice, he returned, and fixed a writing to all the churches and monasteries in Constance, signifying his readiness to attend the council, in order to give an account of his faith, and even undergo the punishment of heresy if he could be proved to be a heretic. No attention being paid to what he had done, he set out on his return to Bohemia, but was arrested on the road,* and conducted to Constance as a prisoner.

Being examined with respect to his flight, and his opinions, he answered with great modesty and firmness; and some of the examiners mentioning the punishment of fire, he said he submitted to the will of God, if that was their pleasure. Being remanded to prison,† he fell sick, and being overlooked, he continued in prison till May the year following; and in that interval Huss was executed. The members of the council hearing of the disturbance occasioned by their proceedings with respect to him, took great pains to induce him to recant, and at length they succeeded. In the presence of the council, he read a form of recantation‡ that was drawn up for him, in which he condemned the errors of Wickliffe and Huss, and declared his belief of the Catholic faith, on the subjects of the power of the keys, the sacraments, indulgences, relics, &c. &c.; but notwithstanding this, he was still detained a prisoner, the sincerity of his recantation being suspected, and there being a disposition in the majority to find him a heretic, and punish him as such, after they had disgraced him.§

Whether he was fully apprized of this or not, does not appear. However, repenting of what he had done, he requested a public hearing,|| with a view, as he said, to explain his sentiments; and it was granted, after being warned that if he persisted in his errors, he would be treated with the greatest rigour. To this he made no objection; and being permitted to speak, he began with complaining of the injustice of his judges, and passed to a high encomium

* “ Parce que le Concile ne lui avoit voulu donner un sauf-conduit, que pour venir à Constance, et non pour s'en retourner.” *Lenfant*, L. ii. Sect. xlvi. p. 136.

† “ Où on l'attacha à un poteau, les mains liées au cou d'une même chaîne en sorte que les mains tiroient la tête en bas. Il demeura deux jours dans cette cruelle posture, jeûnant au pain et à l'eau.” This cruelty was exercised at the instigation of the archbishop of Riga. See *Lenfant*, L. ii. Sect. lxxxiii. p. 183.

‡ Sept. 23, 1415. See the form, *Ibid.* L. iv. Sect. xxx. p. 334.

§ *Ibid.* Sect. xxxix. p. 340.

On being privately interrogated, April 27, 1416. *Ibid.* Sect. lxviii. p. 380.

on Huss; saying, that he came to Constance to support him, that he gloried in holding his sentiments, and that nothing but the fear of death had been his motive for retracting them. This retraction he revoked, as the greatest crime with which his conscience was burdened.* He declared his approbation of the doctrines of Wickliffe and Huss, excepting what Wickliffe had advanced concerning the eucharist, and his resolution to adhere to this profession as long as he should live. This was the 26th of May. [1416.]

Being remanded to prison, he was, on the 30th of the same month, brought again before the council, and, being reproached for his conduct, he replied with the greatest firmness and presence of mind to every thing that was advanced against him; and persisting in his refusal to retract his opinions, sentence was pronounced against him as a heretic relapsed, and he was delivered to the secular power. Two days, however, being allowed him to prepare for death, endeavours were again used to induce him to recant, but to no purpose. He heard the repetition of his sentence with a cheerful countenance; and as he went to the place of execution, recited the Apostles' Creed, the Litany, and a hymn to the Virgin Mary. When he saw the wood that was prepared for his execution, he again repeated the creed, and suffered with the greatest fortitude.† His ashes were carefully gathered up, and, like those of Huss, thrown into the river.‡

SECTION XII.

Of various Opinions, Theological and Moral, that were the Subject of Discussion in this Period.

THIS Period, as well as the preceding, produced much and subtle speculation, and consequently controversy; but the great dread of heresy served to keep it within bounds, and prevented discussions of the greatest consequence, within the precincts of the Catholic church. Some of the questions that were then started are curious, and deserving

* *Lenfant*, L. iv. Sect. lxxv. lxxvii. I. pp. 392, 395.

† *Poggio*, who says he was an eye-witness of that tragedy, and beheld all the *Acts*, declares that *Mutius Scevola* put his hand into the flame, and *Socrates* swallowed the poison, with less courage and intrepidity, than *Jerome of Prague* endured the punishment of fire. *Lenfant*, L. iv. Sect. lxxviii. I. pp. 397—399.

‡ *Ibid.* Sect. lxxvii. pp. 394—397. See *supra*, p. 555.

the notice of theologians and moralists, who attend to the progress of the human intellect.

One of the most interesting discussions within the bounds of the Catholic church in this Period was, that which was excited by pope John XXII., who was well versed in the theology of the times. Being a man of reading and learning, he leaned to the opinion of the ancient Christians concerning *the state of the dead*, which was lost in the superstition of later times. Notwithstanding the general opinion of the existence of a soul distinct from the body, it was not thought, during many centuries after the Christian æra, that the souls of the most virtuous went to heaven, to be with God and Christ, till after their union with their bodies at the resurrection. An exception, however, was first made in favour of the souls of martyrs, which were thought to be entitled to peculiar privileges. Without this they never could have become the objects of prayer; and originally prayer was made *for* the dead, and not *to* them. At length, however, it came to be the universal opinion, that the souls of all good men went immediately to heaven after death.

This doctrine, now universally received, was called in question by this pope. In a sermon which he preached in A. D. 1331, he said, that the saints will not enjoy the perfect vision of God till after the resurrection; that till that time they were “under the altar of God, under the protection and consolation of the humanity of Christ.”* This gave great offence to many; and his enemies among the Franciscans were eager to put this doctrine in the number of heresies. So bold and extraordinary was his doctrine thought to be, that his friends said, it was only advanced by him as an opinion to be discussed, and not as a certain truth; and no public notice was taken of it for two years; though, probably, in order to gain favour with the Pope, some of the cardinals professed to think as he did on the subject.

A question started by a pope was not likely to pass long without notice; and in A. D. 1333, an English Dominican, having preached against the Pope's doctrine, was, by his order, put in prison. Notwithstanding this, it was generally censured by the university of Paris, which was the great school of theology in these times. The unpopularity of his doctrine in a place of so much conse-

* See *supra*, p. 472, and Vol. V. p. 227.

quence gave the Pope no small alarm; and in order to counteract the opposers of his doctrine there, he sent two doctors of divinity to Paris, one a Franciscan, and the other a Dominican, though on another pretence: but when one of them delivered a sermon in defence of it before many of the students, his labours were very ill received. Such an error, it was said, ought not to pass without punishment. The king being not a little disturbed at it, the Pope wrote to him, to say that what he had advanced was only to promote the discussion of a question concerning which different fathers had held different opinions, but that the church had not decided any thing about it.

This, however, was not sufficient to satisfy the king. He assembled his doctors of theology at Paris, and they, in writing, gave an opinion directly against that of the Pope; which giving him still greater alarm, he assembled the cardinals in January, A. D. 1335, and after reading to them various passages of writers for and against the opinion, he declared that, if any thing that he had advanced was contrary to the Scriptures, or the Catholic faith, it was not his intention, and he expressly revoked it.

The king was not satisfied with this. He told the Franciscan who had preached at Paris, that he was a heretic, and if he did not retract what he had advanced, he would have him punished as a *Paterin*; saying, he would not suffer heresy in his kingdom, and that if the Pope himself should maintain that opinion, he would condemn him in the same manner; adding that, though a simple layman, he was a good Christian; that it was in vain to pray to the saints, or hope for salvation from their merits, if they did not see the divinity till the day of judgment; that, in this case, all indulgences granted by the church were vain, and consequently that it overturned the Catholic faith.

Both the king of France and Robert of Naples wrote to the Pope on this occasion, representing to him, that though he had moved the question only with a view to discover the truth, he had done more than became him as pope. It was enough for him to decide questions when they arose. The extreme unpopularity of the Pope's opinion gave the king of France such an ascendancy over him, that from this time he durst not refuse him any thing. And just before he died he assembled the cardinals, and declared to them, that he believed that souls separated from the body and purified, are in heaven in paradise, with Jesus Christ, and in the company of angels, and that they see God and the divine essence

face to face, as much as is consistent with the state of a separate soul; and that if he had ever said or preached otherwise, he retracted it. That he really changed his opinion in consequence of the opposition it had met with, is not probable, and the last clause of his declaration rendered his retraction of no force.

His successor Benedict had it much at heart to determine authoritatively the question about the beatific vision, which had been proposed by John. He took the pains to compose a treatise on the subject, retiring from Avignon that he might have more leisure for the purpose. This he read in a consistory, to which he summoned all those who held the opinion of John, but he could not expect any opposition on such an occasion as that. This work of Benedict's is still preserved at Rome. After this preliminary, he, the next year, published a bull, in which it was declared, "that the souls of all the saints, when they are purified, even before the resurrection, go to paradise, and see the divine essence with an intuitive vision, face to face, without the interposition of any creature; and that the souls of those who die in mortal sin go immediately to hell, and are tormented there."

The theologians of this age were generally great logicians and metaphysicians, and their opinions on these subjects were sometimes thought to border on heresy; and when they attracted any considerable degree of public notice, it will be expected that an historian should give information concerning them, however insignificant they may be in themselves.

At the Council of Vienne, in A. D. 1311, some opinions of Ubertin de Casal, a great admirer of John de Oliva, and a person of much note among the spiritual Franciscans, were thought to be of so much consequence as to be publicly condemned, in its decrees. He asserted, that the divine essence engenders and is engendered, which was an opinion of the abbot Joachim, condemned at the Council of Lateran, in A. D. 1215. He also maintained that the reasonable soul is not the substantial form of the human body, which must have been thought to imply that they had no proper connexion; for, in consequence of this, he was charged with believing that souls only can have merit or demerit. He likewise asserted, that children at baptism receive the remission of original sin only, and not the graces and virtues.

In opposition to these tenets, it was now decreed, that "the Son of God subsisted eternally with the Father, in

every thing by which the Father existed, that he took the parts of our nature united together, viz. a passible body and a reasonable soul, which is the substantial form of the body." It was also decreed that, "whosoever should dare to maintain that the reasonable soul is not the substantial form of the body, ought to be considered as a heretic." Lastly, it was declared to be "the most probable opinion, that graces and virtues are conferred at baptism, to infants as well as to adults."

In A. D. 1329, John XXII. condemned several extraordinary propositions of Eccard, a Dominican, among which were the following: "God created the world as soon as he himself existed; so that the world is eternal. Whatever God gave to the Son in his human nature, he gives to us, even union with himself and sanctification. Whatever the Scriptures say of Jesus Christ, is true of every good Christian. Whatever belongs to the divine nature belongs to him. God is so much one, that he is without any distinction, even of persons." In what manner soever Eccard might explain his assertions, he was held in great esteem, as appears by the writings of John Thaulerus, another Dominican, and famous among the mystical theologians, though what he says concerning *transformation into God* resembles the refinements of the *Beghards* of this time, and the *Quietists* in a later period.

We do not find in this period any controversy of the least importance, concerning the person of Christ; but some opinions that bear some relation to the doctrines of the Trinity and transubstantiation, having engaged a great degree of attention at the time in which they were advanced, deserve some notice of the historian, though not of the divine, at present.

In A. D. 1346, the doctors of Paris condemned the opinions of John de Merceur, a Cistercian, some of which were the following: "Jesus Christ by his created will, may will something that will never come to pass. But in whatever manner God wills, he wills efficaciously; so that it actually comes to pass, even with respect to men, so that no person sins otherwise than as God wills."

In A. D. 1351, Francis Baille, a Franciscan, maintained that the blood of Christ shed in his passion was separated from his divinity, and therefore was not to be adored with the worship of *latria*, during the three days in which he lay dead. A Dominican opposed him in this, and Clement VI. holding a solemn assembly on the occasion, condemned the

doctrine of the Franciscan, and obliged him to make a public recantation of it.

In A. D. 1371, complaint was made to Gregory XI. of some Dominicans in Spain advancing in a sermon, that if a consecrated host fell into the dirt, or was eaten by mice, &c., it became mere bread, the body of Christ leaving it; he forbade preaching on the subject, but did not decide the question. Peter Lombard was also undecided on the subject, but Thomas Aquinas held that the body of Christ continues in the wafer in all events.

Some propositions advanced by John de Montson, a Dominican of Catalonia, in A. D. 1307, had more serious consequences. Being a doctor in theology, he maintained in the schools, that "the hypostatical union in Jesus Christ is greater than the union of the three persons in the divine essence. There may be a mere creature more perfect with respect to merit than the soul of Jesus Christ. The Virgin Mary was not exempted from original sin." These, and several other propositions of less consequence, were first condemned by the university of Paris, and then by Clement VII., who excommunicated him, for flying from his sentence. One of his followers, William de Valon, bishop of Evreux, after being obliged to retract his opinions, fled to Urban, and wrote a large treatise in defence of his right. This was the occasion of a great persecution of the Dominicans in France, especially in the northern parts of the kingdom. Many of them were imprisoned, no alms were given to them, and they were forbidden to preach, or to hear confessions. The university banished them entirely, and they became the laughing stock of the common people, who called them *Huets*.* This continued many years. Those who opposed them thought they did honour to the blessed Virgin; so much had the opinion of her immaculate conception then gained ground.

Scholars in this period were much divided into the professed followers of Thomas Aquinas, who was a Dominican, called *Thomists*, and those of his rival John Duns Scotus, a Franciscan, who were denominated *Scotists*. The points of difference between them related to the nature of the divine co-operation with the human will, the measure of grace necessary to salvation, the unity of form in man, or personal identity, and other subtle questions. But one of the principal differences between the Dominicans and the Franciscans

* *Huette* or *Hulote* signifies *Madgehowlet*, a species of Owl.

was, that the latter defended the doctrine of the *immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary*, which was opposed by the former. At the Council of Constance, in A. D. 1416, Gerson proposed that the controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin should be decided by that assembly. He was not only an advocate for this doctrine, but also proposed to institute a festival in honour of the immaculate conception of her husband Joseph.*

In this age of nice distinctions and subtle disputation, the doctrines of *grace* and *predestination* were the subjects of some discussions. In A. D. 1354, Gui, a hermit of St. Austin, and other persons in France and England, were condemned for maintaining that "a man may so merit eternal life, that God would be unjust in not giving it to him; and that though there were no free will, there might be sin." In England, some held that "the first man would have died, though he had not sinned; that original sin does not make a man guilty, and others of a similar nature;" which shews the dawning of good sense on these subjects.

At a council held at Canterbury in A. D. 1368, the following opinions, of the same general complexion, were also condemned: "Every man ought to have the free choice of turning to God, or from him, and according to this choice he will be saved or damned. Baptism is not necessary to the salvation of infants. No person will be damned for original sin only. Grace, as it is commonly explained, is an illusion, and eternal life may be merited by the force of nature. Nothing can be bad, merely because it is forbidden. The fruit that Adam was forbidden to eat, was forbidden because it was in itself bad. Man is necessarily mortal, (Jesus Christ included,) as well as other animals. All the damned, even the demons, may be restored, and become happy. God cannot make a reasonable creature, impeccable." It was an honour to the age and the country, to produce such sentiments as these; but it was but a sudden blaze, in the midst of much thick darkness, and, as far as appears, was soon extinguished.

In A. D. 1371, Albert, bishop of Halberstadt, taught that "every thing comes to pass necessarily, according to the influence of the stars." As he was a doctor of the university of Paris, many persons, and especially of the nobility, adopted his opinion, and in consequence of it, ceased praying either to God, or the saints. This was a sufficient call upon the

* *Fleury*, XXI. p. 397. (P.) *Lenfant*, L. iv. Sect. xciii. l. pp. 409, 410.

Pope to interfere, and he ordered the inquisitors to oblige him to retract his opinion, and moreover to reprobate it in the most public manner.

In A. D. 1376, the writings of Raymond Lulli, not the Franciscan of that name, (who distinguished himself by his writings, and more by dying in his attempt to convert the Mahometans of Barbary,) but a Jew, pretended to be converted, were censured by Gregory XI. He had advanced that "God may be denied in public, provided he be confessed with the heart, and that the laws of Mahomet were as good as those of Jesus Christ.*

The duke of Burgundy having assassinated the duke of Orleans in the reign of Charles VI. of France, John Petit, a Franciscan, published a treatise in which he defended his conduct, on the principle of its being lawful to kill a tyrant, even though an oath had been taken to the contrary. But the Council of Constance, at the instance of Gerson, without mentioning the writer, condemned the principle as heretical, seditious, authorizing treason and perjury, and decreed that they who maintained it should be considered as obstinate heretics.†

The Greek church was not without its share of controversy in this period, any more than the Latin, nor was the subject of more consequence. Barlaam of Calabria returning from Avignon, had, in A. D. 1343, a great dispute with some monks of Mount Atlas, at the head of whom was Gregory Palamas. They pretended that by intense acts of devotion they could, with corporeal eyes, see a divine light, and the same that had appeared to the apostles on the Mount of Transfiguration, which light they maintained was the same with God himself. The Greek emperor not being able to reconcile the contending parties, a council was called at Constantinople in June, A. D. 1344, in which the emperor himself presided, along with the patriarch John, when the doctrine of Palamas was condemned. Notwithstanding this, the empress Ann, in order to mortify the patriarch, with whom she was at variance, encouraged Palamas and his followers; in consequence of which, his doctrine spread, and occasioned much disturbance, the bishops and clergy vio-

* *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Hist. Eccles. in Ann.* The continuator of *Fleury*, and *Mosheim*, suppose this Raymond Lulli to have been the same with the Franciscan. (P.) "Raimond Lulle, de Terraca, surnommé le *Neophyte*, de Juif se fit Dominicain, et retourna ensuite au Judaïsme. Il soutint des erreurs monstrueuses, condamnées par le Pape Grégoire XI." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IX. p. 223.

Lenfant, L. iii. Sect. xix. xxvi. l. pp. 239, 246.

lently opposing them. She even procured the deposition of the patriarch, and the bishops being assembled on the occasion, declared that Palamas had spoken like a good theologian. Isidore, a friend of Palamas, being made patriarch, there was a schism in the church; the bishops in general assembling and excommunicating him. Similar excommunications were thundered from other quarters, as Antioch, Alexandria, Trebisonde, Cyprus, Rhodes and other places; and though Palamas himself was made bishop of Thessalonica, the people would not receive him, so that he retired to the isle of Lemnos.

In A. D. 1351, the emperor Contacuzenus, who favoured Palamas, held a council, in which his doctrine of the light upon Mount Tabor being uncreated, was confirmed, and several persons who were of the contrary opinion were deposed, notwithstanding the opposition of Nicephorus Gregoras, who wrote the history of it. To make this decree the more solemn, the emperor, most magnificently dressed, placed an account of it, drawn up by Palamas, with his own hand upon the altar, together with another writing, in answer to Barlaam and Acyndinus.

SECTION XIII.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

1. *Of several Attempts to procure an Union of the Greek and Latin Churches.*

IN this period as well as the preceding, there were attempts to procure an union between the rival churches of Rome and Constantinople, all arising from the same motive on the part of the Greeks, and all having the same end. The Greek emperors wanted the aid of the Latins against their powerful Mahometan enemies, but the clergy and people were utterly averse to an union of the churches; and yet on no other terms could any assistance be procured from the West. Besides, after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, the Greeks regarded them with tenfold abhorrence.

In A. D. 1339, Barlaam of Calabria, and Stephen Dandolo, a noble Venetian, came to Avignon with letters to the king of France, and Robert, king of Naples; saying that they were sent by Andronicus the Greek emperor, to treat of an union between the two churches. He was at that time hard pressed by the Turks, but so many difficulties arose

with respect to the way in which it was to be brought about, that nothing was done.

Clement VI. sent ambassadors to Constantinople, about the union of the two churches, when the Greek emperor proposed that a general council should be called for the purpose; but the death of this pope put a stop to all farther proceedings about it.

In A. D. 1355, John Paleologus, pressed by the Turks and rebellious Greeks, expressed a great desire of the union; and for this purpose he wrote to Innocent VI., swearing by the holy gospels, that he would be faithful to him as the sovereign pontiff, and receive his legates with all reverence; and that he would do his utmost to reduce all his subjects to his obedience. He, moreover, promised to send him his son, that he should be taught the Latin tongue, and that the most distinguished of the Greeks should be instructed in the same language. He further declared, that if he did not accomplish the union, he would resign the empire to his son, and transfer to the Pope his paternal power over him; so that he might govern in his name, give him a wife, tutors and curators, and thus have the disposal of the whole empire. But the Pope not being able to give the emperor the assistance he wanted, nothing came of the negotiation. Nuncios, however, were sent by the Pope to Constantinople, and they were received by the emperor with all respect, and he received the communion at their hands; but he informed the Pope that, on account of the opposition of his subjects, he could not immediately execute what he intended. In A. D. 1369 the emperor, after sending a respectful embassy in his own name, and that of many princes and clergy who favoured the union, went himself to wait on Urban V. at Rome, when he made a public profession of the Catholic faith, and kissed the Pope's feet. But nothing more was done.

In A. D. 1400, the emperor Manuel went in person to France in order to procure assistance against Tamerlane, and one plea for such succour was, the opportunity it might afford of putting an end to the difference between the two churches. But the states of Europe being at that time divided by the great schism, no assistance could be given. However, a number of learned men accompanying the emperor, this journey is said to have been a means of promoting a taste for literature in the West.*

Lastly, at the Council of Constance, in A. D. 1418, a

* Lenfant's *Pisc*, I. p. 127. (P.)

solemn embassy was sent by Manuel Paleologus,* with proposals for an union of the two churches, and it was received with much respect;† but it does not appear that any thing was done in consequence of it.

The conduct of the popes whenever they had power in the East, was by no means such as would recommend the supremacy they claimed; discovering the greatest intolerance, and love of wealth and power. Gregory XI. prevented as much as he possibly could, the exercise of the Greek religion in Candia, which was in the power of the Venetians. In one of the letters, written in A. D. 1373, he says, "At present as ecclesiastical censures are better executed with the help of the secular arm, we hope to extirpate schism in that island." He therefore directed that no clergyman should receive holy orders, except from Latins, and that no Greek, priest or monk, should hear confessions, or preach to the people.

For some time the popes had a better prospect of success with the Armenians than with the Greeks. In A. D. 1346, these people wanting the assistance of the Christians in the West against the Turks, called a council, and condemned all the errors which Clement VI. informed them they held, and promised to conform in all respects to the church of Rome; and for this purpose the Pope sent two nuncios into the country. But no assistance being procured, the Armenians continued as far removed from the church of Rome as the Greeks.

2. *Articles relating to Church Discipline.*

We find some new festivals introduced into the church, in this period as well as the preceding. John XXII. introduced the festival of the *Holy Trinity*, which had been celebrated in some cathedrals and monasteries a hundred years before, but without uniformity; some observing it at one time, and others at another. In A. D. 1373, the festival of the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* was brought from the East, into the Western churches, with the permission of the Pope.

Some festivals were confined to particular countries. In A. D. 1353, Innocent VI., at the request of the emperor

* And Joseph, patriarch of Constantinople. "Le chef de cette ambassade étoit George, Archevêque de Kiovie. Il étoit accompagné de plusieurs Princes Tartares et Turcs, et de dix-neuf évêques du Rit Grec; tonsurés à la Romaine, mais ayant d'ailleurs de longues barbes, et les cheveux flottans sur les épaules." *Lenfant*, L. vi. Sect. xxx. II. p. 576.

† "L'Empereur (*Sigismund*) lui-même, les princes et tout le clergé allèrent en cérémonie au devant d'eux." *Ibid.*

Charles IV., instituted a festival in honour of *the sacred lance and nails*, which had been the instrument of our Saviour's passion, in consequence of the great devotion that had been paid to them in Germany and Bohemia. In those countries it was appointed to be celebrated every two years, and an office was to be composed for it by such prelates as the emperor should choose. The Pope also granted an indulgence of three years and three quarters to those who should visit the church in which those relics were preserved, one of a hundred hours for the mass, and for each hour of the office.

But the most important of the new festivals introduced in this period, was that of the *Jubilee* at Rome. In A. D. 1299, a report, the origin of which has not been traced, prevailed in that city, that all the inhabitants who should visit the church of St. Peter, the following year, would gain a plenary indulgence for all their sins, and that every century it would have the same virtue; and accordingly, on the first day of January, in A. D. 1300, especially in the evening, and till midnight, there was a prodigious concourse of people to visit that church, it being then imagined that the indulgence would end that day. Others, however, continued to perform their devotions at that church for two months following. The Pope [Boniface VIII.] observing this, after consulting with the cardinals, issued a bull, in which he granted a plenary indulgence to all persons who should visit the churches of St. Peter and Paul at Rome during the first year of that, and every succeeding century; but it was not at that time called a *jubilee*, or said to be in imitation of the Jewish law.* In consequence of this, so great was the concourse of people from all parts of the Christian world, that John Villani, who was present, says, that there were always in Rome not fewer than two hundred thousand pilgrims, besides reckoning those who were at the same time continually going and returning; and yet that there was no want of provisions for man or horse, and that the people of Rome were great gainers by it.

At the request of the people of Rome, who had found the benefit of this new popular institution, Clement VI. reduced the jubilee from a hundred to fifty years, and he first introduced this term, observing that Christ came to fulfil the Jewish law in a spiritual manner. Accordingly, in A. D.

* Polydore Virgil (L. viii. Ch. i.) represents the *Jubilee* as a substitute for the *Secular Games*. See *La Conformité des Cérémonies*, Ch. vi. pp. 111, 112.

1350, the concourse of people at Rome was prodigious, and though it began at Christmas, when the cold was extreme, neither the snow nor the broken roads were any impediment to the pilgrims; and as neither the inns nor the houses were sufficient to contain them, many persons made fires and slept in the open air. It was supposed that there were never fewer than a million or twelve hundred thousand persons in Rome at the same time, from Christmas to Easter, and at Whitsuntide more than eight hundred thousand, and that the smallest number was two hundred thousand. For the consolation of the pilgrims, the holy handkerchief was exhibited every Sunday, and on all the great festivals; and on these occasions the crowds were so great, that many persons were crushed to death. At the end of the year the number of pilgrims increased, and then came the great lords and ladies from Italy, and other countries. All the people of Rome were innkeepers on this occasion, and by preventing the arrival of supplies from abroad, sold every thing excessively dear.

In A. D. 1389, Urban VI. reduced the jubilee from fifty years to thirty-three, on the idea of Christ having lived that number of years on earth, and accordingly he appointed the year following, A. D. 1390, for the celebration of it; and then there was a great concourse of pilgrims, but only from the countries in the obedience of Boniface IX., the successor of Urban, and who had confirmed what he had fixed with respect to it.* Though the great presents which on this occasion were made to the churches in Rome, came into the hands of the Pope, not content with this, he sent persons into every province, to sell indulgences to those who did not go to Rome, at the price that the journey would have cost. From some provinces he, by this means, drew more than two hundred thousand florins in gold. These indulgences, it was said, would avail for the remission of all sins, without any other penance. Many of these distributors of indulgences having embezzled the money they received, were punished; some of them were torn in pieces by the populace, and some killed themselves. There were also on this occasion many impostors, who pretended to have the papal authority, and who absolved persons of all crimes for small sums, and granted dispensations of every kind. In order to raise money, this pope also granted indulgences to those who

* "*Boniface IX. fut le plus impatient, de tous, qui le celebra 9 ans après Urbain, tant il craignoit qu'il n' échappât à son Pontificat. Enfin la bulle de Sixte IV., ordonna, qu' à l'avenir, il se tiendrait de 25 en 25 ans.*" *La Conform. Ch. vi. pp. 110, 111.*

visited the churches at Cologne, Magdeburg, and other cities, which brought a great number of pilgrims to them. He granted so many of every kind, though none without money, that they became quite contemptible.

Notwithstanding this reduction of the jubilee to a smaller number of years, the idea of its being for a century was so fixed, that when the year 1400 arrived, it was attended by great numbers, and even from France, though forbidden by the king, and though the pilgrims suffered much from the troops of the Pope, who plundered them, and abused the women, some of noble families. The plague also was in Rome this year, and the Pope durst not leave it, lest he should by that means lose the temporal sovereignty of the city; and yet he contributed nothing from his treasury for the relief of sick strangers.

There was no change in the mode of administering the ordinances of baptism or the Lord's supper, by the Catholics in this period. It appears from the writings of William Durand, bishop of Mende, who died in A. D. 1296,* that baptism was performed by immersion, and only at Easter and Whitsuntide, except in case of necessity. But at the time of the benediction of a font, a few children were baptized.

The Lord's Supper was administered to the laity in general, only in one kind, which took place gradually, and without any order of the Pope or council, but on particular occasions the cup was given to some laymen. Thus Clement VI. gave a licence to the king of France, and also to Eudes, duke of Burgundy, to communicate in both kinds; but recommended to them to do it with great precaution, that none of the precious blood might be spilled.

But communion in both kinds was so evidently the primitive custom, that it contributed greatly to recommend the principles of the Waldenses, who retained it. But in no country was more stress laid upon it than in Bohemia, at the time of the Council of Constance. It was strenuously insisted upon by one Jacobel,† rector of the parish of St. Michael in Prague, who had been instructed by Peter of Dresden, and expelled from Saxony for the heresy of the Waldenses. He having established this custom in his own

* Aged 64. Among his works is *Rationale divinorum Officiorum*, published 1459, a rare and much-valued edition. See *Nov. Diet. Hist.* II. p. 500.

† Or James de *Mise*, so named from a town in Bohemia. *Æneas Sylvius* describes Jacobel as "*Literarum doctrina et morum præstantia juxta clarus.*" *Lenfant*, L. ii. Sect. lxxii. l. p. 168.

parish, the clergy got him expelled from that church; but he was received in another, where he taught the same doctrine. At length he was excommunicated by the archbishop of Prague; but as he paid no regard to that, the affair was brought before the Council of Constance. There communion in both kinds was acknowledged to have been the ancient custom; but that, to avoid danger, communion in one kind only had been so long established with respect to the laity, that no person ought to change it without the authority of the church; and that to maintain the contrary was heresy, and ought to be punished as such.* At the same time, it was also decreed that the eucharist ought to be received fasting. It was likewise decreed that, as new heresies were continually rising in the church, commissaries should be appointed to examine matters of faith, and judge concerning them,† till a definitive sentence should be pronounced.

3. *Remarkable Instances of Superstition.*

As superstition is always in proportion to ignorance, joined with curiosity, it might have been expected that we should see less of it in this period; and no doubt, with those who were in any measure benefited by the greater light that was now springing up, there was less of superstition than before; but this was chiefly with the reformed. In the Romish church things continued, in this respect as well as others, pretty much as they were before; and consequently the reign of the most ridiculous and abject superstition was by no means at an end. I have noted the following particulars, as the most remarkable and curious that I have met with.

At the Council at Pennafiel, in Spain, in A. D. 1302, the priests were ordered to make the bread destined for consecration, themselves, or at least to have it made in their presence, by other ministers of the church. But this falls far short of the precautions prescribed in the monastery of Mount Cassin, of which an account was given before.

In A. D. 1327, John XXII. confirmed the indulgence which he had granted twelve years before, to those who should repeat every evening the angelic salutation. This piece of devotion had been introduced into the church of Saintes, to admonish the faithful by the sound of a bell, to

* *Lenfant*, L. ii. Sect. xxx. I. pp. 253, 254.

† “*Pro celeriori extirpatione hæresium, et ecclesiæ reformatione Sacro sanctæ.*” *Ibid.* Sect. xxxii. *ad fin.* p. 257.

make their prayers to the Virgin in the evening; and this pope approving of it, by his bull in A. D. 1318, granted ten days' indulgence to those who should repeat that form of devotion on their knees.

Charobert, king of Hungary, having made various vows to repeat on certain days such a number of *Paters*, *Ave Marias*, and *Salve Reginas*, found them very inconvenient to him, when he had much business; and therefore requested the Pope, in A. D. 1339, to commute them, which he did, limiting them to fifteen a day, under an obligation to maintain twelve poor persons, on those days on which he had been obliged to repeat more than fifty prayers.

Pope Urban, as a favour to the king of Denmark, who paid him a visit at Avignon, in A. D. 1364, granted indulgences to those who should pray for him, and made him partake of all the good works that should be done in the church. He, moreover, gave him the following relics to enrich his churches; some of the hair and clothes of the blessed Virgin, some wood of the cross, some relics of John the Baptist, of St. George, and St. Vincent, and also of St. Nereus and Achilles.

At the conclusion of the Council of Constance, pope Martin granted to all the members of it, the full remission of all their sins, once during their lives [*semel in vita*]. It was also granted to them in the article of death. The same was allowed to their domestics [*familiaribus*], on condition that they fasted every Friday during one year, for an absolution during life, and another, for that in the article of death.*

We have had instances of curious penances for crimes, in former periods. The following, which occurs in this, may be compared with them. Martin *de la Scala*, of Verona, having been concerned in the murder of the archbishop of that city, and having solicited for absolution for himself and his accomplices, the Pope granted it on the following terms: Eight days after their absolution, they were to go on foot, in their shirts, and bareheaded, from the entrance of the city of Verona to the cathedral church, each carrying a lighted torch, of the weight of six pounds, and causing a hundred more such to be carried before them by other persons. Being arrived at the church, on a Sunday, at the time of high mass, they should present their torches, and ask pardon for their crimes, of the canons. In the six months following, they

* *Lenfant*, L. vi. Sect. lx. II. pp. 610, 611.

were to offer in the same church a silver image of the blessed Virgin, of the weight of thirty marks, and ten silver lamps, of three marks each, with a fund sufficient for oil, to keep them always burning. In that year they were to found, in the same church, six chapelries, with the revenue of twenty florins of gold each. The day on which the bishop was murdered, each of the two penitents was to feed and clothe twenty-four poor persons, and both of them were to fast every Friday as long as they lived. Whenever there should be a general expedition to the Holy Land, they were to send twenty horsemen, and maintain them for one year; and if there should be no such expedition in their life-time, they should lay their heirs under an obligation to discharge that part of their penance for them. *Fleury* justly adds, he saw nothing in this that a rich man might not do without any conversion of the heart.

Superstition is no preventative of vice, but rather a promoter of it. In this period, as in the former, complaint was made of the profanation of festivals. It appeared particularly by the instructions sent to the Council of Vienne, in A. D. 1311, that great abuses prevailed in France, in which markets, fairs, and assizes, were held on Sundays, and the great festivals; so that *Fleury* says, the days destined for the honour of God were profaned by debauches in taverns, quarrels, blasphemies and other crimes.

Heathenish superstitions have not ceased among Christians even to this day. We are not, therefore, surprised to read that, in A. D. 1318, some persons attempted to destroy pope John XXII., by making images of wax, and torturing them, and by the invocation of demons.

Under this head of superstition, I shall place some instances of rigour, and also some of mystical devotion, which occur in this period, both arising from false notions of God and religion.

In A. D. 1349, after the great plague, which it is supposed swept off nearly one half of the people of Europe, at least of the more civilized part of it,* the business of voluntary flagellation was resumed. About the middle of June, about two hundred persons came from Suabia to Spire, having a leader, and two other masters, by whom they were directed in every thing. When they came to the great church, they made a circle round it, stripped themselves almost naked, and whipped one another, but with much order, prostrating

* See *supra*, p. 535.

themselves in the form of a cross, and praying for the mercy of God for their friends and enemies, and also for the souls in purgatory. At this place they were received with much affection and hospitality, but did not receive any thing of value, except for the torches and banners which they carried with them. Their rule was to whip themselves twice a day. They never spoke to any woman, nor lay upon a feather bed. They all wore red crosses, on black garments, before and behind, with scourges fastened to their girdles. They continued only one night in a parish, except on Sundays, when they passed two.

They pretended that an angel had appeared at Jerusalem, informing them, that Christ was offended with the sins of the world; but that being intreated by the Virgin Mary and the angels, he said that all persons must banish themselves from their houses, and whip themselves, thirty-four days; and then that their blood, mixed with his, would suffice for the remission of their sins. At Spire, more than a hundred persons joined them, and at Strasbourg about a thousand, who all promised obedience to the masters, for thirty-four days; for they received no persons on any other terms. They were to be furnished with four *deniers* a day, for the whole time, lest they should be reduced to beg; and they must also have the consent of their wives. Some women, however, joined them, whipping themselves like the men. Many priests and mendicants despised this method of devotion, and the Pope published a bull to put a stop to it. It was also condemned by the university of Paris, and king Philip forbade any of those *Flagellants* coming into France on pain of death.

In A. D. 1398, there was another similar movement of devotion, which began in Scotland; some persons arrived from that country in Italy, with crosses made, it is said, with brick dust and blood, mixed with oil, on their garments; saying, that the world would soon be destroyed by an earthquake. In consequence of this, there were seen every where processions of persons walking in long white garments, with hoods covering their faces, so that nothing was seen of them but their eyes. Almost all the people, even the priests, and some cardinals, dressed in white habits, joined these processions, singing hymns composed for the occasion, thirteen days. As many of these people slept in churches, monasteries, and churchyards, many disorders were committed; but this devotion produced some good

effects. Truces were made between people and cities, which had been at war, mortal enmities of long standing were appeased, confession and communion were frequent. The cities through which they passed received them with great hospitality, and the whole lasted two or three months. The near approach of the jubilee contributed to excite this devotion.*

Very different accounts are given of the persons who got the appellation of *Whites*, and came to Italy in the tenth year of Boniface. The following account is from *Poggio*: † “There arose,” says he, “at this time a new species of religion, which came from Savoy, and contributed much to promote peace. Men and women of every age walked bare-foot in white garments, nine days, from their habitations, begging their bread, with fasting and prayer, and sleeping in the open air. Before they took the habit, they confessed to their priests, professing much repentance for their past sins, and forgiving all offences committed against them. The people of Lucca, to the number of four thousand, came in this manner to Florence, with a crucifix carried before them, and they were entertained at the public expense. After this, there came others from Pistoia and Prato in the same manner. The Florentines, in imitation of them, put on white garments, and embraced this religion with such fervour, that no person could safely shew any contempt for it. Good works were performed with wonderful emulation, the most inveterate animosities were laid aside, and assassinations and intrigues against neighbours were no more heard of.”

According to other accounts, these *White Brothers*, as they were sometimes called, appeared in Prussia, and in most parts of Europe; but one of their leaders having a crucifix, which, by some means or other, he made to appear to sweat, was apprehended by orders from the Pope, and was said to have been put to death.‡

This mode of religion was revived, and seemingly with more authority, in A. D. 1410, after Italy had suffered much from a plague, and the civil wars occasioned by the schism. Persons of all ages, and both sexes, were seen in cities and the open fields marching in long white garments; and all who did not join them were considered as profane and impious. Princes, prelates, and all the clergy adopted it, as

* *Fleury*, XX. p. 454. (P.)
 † *Lenfant's Pise*, I. p. 104. (P.)

‡ In his *History of Florence*. (P.)

well as the common people. All lawsuits were suspended, enemies were reconciled, and a great reformation of manners was effected. These processions continued three months.*

A similar good effect had been produced by the accidental burning down of the church of St. John de Lateran, in A. D. 1308. The people of Rome, considering it as a judgment of God, made processions to implore the divine mercy, divisions were appeased, enemies reconciled, and many persons of both sexes gave other signs of repentance.†

In A. D. 1414, there appeared in Misnia, persons who called themselves *Brothers of the Cross*, who rejected baptism, and, whipping themselves, said that the baptism of blood was substituted instead of that by water. It is possible, however, that these people might be Waldenses, or some class of reformers, who were falsely charged with this opinion, and perhaps with the practice of flagellation also; for, besides rejecting baptism, they denied the presence of Christ in the eucharist, confession of sins to a priest, and his power of absolution, purgatory, and prayers for the dead. They celebrated no festival besides Sunday, Christmas, and that of the assumption of the Virgin. This last, however, accords but ill with the other particulars ascribed to them. Some of these persons were convinced, and others burned alive at Sangherhausen.‡

There have been in all ages persons of a thoughtful turn, who have laid greater stress on internal feelings, than on external acts in religion. Some of these people having the best dispositions, and aiming at perfection of character, have often entertained the most sublime sentiments, though mixed with enthusiastic notions and practices. Of this class was John Rusbroech, a priest and regular canon at Valvert, near Brussels, who distinguished himself by his addictedness to contemplation, and his writings concerning the interior life, imagining that what he wrote was by the dictates of the Holy Spirit. He left many works, in some of which, speaking of obedience, he says, "The will of man may be so united to that of God, that he cannot desire any thing else. We must," he says, "repose in God himself, and not in his gifts, as graces, virtues, and good works. In prayer," he says, "if, Lord, it be for thy glory, I would choose to be plunged in hell, as much as be received into heaven." Speaking of communion and the sentiments that

* *Lenfant's Pise*, II. p. 33. (P.)

† *Fleury*, IX. p. 432. (P.)

‡ *Ibid.* XXI. p. 198. (P.)

preceded and accompanied it, he says that, "in this exercise, sensible love, compassion, and the attentive consideration of the wounds of Christ, aided by the imagination, may be so lively, that the spiritual man shall believe that he feels the pain not only in his mind, but in his limbs." Treating of what he calls *spiritual intoxication*, he says, "when a man receives more spiritual joy than the heart can contain, it expresses itself in extraordinary gestures. Some persons sing hymns, others shed tears, or run about, dancing, and clapping their hands; and some faint away. They," says he, "who find themselves in this state, ought to be thankful and humble." He was sensible of false pretences to a life of contemplation and devotion; for, speaking of the illusions of false mystics, he says, "These men only seek natural quiet. Under the pretence of contemplation they sit still, without any occupation, interior or exterior, which produces ignorance and blindness, accompanied with self-conceit and pride, the source of all other vices.* John Thaulerus, a Dominican, and great theologian, resorted much to Rusbroeck, and is said by this means to have profited much in the interior and contemplative life, as appears by his writings.†

Superstition was much promoted by fabulous legends, and in this period James de Voragine, who was made archbishop of Genoa in A. D. 1292, wrote the lives of the saints, called the *Golden Legend*, for the esteem in which it was held for two hundred years. Afterwards, however, it fell into great contempt, on account of the fables with which it was filled,‡ not, however, of his own invention; but that age being fond of the marvellous, he added such circumstances and speeches as he thought proper.

4. Of the Extension of Christianity.

There is but little to boast of the real progress of Christianity in this period, and what was propagated under that name was little better than a miserable superstition, preferable, however, to the Heathenism of which it took place. Many of the conversions were the empty boasts of the missionaries, which had no permanent effects.

* *Fleury*, XXVI. p. 311. (P.) Rusbroeck died in 1381, aged 88. "Honoré des titres pompeux de très-excellent contemplatif, et de docteur divin. Sa piété n'y parolt pas toujours bien réglée." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* V. p. 239.

† He died in 1361. *Ibid.* p. 529.

‡ "C'est le triomphe de l'imbécillité et de l'extravagance. Le peu de vérités qui se trouvent dans ce recueil, y est défiguré par les contes les plus absurdes et par un foule de miracles bizarres." The author died in 1298. *Ibid.* III. p. 427.

In A. D. 1307, John de Montcorvin, a Franciscan, wrote from Tartary, that he had made great progress in the conversion of that country, having baptized many hundreds of the people. On this, Clement V. made him bishop of Cambalu, the capital, and sent seven other friars of the same order to be bishops under him. In A. D. 1326, Andrew of Perusa, another missionary to the same country, wrote, that he made no converts among the Jews or Mahometans, but that he converted many of the Heathens: but he acknowledged that many of these did not live like good Christians. Raimond Lulli, a Franciscan of the third order, and who had greatly distinguished himself by his metaphysical and other writings,* undertook to preach Christianity to the Mahometans on the coasts of Africa, but he was stoned to death there in A. D. 1315. †

The North Eastern part of Europe continued in nearly the same state in which it was in the last period. In A. D. 1324, Godemin, duke of Lithuania, complained to the Pope, that though his predecessor became a convert to Christianity, with all his subjects, the insults and atrocious violence of the Teutonic knights had made them return to idolatry. To these complaints the Pope opposed ecclesiastical censures. In A. D. 1385, Jagellon, duke of Lithuania, having married a daughter of the king of Hungary and Poland, became a Christian, after having long resisted the solicitations of the neighbouring princes to that purpose. Along with him were baptized three of his brothers, and some lords. His other brother had been baptized according to the Greek ritual. After this, the king extinguished the sacred fire which the heathen Lithuanians kept up, and he also killed some serpents which they kept in their houses, as domestic divinities. ‡ The people, finding no mischief arising from it, at length submitted to be baptized, the nobles one at a time, but with respect to the commonalty, it was deemed sufficient to throw holy water upon a multitude of them at the same time, § giving the same Christian name to every individual of the several companies. On this *Fleury* expresses a doubt, whether the baptism would, in all the cases, be valid, as, in a great crowd, some might

* "Dans lesquels on remarque beaucoup d'étude et de subtilité, mais peu de solidité et de jugement." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* IV. p. 222.

† At the age of 80. *Ibid.*

‡ "They paid such religious honour to vipers, that each father of a family was obliged to nourish one of those noxious animals, and to respect it as the tutelary God of his house." *Des Fontaines' Poland*, pp. 163, 164.

§ *Ibid.* pp. 157, 158, 163, 164.

escape without any of the baptismal water touching them. As the king gave woollen garments to those who were baptized, many came to the baptism for the sake of that present.

In A. D. 1413, Ladislas Jagellon, king of Poland, went to Samogitia, the inhabitants of which were Heathens, who kept up a perpetual fire, and a sacred grove with animals; when he himself extinguished the fire, cut down the sacred grove, and slew the animals. On this, the people, seeing that this was done with impunity, deserted their former worship, and became Christians.

In A. D. 1366, the Franciscans made many converts in Bulgaria. Marc *de Viterbo*, the general of the order, says, that in fifty days, they baptized more than two hundred thousand men, whose names, in order to be sure of the number, the king entered in a public register; and yet one third of the country was not yet converted, though the heretics and schismatics, heretofore so obstinate, as well as the Paterins and Manichæans, were more than ever disposed to become Catholics. Lastly, in A. D. 1370, Lasco, duke of Moldavia, being converted by a Franciscan, abandoned the Greek church, and became a Catholic.

5. *Of the Jews in this Period.*

The sufferings of the Jews were by no means closed with the last period. Philip *the Fair*, king of France, had all the Jews in his dominions arrested in one day, in A. D. 1306, and all their goods confiscated, leaving only as much to each as was sufficient to carry him out of the country; and they were forbidden to return, on pain of death. A few were baptized and staid, but many died on the road with grief and fatigue. However, in A. D. 1315, Lewis *Hutin* permitted them to return, on their advancing him a sum of money for his wars in Flanders.

But their sufferings in France were not yet at an end; for, in A. D. 1320, a number of the common people, chiefly shepherds, imagining that the relief of the Holy Land was destined to be effected by their means, formed themselves into large bodies, walking in procession, two and two, through Francē, visiting particular churches, and begging provisions, with which, as the people favoured them, they were abundantly supplied; but being joined by many disorderly people, they were guilty of many crimes, plundering even the churches; and they murdered the Jews whenever they met with them, especially at Thoulouse, and in the

South of France; the king's officers not being able to hinder them. Going to Avignon, where the Pope then was, they endeavoured to make themselves masters of the place; but he took his measures so well, that many of them were killed, others taken and hanged, and the rest dispersed. These shepherds of France beset a castle to which many Jews had retired, when, on the failure of weapons, they threw their children from the walls to excite compassion, but it had no effect. The besiegers breaking down the gates, found only dead bodies, and a few children. The Jews had killed one another, that they might not fall into the hands of the Christians. There remained only one person alive, and him they tore in pieces. The plague having seized these shepherds, they imputed it to the Jews, who they said had poisoned the wells; and the king, unable to protect them, on their refusal to embrace Christianity, delivered up fifteen thousand, all of whom they burned alive.*

A Jew being falsely accused of murdering a Christian, in the reign of Charles VI. of France, several of that nation were apprehended, and of these some were hanged, others were scourged, and the synagogue was condemned to pay eighteen hundred crowns. Two years after this, all the Jews were banished from France, and in a manner that made the event so calamitous that it became an epocha in their history, and from it they dated subsequent events.†

England was disturbed and relieved in the same manner about the same time. On this occasion the Pope published a bull in favour of the Jews, though at the same time he condemned the Talmud, and ordered the copies of it to be burned.

In A. D. 1338, many Jews were murdered in Austria, on the pretence of their procuring consecrated hosts, and piercing them, so that blood came out of them: but it was found that some Christians got wafers not consecrated, and made them bloody, in order to throw an odium on the Jews. These violences, however, extended through the whole of Upper Germany, where the peasants assembled, and murdered all the Jews they could find, on pretence of zeal for Christianity. But the emperor Lewis put a stop to these proceedings.

The great plague in A. D. 1348 being ascribed to the Jews' poisoning the fountains, many of them were murdered without examination, and many mothers, fearing that their

* *Barnage*, IX. pp. 522, 526. (P.)

† *Ibid.* p. 603. (P.)

children would be baptized after their deaths, threw them into the fire along with themselves, to be burned, together with their husbands. These massacres were most frequent in Germany ; but the Pope prevented them at Avignon.

In A. D. 1340, there was an insurrection of the people of Spain against the Jews of Toledo, whither Rabbi Ascher, who had fled from his native country, Nothenberg, had taken refuge with his eight sons. One of these, seeing the Christians bursting into the house, killed all his relations who were there with him, his own wife, and that of his brother Jacob, and then himself. This Jacob, though poor, was a learned man, and was of the most generous disposition. He had taught *gratis*, and left behind him a work on civil and ecclesiastical law.*

In A. D. 1390, under Henry III. of Castile, Martin, archdeacon of Astigy, preaching in the streets of Seville and Cordova, raised a violent persecution against the Jews, and procured them to be massacred in that city. The same fate pursued them to Toledo, Valencia and Barcelona, where some were plundered, and others killed, though some renounced their religion to save their lives. The synagogues of Seville and Cordova, which had been numerous attended, were destroyed. Those who fled to Andalusia and other places were killed by the inhabitants. His son John was not more humane than his father. Those who were concealed in the former reign, perished miserably in the latter.† Nor were the Jews more at their ease in Arragon.‡

After some time, the Jews met with better treatment, and in A. D. 1412, many of them were converted by Vincent Ferrier, a Dominican, and among them Joshua Horlaki, physician to Benedict XIII., who, being baptized, took the name of *Jerome of the Holy Faith*. After his conversion, he composed two treatises against the Jews, one on the method of convincing them, and the other against the Talmud. In the first he shewed that the twenty-four conditions which they require in the Messiah were found in Jesus. He was answered by Isaac Nathan, and several others.

There were several public conferences with the Jews in the presence of Benedict XIII. at Tortosa, in Spain, when the principal of the disputants on the part of the Christians was Jerome. In consequence of these conferences, and the preaching of Vincent Ferrier, § it was said that great num-

* *Basnage*, IX. p. 530. (P.) † *Ibid.* p. 537. (P.) ‡ *Ibid.* (P.)

§ Vincent Ferrier preached with great applause thirty years in Spain, France, and Italy, and more miracles are ascribed to him than to Moses or Jesus Christ.

bers of Jews were converted ; but relapsing to their former faith, it served as a pretext for the Pope to persecute them. In the bulls that he published on this occasion he ordered the inquisition to proceed against any persons who should keep any of their books ; and he ordered all princes to exclude Jews from the benefit of the laws in the administration of justice. He forbade all communication or conversation with Jews ; and directed that they should be distinguished from Christians by opprobrious badges, and not allowed to follow any trade, or lend money on usury ; and lastly, that they should become Christians, or be imprisoned for life. A particular account of each of these conferences is given by a Jewish writer ; and, according to him, those of his religion had the advantage in the argument.*

In order to promote the conversion of unbelievers in general, and the Jews among the rest, it was ordered at the Council of Vienne, in A. D. 1312, that there should be masters to teach Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldee, in the court of Rome, and in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca, two for each.

6. *Of the Crusades.*

Though there was no general expedition actually entered upon for the recovery of the Holy Land, in this period, it did not immediately cease to be a considerable object with the Christian powers. The taking of Rhodes by the knights of St. John encouraged some to make the attempt ; and at the Council of Vienne, in A. D. 1312, Henry, king of the Romans, Philip, king of France, Lewis of Navarre, and Edward II. of England, promised to undertake the expedition ; and in consequence of this, a general crusade was ordered to be published, and a levy was made of the tenth of ecclesiastical revenues for six years.

John XXII. was a zealous promoter of another crusade ; and in his time, Philip, king of France, actually took the cross, as chief of the expedition ; being allowed the tenth of

He is said to have converted thirty thousand Mahometans, besides Jews, Waldenses, and other heretics ; and what is more, to have reclaimed a hundred thousand from a profligate life. He is, however, said to have thought too well of the *Flagellants*, who followed him with much applause. This appears from a letter that Gerson wrote to him from the Council of Constance, whither he wished to draw him. After the election of Martin V. he deserted Benedict. He died at Vannes, in Brittany, in A. D. 1419, [aged 64,] and was afterwards canonized. *Lenfant's Pise*, II. p. 138. (P.) One of the *missions* of Ferrier was into England. See *Nouv Dict. Hist.* V. pp. 727, 728.

* This account may be seen in *Lenfant's History of the Council of Pisa*, II. pp. 153, &c. (P.)

all the church livings in his kingdom for the purpose ; and in A. D. 1353, the crusade was preached through all France, the troops being appointed to embark in three years.

In A. D. 1365, an attempt was actually made to recover the Holy Land, by another descent upon Egypt. After great efforts on the part of Pope Urban V., Peter de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, sailed with an army of ten thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse ; and after a solemn benediction given by the legate, they landed near Alexandria, and took the place. But finding their numbers were not sufficient to keep possession of it, they plundered, and then abandoned it. This unsuccessful attempt was of great disservice to the Christian cause, as it excited the sultan of Egypt to engage the assistance of the Turks, in order to get possession of Cyprus and Rhodes, from which islands the Christian powers had sailed to attack him.

7. *Of the Increase of Infidelity.*

Infidelity appears to have made great progress in this period, in consequence of the writings of Averroes, in the preceding. An enthusiastic admiration of his writings and those of Aristotle, on which he wrote commentaries, and which were quoted as oracles in the schools of philosophy, occasioned a great contempt for the books of scripture, and the writings of the Christian fathers, especially in the principal cities of Italy, where learning was most cultivated. Of this, Melchior Camus, bishop of the Canaries, made heavy complaints.

Petrarch was exceedingly shocked at the effrontery of those unbelievers whom he met with at Venice. They made no account of Jesus Christ or the apostles, despising them as unlettered men ; and their doctrines they treated as fables. They respected no persons as men of sense, and philosophers, but those who ridiculed them ; and they considered those who defended them as mere fools. One of them meeting with Petrarch in a bookseller's shop, after expressing great contempt for the apostles and the Christian fathers, said, that if he could but read Averroes, he would see how superior he was to those simpletons, (*nugatoribus*).

Peter *D'Apono*, a famous professor of medicine and astronomy at Padua, in the time of Petrarch, and who, in A. D. 1310, had written a commentary on the problems of Aristotle, was one of the heads of these unbelievers. He ridiculed the miracles of Christ, and especially that of the resurrection of Lazarus. He was, however, sentenced by

the inquisition to be burned; but it was only executed in effigy after his death.*

Petrarch hearing so much in praise of the writings of Averroes,† had the curiosity to read them; and he was so much shocked, that he formed a design of answering them. But his age and various occupations preventing him, he endeavoured to persuade Lewis Marsigli, a monk of the order of St. Austin at Florence, to undertake it, and to dedicate his work to him; being probably ignorant, as the writer of his memoirs says, that Thomas Aquinas, and after him several others, had combated the opinion of the unity of intellect, and that Raimond Lulli in particular had solicited Clement V. to condemn the errors of Averroes.

At Padua, Averroism made such progress, that Urban of Bologna, prior of the Servites, who had been professor of theology at Paris and Bologna, as well as at Padua, was called *the Averroist*, on account of his great attachment to this writer, on whom he wrote commentaries. In a later period, Nicolet Vernios, one of the professors at Padua, published a treatise in which the doctrine of Averroes was represented in so pleasing a light, that it was said he drew almost all Italy into his opinions. At length the magnitude of the evil induced Leo X., in a later period still, to endeavour to stop the progress of it, by a bull published at the Council of Lateran, in which he forbade, under heavy penalties, the teaching that “the soul of man is mortal, or that there is but one soul,” or principle of intellect, “in all men.”

These philosophers did not attack Christianity openly; and Petrarch says, that when they discoursed in public, they always said that they spoke as philosophers, or not as theologians. By this conduct, and always professing their belief of the doctrines of the Catholic church, they escaped persecution.

* According to a French biographer, *Apono* was not accused of *infidelity*, but of rapacity, in the exercise of his profession, and of the grossest avarice. He was said to have drawn back into his purse, by the power of magic, all the money which he had expended; and was brought before the Inquisition, because he had acquired the seven liberal arts, by the assistance of seven *hobgoblins*, whom he kept in a bottle, (*Sept Lutins, qui tenoient leur académie dans une bouteille du Docteur*).

Apono died in prison, in 1316, aged 66, and thus disappointed the *Holy Office*. Frederic, duke of Urbino, set up, among those of other illustrious men, the statue of this physician, (*dont la personne avoit été destinée au bûcher d'un Auto-da-fé*). The senate of Padua also placed his effigy among those of *Titus Livius*, *Albert*, and *Julius-Paulus*, over the gates of their palace. Among the numerous works of *Apono*, on the sciences he had cultivated, his *Conciliator Differentiarum Philosophorum et præcipuè Medicorum* is mentioned as most distinguished. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* l. pp. 177, 178.

† See *supra*, p. 449.

This contempt for revealed religion affected even the learned Mahometans, and one of their writers reproached the caliph Almamon, who introduced the works of Aristotle among them; saying, the Arabs despised the Koran after they had read Aristotle. Averroes said that Judaism was the religion of children, and Mahometanism that of hogs; but that no religion was so absurd as that of the Christians, who worshipped what they ate.* So ready were unbelievers then, as well as now, to take advantage of the corruptions of Christianity to decry the whole scheme. Of how great importance, then, is it to detect and expose those corruptions! We are much obliged to unbelievers for their assistance in this useful work.

8. I shall close this period with the mention of an article of some curiosity.

In A. D. 1300, pope Boniface VII. forbade the custom of boiling the dead bodies of princes, and other persons of distinction, in order to separate their bones, and convey them to distant places; a method which, it has been observed, was used with respect to the body of Lewis. This custom the Pope reprobated as barbarous, and forbade it under pain of excommunication, to those who should practise it, and the deprivation of Christian burial to those on whom it was practised. †

* *Memoires de Petrarch*, III. pp. 750, &c. (P.)

† *Fleury*, XIX. p. 44. (P.)

APPENDIX BY THE EDITOR.

TRANSLATION OF THE ORATIO AD DOMINUM, p. 373.

In the following verses I have endeavoured to convey the sense and to preserve some of the spirit of the original. The peculiarities of Latin verse, written, according to a taste long justly exploded, in what are called Monkish rhymes, I found it impossible to imitate in an English translation of a serious poem :—

Cast forth, beyond the haunts of men,
 Lo! the drear, hideous form of death :
 The grave's strong bands the *corse* detain,
 Nor e'er returns the parted breath.
 And such am I; yet mighty Lord!
 The dead thy potent voice obey,
 The bands, as speaks thy sov'reign word,
 Are burst, the stone is roll'd away.
 A voyager o'er the sea of life,
 What ills my slender bark assail!
 What waves of trouble, mortal strife;
 Here, griefs conflict, there, foes prevail!
 Do thou, blest Navigator! come,
 Controul the winds, and calm the sea,
 Convoy the wanderer to his home,
 And bid his foes, his sorrows flee.
 My fig-tree, ah! 'tis barren found,
 The branches wither and decay;
 Cut down, nor cumb'ring more the ground,
 Thy justice should'st thou now display.
 Yet wait, though but another year,
 Thy fost'ring pains it, sure, will own;
 Or, if abandon'd in despair,
 I dread to speak—thou'lt cut it down.
 My ancient foe within me reigns,
 Whelms me in floods, torments in fire;
 Thus languishing with mortal pains,
 To thee alone my hopes aspire.
 Thou quickly canst expel my foe
 And with new strength to gird the weak,
 On fasting, and on pray'r bestow,
 The enduring virtues that I seek.
 Christ is my witness, healed by these,
 From this dire pest I would be free:
 O give my soul the wish'd release,
 And raise her, penitent, to thee.
 Give me the dread of guilty shame,
 Assur'd salvation may I seek:
 Let faith and hope my love inflame;
 Give piety, all wise and meek.
 Yes, give contempt of things below,
 The ardour breathe for things above:
 Such, Lord! thou only canst bestow,
 Thy plenteous grace, O bid me prove.
 Thou art my glory, thou my wealth,
 Whate'er I have, declares thy praise;
 My toil's best solace, lost my health,
 The drooping head 'tis thine to raise.

My song thou canst in grief awake,
 Each angry passion owns thy pow'r;
 The iron bonds 'tis thine to break,
 'Tis thine the fall'n to restore;
 Virtue to guard by wholesome fear,
 To save, should e'er her strength decline :
 The wounded spirit thou canst cheer,
 The weak support, when foes combine.
 All mysteries thou canst declare,
 Or shroud in darkness thy decree :
 Yet, Lord ! may I ne'er enter there,
 Where dread, infernal horrors be—
 Where sorrow wails, appall'd by fear,
 Where ev'ry loathsome object's seen :
 Deformity is beauty there,
 There vice assumes fair virtue's mien ;—
 There wounds the torture, ever slaying,
 There gnaws the worm that never dies ;
 Still on each wretched captive preying,
 For none from hell's dire death arise.
 Me rather waft, on mercy's wing,
 To Sion's city, that blest bourn :
 Sion ! best work of heav'n's high King,
 Whose gates the hallow'd cross adorn :
 Whose keys are giv'n to *Peter's* hand,
 Whose walls are ever-living stones ;
 Whose Ruler, King, with influence bland,
 Sheds joy o'er all her favour'd sons.
 Her's the pure light, that ne'er decays,
 Eternal spring, perennial peace ;
 The fragrance that all heav'n displays,
 The strains awak'd by endless bliss.
 Defilement never enters there,
 Nor strife they fear, nor want they dread :
 The heav'nly forms, erect and fair,
 Are all conform'd to *Christ*, their head.
 Thee ! sacred seat ! secure abode,
 Fix'd on a rock, my heart desires ;
 A pilgrim o'er life's toilsome road
 I greet, from far, thy radiant spires.
 Thee would my longing eyes behold,
 To reach thy gates my fondest pray'r.
 How glad thy sons, can ne'er be told,
 What festive joys they raptur'd share.
 What love thy kindred spirits own ;
 What gems thy stately turrets grace,
 The *jacynth* and the *chalcon*,
 Are known but to thy favour'd race.
 Blest city ! through each sacred street,
 Be mine to seek the pious throng ;
Elijah, *Moses*, there to greet,
 And join the everlasting song.

END OF VOLUME IX.



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